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PREFACE.

PREFACE.

THE riſe and progreſs of the chriſtian religion, its influence on every ſtate by which it has been embraced, the converſion through its means of illiterate barbarians to a degree of improvement unknown to claſſick ages, render an impartial account of it as intereſting almoſt to the philoſopher and the politician, as to the ſincere diſciple of our ſaviour.

The philoſopher attached to ſecond cauſes may not be at a loſs to account in the paſſions of men for the factions, which attended the interference of Conſtantine and his ſucceſſours in favour as it was ſuppoſed of religion. The ſubſequent grandeur of the church may lead him to ſuſpect, that the whole ſyſtem of chriſtianity was founded on prieſtcraft and ſupported by arbitrary power. But a compariſon of the principles of the church with the doctrines of Chriſt, and an enquiry into the modes, by which their oppoſite ſyſtems were promoted, muſt convince him, that if the former was founded ſolely on worldly maxims, the goſpel of our ſaviour had a nobler origin, proceeding immediately from the wiſdom and being upheld by the power of God.

The politician, obſerving that for many ages the debates in the cabinet have been modelled on a ſuppoſed alliance between church and ſtate, and that the arms and deſigns of the braveſt and wiſeſt men have been made ſubſervient to the views of ſuperannuated prieſts, muſt be anxious to diſcover the grounds of ſuch an extraordinary influence. As he is not to be ſwayed by purer motives, the diſcovery that this alliance has always been detrimental to the ſtate, may lead him to diſſolve the connection, and inſtead of promoting the meaſures of an intriguing or perſecuting ſect, to govern by principles tending to general happineſs.

PREFACE.

The ſincere chriſtian will find throughout conſtant reaſon to admire the providence of God. The factions prevailing among men, profeſſing the ſame religion with himſelf, prevent him, whilſt he laments their errours, from being a partaker of their guilt, and the futility of all ſchemes to promote religion on any other baſis than that of free and impartial enquiry confirms his belief of our ſaviour's words, that the kingdom of God cometh not by obſervation, and that the mind muſt be both enlightened and purified, before it is capable of enjoying the ſtate of chriſtian liberty.

Theſe reflections naturally ſuggeſted themſelves on an examination of the papers left by Mr. Robinſon, and we ſhould have been unpardonable in withdrawing from the publick eye the reſult of his eccleſiaſtical reſearches. The ſame ſubjects have occupied the attention of the beſt writers in all ages; but the prejudices of the times in which they lived, led them too frequently to extol the ſplendour of an external church, and either to overlook or ill-treat thoſe ſects, which under the denomination of hereticks entertained juſter notions of chriſtianity. Our authour has with indefatigable pains explored the records of antiquity, and proved that there never have been wanting men to ſtand up in defence of the goſpel, and to oppoſe that ſpirit of domination and perſecution, which reigns in the romiſh and the greater part of the proteſtant churches. Wherever that ſpirit appears, it is in the following pages juſtly reprobated: neither the fervour of Luther's zeal nor the purer doctrines of Socinus caſt a veil over their intolerance, and we are fired with proper indignation at the treacherous conduct of Calvin, the murderer of Servetus.

The hiſtory of baptiſm is a great object in theſe reſearches. The authour attached to the chief doctrine of the ſect, with which he had for the greater part of his life been connected, viewed with concern the prevalence of a ſuperſtitious rite in the chriſtian world, as uſeleſs to the infant as it is degrading to the parent. But to what purpoſe is it proved, that the ſprinkling of an infant with water is not a ſcriptural ordinance, and that baptiſm (or the immerſion of the body under water) is at preſent and hath always been the practice of the Greeks, while the ignorance of parents ſuffers them to be deluded with vain fears for their childrens ſafety, and the performance of a ceremony flattering the vanity, or favourable to the intereſt of the aſſiſtants, is an eaſy ſubſtitute for the practice of ſpiritual religion?

It is to be lamented that theſe papers were not ſubjected to the laſt corrections of the authour's pen; and the candid reader will, we doubt not, make due allowance for the imperfections of a poſthumous work. It is neceſſary to inform him, that the account of Poland was written firſt; and ſeveral remarks, which by compariſon with the other parts of the work are eaſily to be diſcovered, would probably have undergone ſome correction. The hiſtory of the bohemian churches would have been new-modelled, as the papers under the title Bohemian Churches, and Moravian Baptiſts, were left incomplete, and by the omiſſion of one page, they were brought into the ſtate in which they appear at preſent. The editors did not think themſelves warranted in making ſcarce any other alteration, except that above-mentioned, and the omiſſion of ſome notes in the hiſtory of the greek church, where the latin tranſlation of the greek hiſtorians had been uſed, and of a few notes in other parts, which the authour had probably dilated more for his own ſatisfaction than the peruſal of the reader. Theſe were omitted chiefly for fear of being otherwiſe under the neceſſity of curtailing ſome of the original, which the reader would think more valuable than the quotations, but throughout the places referred to are preſerved.

To thoſe who have been charmed with the unaſſuming grace of Mr. Robinſon in the pulpit, we have no doubt that this work calling back to their minds the livelineſs of his imagination and the purity of his ſentiments, will be highly acceptable: and others, who have heard only of his fame, will be happy to ſee here faithfully delineated, the character of a man, who was both in action and principle a zealous advocate for civil and religious liberty.

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ECCLESIASTICAL RESEARCHES.

CHAP. I.

On the Caution neceſſary to a Reader of Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory.

IT is an old obſervation, that of all hiſtory eccleſiaſtical is the worſt written. Such an hiſtory, beginning with Jeſus, and proceeding through ſucceſſive ages with his diſciples, ought to exhibit bright examples of virtue. It ſhould ſhew a ſucceſſion of men contending (if contend they muſt) for ſomething worth contending for. Inſtead of this every century proceeds from bad to worſe, each opening deplorable ſcenes of all the ills that afflict ſociety, till in the end chriſtianity itſelf becomes doubtful to philoſophers, while ſtateſmen with too much plauſibility conſider the profeſſion of it as a matter to be reſtrained and regulated by government for the ſafety of the ſtate. The miſtake is natural, and the opinions of ſuch reſpectable objectioniſts may be admitted without injury to chriſtianity, on condition the ſubject be properly explained. If chriſtianity be a revelation of impenetrable myſteries; if the forcing of mankind into a profeſſion of believing them; if ſuch a profeſſion cannot be obtained without ſecular power; if governments muſt be modelled ſo as to diſcharge ſome citizens from the honour and pleaſure of reaſoning, and to oppreſs others for enjoying and exerciſing their own underſtandings; if God be pleaſed with his creatures for tithing mint, aniſe, and cummin, and offended at the practice of judgment, faith, and mercy, when it is not clothed with preſcribed forms; if this be chriſtianity, the philoſopher reaſons conſequentially, when he infers that it is not divine, and the ſtateſman acts like a true patriot, when he controuls its influence: but if chriſtianity be a practice of rational piety, a courſe of ſocial virtue, and an inviolable attachment to univerſal human felicity, it ceaſes to be objectionable to the wiſe, or threatening to the great, and it carries along with it a demonſtration of its heavenly original. Man, and ſuch religion, are both the workmanſhip of one almighty agent, the father of lights, from whom cometh every good and perfect gift.

Want of preciſion in eccleſiaſtical hiſtory is one chief cauſe of the gloom that involves the divine religion of Jeſus, and while this confuſion remains, a cheat is put on the reader, and a long time elapſes e'er he diſcovers that what had been given him for an hiſtory of good men, the very diſciples of the ſon of God, was an hiſtory of counterfeits, diſciples of the world, and regulated only by the maxims of it. Eccleſiaſtical hiſtory may be ſo written as to ſerve the intereſts of parties while the diſguiſe remains: but to ſerve the cauſe of truth and virtue at large the covering muſt be taken off, for either that or the cauſe muſt go to decay.

Sect. I. Caution in regard to Words.

Laying aſide credulity then, in order to aſcertain facts, a reader ſhould in the firſt place guard againſt the magick of words, for they affect hiſtorical preciſion both ſingly and in conjunction. The few following terms will exemplify this rule.

The word CHRISTIAN, which properly ſignifies a profeſſor of the religion of Chriſt, is ſo uſed in eccleſiaſtical hiſtory as to convey a groſs fallacy, and entirely to deſtroy the truth of hiſtory. Paul, the ſon of Warnefrid, a Lombard, flouriſhed in the eighth century (1). He was a deacon of the church of Aquileia in Italy, and chancellor under king Deſiderius, with whom he was carried captive by Charlemagne. In the end he retired to a monaſtery, where he wrote a hiſtory of the Lombards, and ſeveral other pieces, which are of ſingular uſe in the hiſtory of the middle ages (2). Gregory of Tours was a native of France, and flouriſhed in the ſixth century. His ten books of the Annals of the Franks, written with great ſimplicity and very puerile, are, however, extremely uſeful in an hiſtory of France, of which kingdom he had the honour of being the firſt hiſtorian (3). Bede the Anglo-Saxon, who flouriſhed

(1) Ger. Joh. Vossii *De Hiſtoricis Latinis. Lib. ii. cap. xxx.* Æqualis Alcuino erat Paulus Warnefridi et Theodolindæ filius, cognomento Winfrid, Longobardus. . . Quam varia ſcripſerit docet Sigebertus cap. lxxx.

(2) Ludov. Ant. Muratorii *Rerum Ital. Scriptor. Varior. Collectio.* . . . Ejusdem *Antiquitates Ital. Med. Ævi.*

(3) S. Gregorii *Turonenſis Epiſc. opera, et* Fredegarii *Epitome et Chronic. cum ſuis continuatoribus, et aliis Antiq. Monumentis, ex edit.* Theodor. Ruinart. *Pariſiis* 1699.

Caroli Le Cointe *Annal Eccles. Francorum ab an.* 235, *ad an.* 845. *tom. i. Pariſiis* 1665 *et ann. ſeqq.*

in the eighth century, is of ſimilar uſe to the hiſtory of this country, and he was a monk of talents far ſuperiour to thoſe of the two juſt mentioned (4). In theſe writers, and in a great number more of the ſame kind, there lies a fallacy in the term chriſtian, which, if it paſs unobſerved, goes to eſtabliſh a falſehood. It was the opinion of all theſe writers, as it is of many at the preſent time, that the belief of the trinity is eſſential to chriſtianity, ſo that they who deny the divinity of Chriſt, or perſons in the Deity, are not chriſtians but pagans. In polemicks this ſtyle may be ſuffered: but in hiſtory it is a great fault, for Arians are not either Pagans, or Jews, or Mohammedans, but profeſſors of the chriſtian religion, or, in the popular ſenſe of the word chriſtians. Whether they be wiſer than other chriſtians who believe the trinity is quite another queſtion, and the ſolution of it is not the buſineſs of an hiſtorian. Hiſtorians under this prejudice affirm (5) that Hilderic king of the Vandals was inſtructed in the chriſtian, that is to ſay, the Roman catholick faith by his mother, and that he recalled chriſtians, i. e. catholicks, from exile: that king Gundamund put chriſtians, i. e. catholicks, to death: that Thraſamund did not perſecute chriſtians, i. e. catholicks: that Totilas king of the Oſtrogoths was offended at the increaſe of chriſtianity, i. e. Roman catholiciſm: that Alboin king of the Lombards was a pagan, i. e. an unitarian, that Antharis was an enemy to chriſtians, i. e. catholicks, that king Agilulf was converted to the chriſtian, i. e. catholick, faith: that the chriſtians, i. e. Roman catholicks, of Spain united themſelves to Hermenegild: that Leander was the apoſtle, i. e. the catholick converter, of Spain: that Reccared king of the Wiſigoths and all Spain were converted to the chriſtian, i. e. catholick, faith: that Charlemagne compelled whole nations to receive chriſtianity, i. e. popery: with a thouſand more ſuch accounts, all falſe, as they are uſually underſtood. The truth is, the Goths and Vandals embraced the chriſtian religion in the earlieſt ages, in the unitarian form. Their kings for ſix or ſeven centuries, were Unitarians, and many of them were the moſt juſt and amiable governours then in the world. What theſe writers meant, or ought to have meant, by the accounts juſt now obſerved is, that they who had been Unitarians acceded to a profeſſion of believing the trinity, and not that they had not profeſſed chriſtianity before. The ſtyle corrected by facts would run thus. Alboin king of the Lombards was an arian (6): king Antharis was an enemy to ſuch Trinitarians as diſturbed government: Leander was a trinitarian monk, who prevailed with Reccared, who had been educated an unitarian, to profeſs himſelf a trinitarian: and ſo on (7). As theſe articles will come up to view in their proper places, it is needleſs to enlarge here.

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(4) Bedæ *Hiſt. Eccles.*

(5) Ch. Chr. Sandii *Nucleus Hiſt. Eccles. An.* 585. *Coloniæ* 1676. Non inſolens, eſt ſcriptoribus antiquis quibuſdam, moderniſque catholicis, totam Romanam legem Chriſtianam dicere. Hoc ſenſu Hildericus, &c.

(6) Car. Sigonii *De regno Italiæ. Lib. i.* . . . Murator. *ubi ſup.*

(7) Andreæ Schotti *Hiſpania Illuſtrat.* . . . . Jos. Saenz d'Aguirre *Concil. Hiſpan. Collectio.*

Catholick is another term, that darkens hiſtory, and as it is generally underſtood, eſtabliſhes falſehood. Catholick is general or univerſal, and in the fourth century the trinitarian party thought fit to name themſelves ſo. Other chriſtians laughed at their abſurdity; for although the term expreſſed what they would be, yet it was not expreſſive of what they were, and, it is very credible, that as they were in many places the feweſt of all parties, ſo they would have remained, had they not bethought themſelves to unite ſecular policy with their creeds, for of their arguments nothing need be ſaid, becauſe they have no force, they never had any, where men durſt refute them (8). It was not known for ages where catholiciſm would fix its ſeat, whether in the eaſtern patriarchates of Jeruſalem, Antioch, Alexandria, Conſtantinople, and others, or in the weſtern hierarchies of Aquileia, Ravenna, Milan, Toledo or Rome. In the beginning of the ſeventh century, Rome was ſo far from daring to claim the honour, that the then pope Gregory openly diſclaimed it, reproved the patriarch of Conſtantinople for preſuming to ſtyle himſelf an univerſal biſhop, and called himſelf ſervant of ſervants. Gregory knew chriſtians too well to imagine they would ever ſubmit to the thing unleſs it were obtained under a fraudulent name, and he foreſaw that when the humble ſervant of ſervants had made himſelf maſter of all, he might chooſe his title, and nobody durſt contradict him. Hence it is that ſome learned eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians call one century the apoſtolical age, another the gnoſtick, a third the novatian, a fourth the arian, and ſo on, becauſe arianiſm, novatianiſm, neſtorianiſm, and other ſpeculative iſms were catholick, or generally prevalent for the time (9). A fact it is, beyond all contradiction, that at the beginning of the ſixth century the emperour of the Eaſt was an eutychian, and, of all the chriſtian kings in Africa and in the weſtern world, and they were many, there was one and only one, Clovis or Lewis king of the Franks, who profeſſed himſelf a trinitarian in communion with Rome; the reſt were all unitarians. It is curious to hear eccleſiaſticks call this ſolitary royal chriſtian, catholick (1). The religion of Rome never was catholick. Spain was as independent of Rome as the epiſcopal church of England is for eight hundred years at leaſt (2). Italy was ſo till the cloſe of the eleventh century; and the greek and the eaſtern churches never coaleſced with Rome at all (3): to ſay nothing of the infinite multitudes, who never were in any eſtabliſhed churches (4). What then is the catholick church? a mere vapour.

Heresy is another word of this kind: but in its primitive acceptation it was harmleſs, as "it only ſignified election or choice, and is uſed for an opinion, which a man chooſeth, as beſt or moſt probable. Hereſy and heretick, are often uſed by ancient writers, as words of indifferent meaning, and the ſeveral ways of philoſophizing were called ſects or hereſies (5)."

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(8) Sancti Paciani *Epiſt. ad* Sympronianum *Novatianum. De catholico nomine, apud* Aguirre *Concil. Hiſpan. tom. ii.*

(9) G. Cave *Scriptor. Eccles. Hiſt. Literaria. Londini* 1688. *Tabella Sæculorum. Conſpectus ſeculi.*

(1) Hadriani Valesii *Hiſt. Francor. Lib. vi. apud* Sandium *Anno* 501.

(2) Dr. Michael Geddes's *Miſc. tracts. Vol: ii.*

(3) Dr. Allix's *Hiſt. of the Churches of Piedmont.*

(4) Dr. King's *Rites of the Greek Church.*

Council, as it is generally underſtood, ſtands for an aſſembly of divines having univerſal legiſlative power under the authority of the biſhop of Rome. Nothing can be leſs true. Some were mere meetings of four or five ſelf-elected monks. Some were aſſociated delegates from independent congregations. Some were commiſſioners tolerated or appointed by the crown. Some were congregations of chapters. Some were dioceſan ſynods. Some were national aſſemblies. Some were patriarchal and metropolitan, as in Italy and the Eaſt, not only independent on Rome, but hoſtile to it. The Spaniſh councils were all independent of the biſhop of Rome for eight hundred years. The firſt general council of Nice was imperial, and not the biſhop of Rome, but Oſius biſhop of Cordova in Spain was preſident. Some were not publiſhed at all. Some were publiſhed in countries where the people enjoyed liberty both civil and religious, and they had no operation as law on any except at their own diſcretion. Some were incorporated into the laws of the ſtate. Some were inſerted in a ſort of manerial laws, and operated on the demeſne, and tenemental lands of a barony. Some were edicts of the crown, and ſpent their force only on crown lands, and were counteracted in other places by the laws of the ſtate, or the cuſtoms of the country. In ſpite of all theſe facts, and in defiance of all the truth of hiſtory, all councils are now collected and embodied into one vaſt code of law, dated by the years of the popes, palmed upon the world as proof of the univerſal dominion of Rome, and quoted even by proteſtants as evidence of univerſal practice. Beneath this vaſt pile of fraud truth of church hiſtory groans for relief. Thus canons perhaps forged; but certainly, if genuine, made in obſcure corners by men unknown, or of no account beyond their own villages, have been quoted in proof of the univerſality of infant baptiſm in the primitive church: yet after all, the firſt authentick order to baptize babes was made in the fifth century, and was publiſhed along with an order to believe original ſin (the true parent of modern infant baptiſm) by men of no learning, and very little authority, and who loſt that little, which extended only over their own dioceſes, about twelve years after, when they and their orders ſunk into oblivion. Even this, which hath been called an authentick ſynodical order, is a moſt abſtruſe and perplexed affair, and canoniſts cannot tell whether the ſynod was held at Mela in Africa, or in the Iſle of Malta, or whether the orders iſſued from one council, or two, or in what year they were compiled. So uncertain is the hiſtory of canon law!

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(5) In Dr. Lardner's *Hiſtory of the Heretics of the two firſt centuries, book i. ſect. i.* a great many undeniable facts are inſerted . . . ſee alſo Jo. Clerici *Artis Criticæ, cap. xiv.* Diverſas ſectas iiſdem ſæpe uſas eſſe vocabulis, ad diverſa prorſus dogmata exprimenda, et eaſdem ſervatis iiſdem vocabulis, lapſu temporis, ſententiam mutaſſe.

BARBARIAN is a word, which darkens the hiſtory of the middle ages. The Roman writers denominate all the German nations that ſettled in the empire barbarians: but if the term be taken in its modern popular ſenſe for a ſavage, it moſt groſly impoſes on the readers. Originally it ſignified nothing more than a foreigner, one who was not a native, and in this ſenſe the Goths uſed it in their laws, and denominated themſelves Barbarians (6). The ancient Roman monks ſtupified with enthuſiaſm, and inflamed with madneſs for the defeat of their monſtrous projects of dominion over theſe brave foreigners, availed themſelves of the vague ſenſe of the term, and deſcribed themſelves as the moſt poliſhed, and the Germans as the moſt uncivilized of human kind, and ſuch hath been their ſucceſs in exciting prejudices, that the irruptions of the barbarous nations is a phraſe, which ſeldom fails to conjure up ideas of a thouſand bloody deeds, of which Goths and Vandals never entertained a thought. Their armies, like thoſe of all other nations, were, no doubt, guilty of ſome exceſſes: but ſuch accidents ought not to be taken in proof of a national character.

BAPTISM is another word, which may ſerve to exemplify this ſubject. It ſtands in one ſociety of chriſtians for dipping, in another for pouring, in a third for ſprinkling, in a fourth for the influence of the ſpirit, and in a fifth for the whole ordo baptizandi, and includes exorciſm, croſſing, the application of ſalt, ſpittle, chriſm, and other ceremonies. It ſhould ſeem at firſt ſight, that for many centuries all parties were ANAbaptiſts; and that the moſt were, and the Catholicks among the reſt is beyond a doubt, as will be obſerved in its proper place: and yet each affirms that the other rejected baptiſm. The truth is each thought ſomething beſide dipping eſſential to baptiſm. When Reccared, Hermenegild, and many others embraced the Roman communion, they were rebaptized by the Catholicks; and the Arians alſo rebaptized thoſe who had been baptized before in the catholick church; but there is one ſingular inſtance of the confuſion, which the vague uſe of the term hath conveyed into hiſtory. This is the caſe of the emperour Conſtantine (7). The Catholicks moſt eagerly contend that pope Sylveſter baptized Conſtantine into the faith of the trinity at Rome, and the evidence ſeems reſpectable. It is however certain that he was baptized at Nicomedia juſt before his death, and it is ſuppoſed, by Euſebius into the arian faith. Both affirm they baptized him: neither ſays he was rebaptized, becauſe neither accounted the other a valid baptiſm. Probably, ſome catholick writers expreſs the matter exactly as it was (8). Sylveſter baptized the emperour, and Euſebius rebaptized him. They affirm the ſame of the emperour Valens, and denominate both theſe emperours Anabaptiſts (9). The ſatire on the baptiſm of Conſtantine, written by the emperour Julian, ſeems to imply a repetition of baptiſm (1).

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(6) THEDORICI *regis edict. Præf.* Barbari Romanique ſequi debeant leges ſuper expreſſis particulis.... *xxxii.* Barbaris, quos certum eſt reipublicæ militare, quomodo voluerint et potuerint, faciendi damus licentiam teſtamenti, ſive domi, ſive in caſtris fuerint conſtituti. LEX BURGUNDIONUM. *lv. De removendis barbarorum perſonis, quotiens inter duos Romanos de agrorum finibus fuerit exorta contentio.*

(7) SANDII *Nuc. Lib. ii.*

The words ſchiſm, church, biſhop, deacon, canon, ſacrament, and all other eccleſiaſtical terms have been uſed by hiſtorians in the ſenſes affixed to them in their own communities: but, unleſs this be kept in memory, the ear will beguiled by ſound, and the attention led off from the truth.

SECT. II. CAUTION IN REGARD TO CONTRADICTIONS.

The CONTRADICTIONS of hiſtorians are another great ſource of hiſtorical errours. True it is, they give great trouble to ſuch as would reconcile them, but in ſome caſes a very ſimple principle ſerves to adjuſt the difference. This may be exemplified by the caſe of the african Donatiſts. At the beginning of the fifth century, when infant baptiſm firſt came up, there were in Africa at leaſt four hundred congregations of Anabaptiſts, called from Donatus, the name of two of the moſt eminent of their teachers, Donatiſts. They had diſſented from the Roman church two hundred years before this time. The conteſt between them and the Romans was not doctrine or ceremonies, but virtue. The Romans made faith the ſtandard, and diſpenſed with the want of virtue. The Donatiſts made virtue the bond of their churches, and diverſity of ſpeculation was no breach of contract with them. The Romans baptized by dipping on a profeſſion of a particular faith. The Donatiſts baptized by dipping on a proof of virtue accompanied with a general profeſſion of chriſtianity; and as they thought the Romans had ceaſed to be chriſtian churches on account of their immorality, they did not hold their baptiſm valid, and they rebaptized every one that quitted the Roman communion to join theirs. Their notion was, that churches ought to conſiſt only of good men. If the word baptize ſignify dip, they were truly and literally Anabaptiſts, or Re-dippers: confining this practice, however, to converts from the Romans. It is generally ſuppoſed the Donatiſts were Trinitarians, and held all the doctrines of Rome, for writers of the times expreſsly affirm this: but other writers of equal authority affirm the contrary (2). Probably, both ſay the truth, and the clue is their bond of union. The Romans wrote after their own ideas, and, as they had no notion of any tie except that of uniform belief, each affirmed that of all the Donatiſts, which was true only of that part, which fell under his notice. Variety of ſentiment was the natural concomitant of their diſcipline, as immorality was of that of the Romans. It is more natural to reconcile ſeeming contradictions in this manner, than to ſuppoſe hiſtorians guilty of writing known falſehoods.

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(8) BENEDICTI *Preſb. Vita* DAMASI. Conſtantinus non integre Chriſtianus, ſed quaſi tentator, baptizatus eſt a Silveſtro in trinitate . . ab Euſebio epiſcopo Nicomediæ rebaptizatus eſt, declinans in dogma Arianorum.

GODOFRIDI VITERBIENSIS *Pantheon.* MURAT. *Script. Ital. Tom. vii.*

Rex Conſtantinus, ſi ſcribere vera velimus,
Verus Chriſticola fuerat ſub tempore primo,
Novit et hoc oriens, occiduuſque ſinus.
Baptizavit eum Sylveſter, idemque fatemur:
Arius hunc poſt hæc corrupit, et inde dolemus,
Schiſmate namque ſuo commaculavit eum.
Hoc fuit in villa, quam rite vocant aquilonam,
Quando rebaptizans fædaverat ipſe coronam.
Scripta tripartita teſtificantur ita.
Præſulis Euſebii manibus Nicomedienſis,
Turpe tulit lavacrum Rex, turpia dogmata ſenſit,
Tres quoque filioli ſic ſuperere ſui.

(9) GODEFRID. VITERB. Imperator Valens, cum primitus catholicus eſſet, ſuaſu Eudoxii epiſcopi Conſtantinopolitani, et ab uxore propria ſeductus, incidit in hæreſim Arianam, et ad hoc jure jurando ſe alligavit, atque a præfato epiſcopo Ariano eſt iterum baptizatus.

(1) JULIANI *Imp. op. Cæſares.* Και ΠΑΛΙΝ ενοχος. Si iiſdem rurſus ſe flagitiis contaminaret, efficiam uti, tunſo pectore et capite percuſſo, expietur.

BONIZONIS *Epiſc. Sutrini libel. de Sacramentis. De baptiſm.* Si quando vel hæreticorum veſania, vel ſtultorum ſacerdotum ignorantia, una ex tribus in baptiſmo fuerit innominata perſona, non erit ratum baptiſma, nec dici poterit iteratum, quod conſtat non recte factum.

SECT. III. CAUTION IN REGARD TO EPITHETS, AND FALSE COLOURING.

An inveſtigator ſhould guard againſt the injudicious application of terms, which have the nature of epithets, and by which eccleſiaſtical writers confuſe ſubjects by falſe colouring. Cyprian, who thought each biſhop was the ſole judge of religion in his own church, and that all hereſies and ſchiſms ſprang from this one ſource, that God's prieſt was not obeyed, deſcribes a ſchiſmatick in this manner (3). "He bears arms againſt the church. He fights againſt God's ordinance. He is an enemy of the altar. He is a rebel againſt the ſacrifice of Chriſt. He is ſacrilegious and not religious. He is an un-

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(2) MURAT. *Antiq. Ital. Tom. iii. Diſſ. xliv. Diſputatio Sancti Leonis papæ contra hæreticos.* Dicere etiam Hæretici ſolent de baptiſmo, quod in eo melius ſit illorum baptiſma, quam noſtrum, quia qui de illis ad nos convertuntur, non eos rebaptizamus, ſed per manus impoſitionem reconciliamus: illi vero ſi quos de noſtris ſeducere poſſunt, inconſideranter rebaptizant . . . baptizamus in nomine patris, et filii, et Spiritus Sancti . . . Si ſic baptizarent illi, quomodo credunt in nomine patris majoris, et in nomine filii minoris, et in nomine Spiritus Sancti multo minoris, &c.

(3) CYPRIANUS *De Unitate Eccleſiæ. N.* 15. An eſſe ſibi cum Chriſto videtur, qui adverſus ſacerdotes Chriſti facit? Qui ſe a cleri ejus et plebis ſocietate ſecernit? Arma ille contra eccleſiam portat, contra Dei diſpoſitionem repugnat, Hoſtis altaris, adverſus ſacrificium Chriſti rebellis, pro religione ſacrilegus, inobſequens ſervus, filius impius, frater inimicus, contemptis epiſcopis et Dei ſacerdotibus derelictis conſtituere audet aliud altare, &c. . . . . *Epiſt. xl. ad plebem:* et paſſim.

-dutiful ſervant, an impious ſon, an inimical brother, who, contemning biſhops, and forſaking the prieſts of God, dares to ſet up another altar." As this heterogeneous maſs of ill choſen words melts down to its meaning (for it ought to mean no more than the fact to be deſcribed) impiety, enmity, ſacrilege, rebellion, undutifulneſs, fighting againſt an altar and a ſacrifice, and Chriſt and God, all evaporate, and there remains nothing more than that ſome members of the church at Carthage could not believe, and did not chooſe to act as biſhop Cyprian ordered them, and therefore withdrew, and formed themſelves into another church.

SECT. IV. CAUTION IN REGARD TO RHETORICK.

A reader of church hiſtory ſhould guard againſt the rhetorick of eccleſiaſticks, and the ſupport which they affect to give it by paſſages of holy ſcripture. Cyprian lays it down as an axiom, that no good men ſeparate themſelves from the church; and he affects to prove it by a ſimilitude, and a text (4). "The wind, ſays he, carries away the chaff, but not the wheat, weak trees but not thoſe that are deeply rooted. S. John cenſures and excommunicates ſuch perſons. They went out from us, but they were not of us, for if they had been of us they would no doubt have continued with us." This ſuppoſes what is not true: that Cyprian and his party were as infallible as the inſpired apoſtles: or, as he expreſſes it, that they were the wheat and the reſt of the world chaff. It is by a dexterous uſe of tropes and figures that the moſt numerous party of chriſtians is ſet forth as the church, and the minority repreſented as hereticks, ſchiſmaticks, rebels and incendiaries: that the great church is the ſpouſe of Chriſt, and the little church the members of an harlot; that chriſtian teachers are a prieſthood ordained to dictate and to rule, and that other chriſtians fulfil the whole law when they yield an implicit faith in ſuch guides: that doubting is a ſymptom of reprobation, and to feel like a free born man is an effect of pride, a proof of communion with that ambitious ſpirit Satan. Terrible language about the leproſy of Miriam, the puniſhment of Corah, Dathan, and Abiram; ſplendid deſcriptions of the titles and privileges of the apoſtles, ſuperadded to coercive canons and ſtatute laws, may ſupport this theology in the world: but nothing ought to induce a ſincere chriſtian to believe the reaſonableneſs of it, except rational evidence, and that no ſpecies of mere eloquence can afford.

(4) *N.* 8. Nemo exiſtimet bonos de eccleſia poſſe diſcedere. Triticum non rapit ventus, nec arborem ſolida radice fundatam procella ſubvertit. Inanes paleæ tempeſtate jactantur, invalidæ arbores turbinis incurſione evertuntur. Hos execratur et percutit Joannes, &c. 1 Epiſt. ii. 19. . . . JO. CLERICI *Art. Critic. cap. xv.* Difficultatem intelligendi maximam interdum oriri ex rhetorico ſtylo.

Sect V. Caution in regard to Attestation.

Without invalidating the general character of an hiſtorian, a judge ought to uſe great caution in admitting his teſtimony. Invectives are not neceſſary to this, for a very ſincere witneſs may be ill-informed, or prejudiced, or partial. There are ſome tales abſolutely impoſſible, others improbable, ſome manifeſtly falſe, and others, though true, yet not to the purpoſe.

Epiphanius ſays, "the Gnoſticks by ſome violent method or other uſed to draw a child out of its mother's womb, and beat it to pieces in a mortar: and leſt this odd ſort of food ſhould be nauſeous to a ſqueamiſh ſtomach, they mixed with it honey, pepper, and ſome other ſpices. When this was done they all taſted of it, and this they called τελειον πασχα a perfect paſſover (5)." This monſtrous and incredible ſtory reſts upon the ſingle authority of Epiphanius, which, to ſpeak impartially, is none of the beſt, and ſober writers reject it becauſe it is impoſſible, for human nature is not capable of ſuch a thing. The eating of human fleſh is a practice ſo unnatural, that, notwithſtanding all the reports of voyagers and travellers, many have doubted of the fact. The late Captain Cook, however, hath aſcertained it, and he obſerves at the end of the horrid account, that, though few conſider what a ſavage man is in his natural ſtate, and even after he is in ſome degree civilized; and though he had with his own eyes ſeen a New Zealander eat human fleſh with ſurprizing avidity, yet it was the fleſh of an enemy, and he firmly believed they ate no other than that of enemies ſlain in battle (6). There is a paſſage in the pſalms of David, which ſeems to imply, that the ſame cuſtom prevailed among ſome in the eaſt. His words are theſe: "When my enemies came upon me to eat up my fleſh, they ſtumbled and fell (7)." All this is credible: but that in the time of Epiphanius, men, who profeſſed themſelves chriſtians, ſhould keep an annual paſſover by eating the fleſh of their friends, paſſes all belief.

Tertullian repreſents it as the common opinion of hereticks, that God was not to be feared, and thence he infers they were given up to all kinds of licentiouſneſs (8). He ought to have reported their doctrine fairly, which was, that God was not to be feared, but to be loved only; and then he ought to have inferred that licentiouſneſs was as improbable in a man who loved God as in one who feared him.

One proof, among many, of the manifeſt falſehood of the charges brought againſt the ancient hereticks by the fathers is, that they are preciſely the ſame, which the pagans brought againſt the primitive chriſtians themſelves. Them the pagans taxed with atheiſm, inceſt, infanticide, ſedition, illiteracy, magick, worſhipping the head of an aſs, corrupting the ſybilline oracles, and ſo on. Apologiſts attacked theſe rumours, and refuted theſe popular charges with regard to themſelves, and their own parties: but they endeavoured to ſuppreſs other communities by repeating the ſame charges againſt them. "The caſe was the ſame with the fathers, in reſpect to hereticks, ſays Mr. Bayle, as with the heathens in reſpect to chriſtianity. Is it not more reaſonable to believe, that the fathers did not, with all the patience requiſite, thoroughly inform themſelves of the real principles of a ſect, than it is to believe, that thoſe very men, who held that Jeſus Chriſt by his death was the ſaviour of mankind, ſhould at the ſame time hold, that the beaſtlieſt pleaſures are the ready way to paradiſe."

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(5) **Epiph.** *Hæres. xxvi.* . . . R. **Turner** *on the Calumnies upon the Primitive Chriſtians, chap. iv. Infanticide.* . . . **Lardner**'s *Hiſt. of Heretics, ſect. viii.*

(6) *Voyage toward the South Pole. vol. i. London* 1777. *chap. v. Tranſactions in Queen Charlotte's Sound, with an account of the inhabitants being Cannibals.*

(7) *Pſal. xxvii. 2.*

(8) **Lardner.** *ſect. xiii. Baſilides.*

The ſame obſervation may ſerve for all periods; for the firſt calumniators of good men, in the early ages of the world, invented ſcandals, which have been ſucceſſively uſed by Pagans againſt Jews, by Jews againſt Chriſtians, and by Catholicks againſt Proteſtants of all kinds. Moſt of theſe tales and the arguments that ſupported them originated in fraud, and were authenticated by folly, and while power was ſupporting their credit, time rolled on, and antiquity became argument. It is however a pleaſure to obſerve, that the ſame great principles of liberty, which juſtify any profeſſion of chriſtianity, will ſupport the claims of every ſociety of chriſtians, and of every individual, to a perfect freedom of acting according to their own convictions.

SECT. VI. CAUTION IN REGARD TO SPURIOUS WRITINGS.

Finally, the article of forgery ſhould not be forgotten. Whoever recollects the ſtate of writings before the invention of printing, will at once perceive the facility of forgery: the ſtate of keepers of archives will account for the practice: and whoever obſerves the avidity of collecting manuſcripts, and the faſhion of publiſhing them when printing firſt came in vogue, and when the Reformation threw all parties, who were not ſatisfied with the ſcriptures, into agonies for arguments, will naturally ſuſpect that though much ſpurious matter hath been diſcharged yet there is ſome droſs ſtill mixed with the gold of antiquity. Andrew Darmarius, a greek merchant of Epirus, rendered himſelf rich and famous by this traffick. He more than procured manuſcript copies in Greece to ſell to princes and prelates in the weſt, he manufactured them, and by frauds of this kind raiſed a fortune out of the weſtern taſte for founding and enriching libraries. His imports have ſince found a great deal of work for learned men, who have moſt heartily execrated him for his pains (9). It would be eaſy to multiply examples: but it is not neceſſary now.

In brief, church hiſtory wants more than a reformation; it ſtands in need of regeneration; for church hath been hitherto put for one party, which was of no account before the council of Nice, and which had no good writers for ages after: and early church-hiſtory chiefly conſiſts of legendary tales compoſed by obſcure, it may be by bad men. What ground there is for the hint of an eminent prelate concerning the chief ſaints and writers of the party need not now be examined, for the credibility of their reports is the immediate object of an hiſtorian. His words are theſe: "Holye Tomas Becket wold ſumtyme for his pleaſure make a journaye of pylgrymage to the prymeroſe peerleſſe of Stafforde, as his holy lyfe mentyoneth. He that ſhall narrowlye ſerche ſaynte Hieromes epiſtles, ſhall fynde him ſumwhat ſamylyar with Marcella. So ſhall he fynde ſaynt Gregorye with Domicella, and alſo ſaynt Bonifacius the archebiſshop of Magunce with Tecla and Lieba ii englyſshe women of his owne countre natyve (1)." However it be, caution is neceſſary; and if it cannot diſcover truth, it may at leaſt prevent errour.

Before we enter upon the particular ſubject of this volume, which is eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, it cannot be improper nor uninſtructive to take a tranſient view both of the ſtate of the Roman empire and of Judea at the birth of the Meſſiah.

CHAP. II.

A General View of the Roman Empire at the Birth of Jeſus the Chriſt.

Extent of the empire.

THE ancient Roman Empire was a moſt magnificent object. It extended in length above three thouſand miles, from the river Euphrates in the eaſt to the weſtern ocean. In breadth it was more than two thouſand miles; and the whole conſiſted of above ſixteen hundred thouſand ſquare miles. This vaſt extent was divided into provinces, and within it were contained Spain, Gaul, the greater part of Britain, Italy, Rhætia, Noricum, Pannonia, Dalmatia, Mæſia, Dacia, Thrace, Macedonia, Greece, Aſia Minor, Syria, Phœnicia, Paleſtine, Egypt, Africa, and the mediterranean, with its iſlands. This extended territory lay between the twenty-fourth and the fifty-ſixth degree of northern latitude, the moſt deſirable part of the temperate zone, and in general produced all the conveniencies and luxuries of life (2).

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(9) MURAT. *Antiq. Ital. Tom. iii. Diſſ. xliv.* p. 927. Hic (Darmarius) ſceleſtus fuit .... virorum peſſimus, qui nihil aliud habebat, niſi proſtituere libros fictis titulis, quos ſummo pretio divenderet principibus, &c.

(1) JOHAN BALE's *Myſterye of inyquyte. M:D.xlii. Emprynted at Geneva.* 1545.

(2) ROLLIN's *Roman hiſtory.* ... HOOKE's *Roman hiſtory.* ... GIBBON's *decline and fall of the Roman empire.*

Government

An object of ſuch amazing magnitude preſents to the eye a vaſt aſſemblage of materials, each conſiderable in different views, and all replete with information. The chief article now to be obſerved is the original principle of government; for hiſtorians ancient and modern have remarked, that through all the various changes of the modes of governing at Rome, the primary inſtitutes of the policy of Romulus were the baſes on which the whole fabrick in all its forms was erected (3). Under all the fine tales of the firſt Roman fabuliſts, and the gloſſy colouring of their laſt oratours, it is too evident that enthuſiaſm and injuſtice were the principles on which this mighty empire roſe: enthuſiaſm, for the founders pretended a divine commiſſion, and injuſtice, for, leaving arts and ſciences to others, they made the government of the world the ſole profeſſion of the ſtate (4). Theſe ſtamina of government from ſmall beginnings, therefore, may be traced through a regular ſeries of perſonal quarrels, domeſtick broils, ſkirmiſhes with their neighbours, conqueſt of provinces, and civil wars, to abſolute empire veſted in one ſingle man. The ſtory begins with Romulus and Remus, twin brothers, one of whom acquired the abſolute maſtery over the little village of Rome by conſulting gods and putting his brother to death, and it proceeds to Cæſar, whoſe ambition of abſolute dominion cauſed the death of a million of the human ſpecies, as well as his own aſſaſſination. Him Auguſtus ſucceeded, and during his reign, and the reign of a few of his ſucceſſors, pomp and proſperity held imperial power in awe, but in due time the ſame luſt of dominion that had extended the empire cauſed the decline and fall of it. The empire was increaſed by a love of dominion over foreigners; and when there were no more foreigners to ſubdue, it was diminiſhed and deſtroyed by a luſt of power over one another, and in both, the dread of modern free governments, a ſtanding army, was the palladium of the ſtate. The military eſtabliſhment, while Rome was in the ſummit of power, conſiſted of more than four hundred and fifty thouſand men: "a military power," as an elegant modern writer obſerves, "which, however formidable it may ſeem, was equalled by a monarch of the laſt century [LEWIS XIV.] whoſe kingdom was confined within a ſingle province of the Roman empire (5)."

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(3) Rollin. *Preface to vol. i.*

(4) Ciceron. *Tuſc. Quæſt. iv.* 1. Cum a primo urbis ortu, regiis inſtitutis, partim etiam legibus, auſpicia, ceremoniæ, comitia, patrum conſilium, equitum peditumque deſcriptio, tota res militaris *divinitus* eſſet conſtituta; tum progreſſio admirabilis incredibiliſque curſus ad omnem excellentiam factus eſt dominatu regis rep. liberata.

Hooke. *vol. i. book i. chap. i.* 5. *Palladium. . . . Chap. ii.* 1. *Augurs, Haruſpices, &c.*

Virg. *Æneid. vi.* 847.

Excudent *alii* ſpirantia mollius æra,
Credo equidem: vivos ducent de marmore vultus;
Orabunt cauſas melius; cœlique meatus
Deſcribent radio, et ſurgentia ſidera dicent:
Tu regere imperio populos, *Romane*, memento:
(Hæ *tibi* erunt artes) paciſque imponere morem,
Parcere ſubjectis, et debellare ſuperbos.
Sic pater Anchiſes.

Numbers. The ſubjects of the empire are ſuppoſed to have conſiſted of about one hundred and twenty millions of perſons, diviſible into three claſſes of Roman citizens, provincials, and ſlaves. The firſt enjoyed ample liberty; the ſecond the ſhadow of it, without any conſtitutional freedom; and the laſt wholly depended on the precarious will of their lords, who according to ideas of their own intereſt enfranchiſed, or oppreſſed, or barbarouſly puniſhed and deſtroyed them. Policy. The Romans would be maſters, but they were, of all abſolute maſters, the moſt wiſe and generous. Enthuſiaſts for liberty themſelves, they ſtudied in their own boſoms the moſt prudent methods of rendering the provinces inſenſible to the yoke of bondage. They incorporated the gods of all nations with their own; they treated willing captives as allies with a noble liberality; they uſed the conquered with a moderation, which diſcovered that not the deſtruction of mankind but the increaſe of the empire was their object; they colonized foreign countries with Romans, who introduced agriculture, arts, ſciences, learning and commerce; they adorned the provinces with roads, aqueducts, towns, cities, ports, temples, theatres, and monuments of various kinds, and of exquiſite magnificence and taſte; they ſuppreſſed the bloody factions of barbarian tribes among each other, and introduced an uniform obedience to one ſplendid authority, which was accompanied with protection, plenty and eaſe. This brave people occupy an unrivalled poſt of honour in the hiſtory of mankind, for as they ſtudied the art of governing, ſo they excelled in it above all the inhabitants of the globe, and particularly above the ancient deſpotical monarchies of the eaſt. Hence, the Roman hiſtory exhibits wiſe councils, prudent meaſures, juſt laws, generous actions, arguments the moſt convincing and eloquence the moſt perſuaſive; and men of every claſs are repreſented conducting themſelves with a propriety that hath charmed the eye and compelled the admiration of all poſterity (6).

Religion. The conduct of the Romans in regard to religion exemplifies at once an unjuſt enthuſiaſtical principle of government, and the correction of it by a wiſe policy riſing out of experiment. Religion was conſidered by ſtateſmen as an engine of government, and in all ages of Rome it was practiſed with ſucceſs.

Romulus, the founder of the city, was, in regard to religion, either an artful impoſtor, or an enthuſiaſt: but he was greatly outdone by his immediate ſucceſſor Numa Pompilius, who under pretence of a divine authority digeſted the vulgar errours of the Romans and their Trojan anceſtors into a regular ſyſtem. One of his laws was: "Let no one have particular gods of his own, or bring new ones into his houſe, or receive ſtrange ones, unleſs ALLOWED BY EDICT (7)." Above two hundred and fifty years after, this became a law of the twelve tables: "Let no perſon have particular gods of his own; or worſhip any new and foreign ones in private, unleſs they are authorized by PUBLICK AUTHORITY." Another law of the ſame table ſays: "Let there be PRIESTS appointed for ſome gods, flamens for others, and pontiffs to preſide over them all (8)." In this ſyſtem religion is a part of the conſtitution, a branch of civil government, adminiſtered by an eſtabliſhed prieſthood created and ſupported by the ſtate.

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(5) GIBBON. *vol. i. chap.* 1.

(6) *Scriptores Hiſtoriæ Romanæ Latini veteres qui extant omnes, notis variis illuſtrati a* CAROLO HENRICO DE KLETTENBERG ET WILDECK. *In unum redacti corpus. Edente* BENNONE CASPARO HAURISIO. *Tribus tomis. Heidelbergæ*, 1743, *et ann. ſeqq.*

The Roman hierarchy.

Curates.

Numa inſtituted, or rather adjuſted, eight claſſes of prieſts, or miniſters of ſacred things. The city had been divided by Romulus into thirty curiæ, that is wards, or pariſhes. Over the publick religion of each curia preſided a ſacred officer called curio. Theſe thirty curates were the firſt claſs. Each pariſh had its own temple and its peculiar god. On certain ſtated days the pariſh aſſembled in a publick hall, built for the purpoſe and conſecrated to the pariſh deity, and feaſted in common upon the victims offered in ſacrifice. The curate was elected by the pariſh. The candidate was to be at leaſt fifty years of age. The office was for life. The wife of the elected prieſt could perform the functions of a prieſteſs, and their minor ſons and virgin daughters waited and aſſiſted at the altars. The family was exempt from paying taxes, and bearing arms, ſupported by publick funds, and honoured with many privileges (9).

Flamens.

The ſecond claſs were the flamens, or flamines. Theſe were at firſt three, afterwards twelve, and fifteen. Theſe arch-prieſts were elected by the people, conſecrated by the pontiff, and diſtinguiſhed by magnificent robes, and high honours of various kinds. Their wives ſhared both the labour of ſacrificing, and the honour of prieſthood, and they had under their care boys and girls to aſſiſt in their ſacrifices. Flamens received their name either from the picked bonnet, or the flame-coloured tuft, which they wore upon their heads. The minor flamens were plebeians, ſuperiour to whom were the major flamens, who were of patrician families, the ſecond in rank was the flamen of Mars, and the firſt was the flamen dialis, who preſided in the worſhip of Jove. The miniſtry of each was confined to one particular god, and all were abſolutely ſubject to the ſupreme pontiff.

Celeres.

The third claſs conſiſted of three hundred celeres, who had been the guards of Romulus, and whom Numa changed from a military body into a company of ſacrificers.

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(7) CICERO. *De legibus, i.* 8.

(8) HOOKE. *vol. i. b. ii. chap. xxvii. Firſt Decemvirate. Fragments of the tables, &c.*

(9) DION. HALIC. *Lib. ii.* . . . PLUT. *in Rom.* . . . HOOKE. *vol. i. b. i. c. ii. ſ.* 8. . . *iii.* 5. . . . ROLLIN. *Reign of Romulus, vol. i.*

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Augurs.

The fourth were the augurs, who were appointed to foretell future events. Auſpices, or omens were incorporated into religion by Romulus, and the doctrine of prognoſtication by victims, which was taught in Hetruria, was thence imported to Rome by youths, of whom the Romans annually ſent ſix to ſtudy it. Romulus, who was ſkilled in the augural ſcience, appointed three augurs. Their college, as it is called, afterward increaſed to fifteen, under a head or maſter of the augurs. Although Cicero, who was dignified with the title of augur, publickly ridiculed the whole art of divination, and ſaid, he wondered how one of the haruſpices could look another in the face without laughing, yet he maintained the neceſſity of perſevering in the practice on account of religion and the prejudices of the people (1). Great was the power of theſe diviners, for they were interpreters of the will of the gods, and it was capital to act contrary to their deciſions, which, however, was ſometimes done. The haruſpices conſulted the will of heaven by inſpecting the entrails of victims: the augurs by the flight or chirping of birds; by thunder or lightning; by the ſetting of wind; or by the hunger and poſtures of chickens, which were bred up in cages for the purpoſe, and carried about in the armies. Few public affairs were tranſacted without their interpoſition; and, as they interpreted dreams, and practiſed all ſorts of divination, they were conſulted by many private perſons as well as by the ſtate. The augural ſtaff was a ſort of croſier (2).

Veſtals.

The fifth claſs were the veſtals. The cuſtom of keeping perpetual fire in the temples of the gods was univerſal. Numa built a round temple at Rome to the goddeſs Veſta. In it the ſacred fire was placed, and the palladium. Æneas had brought from Troy an image of wood, which repreſented a young man armed from head to foot, holding a pike in its right hand, and a diſtaff and ſpindle in its left. It was ſaid to be an image of Pallas, which fell down from heaven upon one of the hills near Troy. The oracle of Apollo foretold that the new city of Ilion ſhould ſubſiſt ſo long as this preſent from heaven was preſerved, and no longer. There were two ſtatues, but as one was the original, and the other the copy, properly ſpeaking, there was but one palladium. This tutelar deity of the Roman empire was kept in the temple of Veſta, and only the veſtals were permitted to ſee it. The number of theſe virgins was ſix. They were admitted between the age of ſix and ten. They were without any corporal blemiſh. Thirty years under a vow of chaſtity they attended on the ſervice of the goddeſs. The firſt ten were ſpent in learning the myſteries, the next in practiſing them, and the laſt in teaching their ſucceſſors. At the expiration of the term they were free to quit the order and marry. Many and great honours were annexed to this female prieſthood, and the puniſhment of their delinquency was proportionally ſevere (3).

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(1) Cicero *De div. ii.* 51. Vetus illud Catonis admodum ſcitum eſt, qui mirari ſe aiebat quod non rideret aruſpex aruſpicem cum vidiſſet.

(2) Hooke. . . . Rollin. *&c. as before.*

Salii.

The ſixth claſs were the ſalii. Originally theſe people ſung, danced, and played the muſick at ſacrifices and feſtivals. Numa gave out that he had received from heaven a ſhield of extraordinary make, along with information that the health and proſperity of Rome depended upon the preſervation of it. He ordered a ſkilful workman to make eleven more exactly like it. The twelve, called ancilia, he hung up in the temple of Mars, and appointed twelve young Romans, of patrician families, to be the keepers of them. In memory of the deſcent of the miraculous ſhield, they annually celebrated the firſt of March with ſinging verſes, and public dancings to the ſound of flutes. Theſe prieſts of Mars were clothed in a tunick, ſtriped with purple, girded with a broad belt claſped with braſs buckles, helmets on their heads, and ſhort ſwords in their right hands, with which they ſtruck the targets in their left. The leader of the dance was called præſul, the prelate. The feſtival continued ſeveral days. Their entertainments were ſumptuous and intemperate to a proverb, and Horace mentions them in that jovial ode, which begins "now we may drink heartily," nunc eſt bibendum (4)!

Feciales.

The ſeventh claſs were called feciales, a ſort of heralds. Numa eſtabliſhed this ſacred college of twenty perſons of the beſt families, who were to be in ſome meaſure arbiters of peace and war. In caſe the commonwealth received an injury from a neighbouring ſtate, two of this order were ſent to demand ſatisfaction. One was clothed in a magnificent habit, and furniſhed with a caduceus or ſceptre in his hand, which diſtinguiſhed him from his colleague. With a variety of invocations and imprecations, and under the moſt ſolemn oaths he proceeded to the frontiers of the aggreſſor, uttered his complaints and demanded juſtice. The ſenate and the army could do nothing till he returned; and his report was the ground of their deliberations and actions.

Pontiffs.

The laſt claſs were the pontiffs. This college conſiſted at firſt of four, afterward of eight, and in the end of fifteen. At firſt, when a pontiff died, his colleagues named another in his place. In time they were choſen in the comitia. Plutarch derives the word from an ancient term, which ſignified powerful, or abſolute maſter; and Cicero ſays, the honour and ſafety of the commonwealth, the liberty of the people, the houſes and fortunes of the citizens, and the very gods themſelves, were all committed to their care. They ſuperintended every thing concerning religion, ſacrifices, ceremonies, feſtivals, and proceſſions. They inſpected, and if needful, puniſhed all inferior prieſts. They gave judgment in all religious differences. They adjuſted and regulated the whole calendar, and preſcribed all rules of publick worſhip. They ordered what ceremonies were to be uſed at funerals, and how long mourning was to laſt. They examined all prodigies, whether they deſerved any regard, and they puniſhed all offenders againſt their orders in proportion to the offence. The preſident was called pontifex maximus, or high prieſt, and as the Romans defined him the judge and arbitrator of divine and human affairs, it is not ſurprizing that all the emperours aſſumed the title. With them it continued till the time of Gratian; the popes afterwards took it, and they enjoy it to this day. Julius Cæſar thought the pontificate of ſo much conſequence to his deſigns, that he riſked all his fortune to bribe voters, and told his mother on the day of election, when ſhe embraced him with tears in his eyes: "you will this day ſee your ſon either ſovereign pontiff or a fugitive (5)."

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(3) Hooke. *vol. i. b. i. chap. i. iii. ſ. vi.*

(4) *Lib. i. Ode xxxvii. ad ſodales.*

Similar arrangements prevailed in the provinces, and in Britain there were twenty-eight flamens, according to the number of the cities, and three arch-flamens, one at London, a ſecond at York, and a third at Caerleon (6). There was ſome difference between the city flamens, and thoſe of the provinces. There were in the provinces three claſſes; the firſt were ordinary prieſts, who offered ſacrifices for a diſtrict, which the Saxons called Ƿꞃeoꞅꞇ-ꞅcyꞃe, prieſt-ſhire, which is melted now into pariſh (7). The ſecond were arch-flamens, who reſided in cities, and who are called in ſome ancient monumental inſcriptions provincial flamens, for they preſided over all the ordinary flamens, and directed the publick games, which the flamens at Rome did not (8). This caſts light upon the canons of the council of Eliberis in Spain, which were framed to regulate the conduct of ſuch flamens as offered ſacrifice at the publick games after they had been baptized, for it ſeems thoſe Spaniſh prieſts held their pagan offices, for the ſake of the emoluments, after their converſion (9). There was a third claſs in the provinces, who, in temples occaſionally erected by generals and emperours, offered ſacrifice for the health and proſperity of the founders. Theſe are known in church-hiſtory by the name of Auguſtal flamens, that is imperial, of or belonging to princes, palaces, or generals (1). Twenty-nine years before the birth of Jeſus, the Roman ſenate granted the emperour Auguſtus the priviledge of augmenting as he pleaſed the number of prieſts, and he and his ſucceſſors exerciſed the priviledge to ſuch a degree, that in the time of Dio, the number of thoſe in Rome clothed in different ſacerdotal habits was ſo exceſſive that it would have been a difficult taſk to make an exact regiſter of them. Reverence and eaſe, diſtinction, wealth and power were annexed to prieſthood, and the inſtitution, far from anſwering the pretended end of Numa, popular virtue, produced a quite contrary effect. By creating ſuch an office he excited vicious diſpoſitions, and by incorporating it with civil government, he rendered the exerciſe of ſuch diſpoſitions apparently neceſſary to the tranquillity of the ſtate. Hence it was, that wherever prieſthood was eſtabliſhed by law, reformation was puniſhed as ſedition.

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(5) DION. HALIC. *l. ii.* . . . LIV. *Hiſt. i.* 20. . . . PLUTARCHI NUMA. . . . GRÆVII *Theſaur. tom. v. De Pontificat.* . . . *De veteri jure pontificio.* . . . *De pontif. max. flamin. dial. &c.* . . . *De auguriis.* . . . *De ſortibus.* . . . *De auſpiciis.* . . . *De ominibus.* . . . *De prodigiis.* . . . *De terræ motu et fulminibus.* . . . *De veſta et veſtalibus, &c.*

(6) GALFREDI *Monumetens. Hiſt. Lib. ii. cap. i.* Fuerunt tunc in Britannia octo et viginti flamines, nec non et tres archiflamines . . . Sedes autem archiflaminum in tribus nobilioribus civitatibus fuerant, Londiniis videlicet, atque eboraci, et in urbe legionum, quam ſuper oſcam flu. veteres muri, et ædificia ſitam fuiſſe teſtantur.

(7) SOMNERI *Diction. Saxon. Lat. Angl. in verb.*

(8) PETRI DE MARCA *Archiep. Paris Diſſertatio de Concil. Claromontan. lviii.* In inſcriptione Tarraconenſi, Marius quidam dicitur flamen provinciæ Hiſpaniæ citerioris. Alibi, Mæcius flaminatu provinciæ Hiſpaniæ citerioris functus. Ecce *flamines provinciales*, quos Iſidori collectio *archiflamines* dixit. . . . Præter ſacra, venationes quoque, gladiatorium munus, et ludicra ſpectacula edenda curabant flamines provinciæ, tempore conventus, ad reficiendos provinciales.

(9) GABRIEL. ALBASPINÆI *notæ in can. concil. Eliber. ad Can. ii.* Flamines, id eſt, chriſtiani qui ſacerdotio gentilium fungebantur.

FERD. MENDOZÆ *ad* CLEMENT VIII. *de confirmando conc. Illiberitano. Lib. ii. can. ii. cap. vii. De Flaminibus Ethnicorum.*

Such was the hierarchy, which Numa inſtituted at Rome. It originated in the vulgar ſuperſtitions of the moſt remote ages of paganiſm, and it would be hard to ſay which part was Trojan, which Etruſcan, which Egyptian, or which Chaldean. The Romans knew the whole was a cheat, and ridiculed the pretence, that the inſtitution was divine; and yet in this part of the Roman hiſtory the devout Rollin abounds with unction and pious exclamations. The apoſtle Paul entertained very different ſentiments, as may be ſeen in the firſt chapter of his epiſtle to the Jews at Rome. The theory, then, of Roman religion eſtabliſhed by law, is a theory of enthuſiaſm, incorporated into civil government by fraud, in order to be impoſed on the empire by force. Experiment taught the Romans the impracticability of the theory, and they allowed all nations to retain their own gods, and to regulate their own religious rites, and all individuals to enjoy their own opinions. In their vaſt empire no human ſoul was held in the chains of any ſpeculative ſyſtem, and this, which was a general preparation to admit truth, is, however, a trait of providence wholly unobſerved by eccleſiaſtical writers on pagan preparatives for the goſpel. Exceptions to theſe general truths are eaſily accounted for, and, perhaps, the ſubject cannot, on the whole, be more truly and aptly expreſſed than it is by a modern writer in theſe words: "The various modes of worſhip, which prevailed in the Roman world, were all conſidered by the people, as equally true; by the philoſopher, as equally falſe; and by the magiſtrate, as equally uſeful. And thus toleration produced not only mutual indulgence, but even religious concord (2)."

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(1) De Marca. *ubi ſup. Inſcriptiones*.... Flamen divorum Auguſtorum provinciæ Bæticæ, [*ejuſdem provinciæ*] conſenſu flaminicum munus conſecutus... Flamini Auguſtali in Bætica primo.... Tauropolium provinciæ Narbonenſis factum per C. Batonium primum flaminem Augg. pro ſalute dominorum imperatorum L. Septimii et Severi, &c.

(2) Gibbon, *vol. i. chap. ii.*

CHAP. III.

A General View of Judea at the birth of Jeſus.

Judea.

ABOUT ſixty-four years before the nativity of Chriſt, Pompey reduced Syria to the condition of a Roman province. Within this province lay Paleſtine, or, as it is called by the ſacred writers, Philiſtia, the land of the Philiſtines, a territory ſomething larger in extent than Wales. It was divided into Idumea or the land of Edom, Judea, Samaria, and Galilee. It was bounded on the north by Phenicia, on the eaſt by Cœle-Syria, on the ſouth by Arabia the rocky, called Canaan, afterward the land of promiſe, and then, from the Jews, its inhabitants, Judea (3). The metropolis was Jeruſalem. David took it from the Jebuſites, and made it the capital of his kingdom. It was afterward taken by Abſalom in his rebellion: next by Seſac, or Shiſhak king of Egypt: then by Nebuchadnezzar: afterward by Antiochus Epiphanes, who polluted the temple, and cruelly perſecuted the inhabitants. About one hundred and fifty years before Chriſt the Jews recovered their liberty under the conduct of the Maccabees, or the Haſmonean family, who were princes and high prieſts about one hundred and twenty-ſix years. When Pompey went into Syria, there was an unhappy contention for ſupreme power between Hyrcanus and Ariſtobulus, two brothers of the Haſmonean family. Each ſent ambaſſadours to Pompey to ſollicit his patronage againſt his brother, and in the end Jeruſalem was reduced by a ſiege. Pompey, attended by his chief officers, ſurveyed the temple, and went into the holy of holies. There the generous Roman found treaſure to the amount of three hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, beſides rich utenſils of gold, and a great quantity of perfumes of prodigious value, but he left all entire and untouched, and next day he ordered the temple to be cleanſed, and divine ſervice to be performed as uſual. At his return, he reſtored Hyrcanus to the high prieſthood and made him alſo prince of the country, but he forbad him to wear a diadem, reſtrained his juriſdiction to the old limits of Judea, and reſtored to the Phenicians and Cœle-Syrians ſeveral places, which former Jewiſh princes had taken from them. He added the whole to the province of Syria, appointed Scaurus preſident, and left two legions to keep the country in order (4).

Hiſtory and Government.

The hiſtory of the Jews ought never to be diſunited from their government, for their hiſtory expounds their code of law. It happened to them exactly as to the Romans: their legiſlation was a theory contradicted by practice. In their ſtatutes the virtuous adoration of one God was interwoven with civil government; it was a part of the conſtitution, and no toleration was allowed: but the practice was different, as their whole hiſtory proves.

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(3) CLUVERII *Geog.*

(4) 1 BOOK OF MACCABEES.... PLUT. *in* POMP.... JOSEPHI *Antiq. et de bell. Judaic.*.... PRIDEAUX *connect.*... APPIAN MITHRIDAT.... DIO, &c.

Diviſion.

The hiſtory of the Jews is diviſible into ſix parts: patriarchal; moſaical; regal; ſervile; royal-pontifical; and provincial.

Patriarchal.

The patriarchal hiſtory begins with the call of Abraham, and ends in the Egyptian bondage. During this period, the government was patriarchal. The deſcendents of Jacob were divided into twelve families, called tribes, and each was regulated by the chiefs, or princes of the tribe. Very early was idolatry practiſed by ſome of their families. Rachel ſtole the gods of her father Laban the Syrian, and artfully contrived to keep them (5). They were, however, ſome time after given up to Jacob, who hid them under an oak by Shechem (6). Jacob required his houſhold to give up their ſtrange gods, and they gave him their ear-rings, whence it is natural to infer, that the women wore amulets, and diminutives of the houſhold god in their ears as pendents. It ſhould ſeem, many ſuch eaſtern ornaments were brought to the Siberian and Tartarian plains by the troops of Genghiz-Khan, who plundered all the eaſt. Such ornamental antiquities are found in tumuli in the deſerts of the Calmuc Tartars in modern times (7). A very learned and ingenious antiquary ſuppoſes the family of the patriarch Abraham to have conſiſted, probably, of fifteen hundred and ninety perſons. He multiplies the three hundred and eighteen trained ſervants of Abraham by five according to the common rule for giving the number of ſouls. According to the ſame rule the patriarchal family of Eſau conſiſted of two thouſand (8).

Moſaical.

The ſecond period begins with the exodus, or coming out of Egypt under the direction of Moſes, and ends at the election of Saul, when the twelve tribes choſe to exchange the republican for a monarchical form of government. The government during this period is called a theocracy, or a government immediately ſuperintended by God. The ſtatutes of Moſes make idolatry a capital crime, and expreſsly condemn an idolater, man or woman, to be ſtoned to death (9). Giving children to Moloch, practiſing witchcraft, blaſpheming the name of Jehovah, profaning the ſabbath, ſecret enticing to idolatry, diſobeying parents, raviſhing, or committing fornication, or adultery, are all made capital, and ſtoning to death is the preſcribed mode of puniſhment. This was the law (1).

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(5) Genesis xxxi. 19. 30---35.

(6) xxxv. 1---5.

(7) *Archæologia. vol. ii. xxxiii. Some account of certain Tartarian antiquities. In a letter from* Paul Demidoff, Esq. 1764. *page* 222. *xxxiv. Obſervations on ſome Tartarian antiquities, &c. by* John Reinhold Forster, *F. A. S. p.* 227.

(8) *Hon.* Daines Barrington's *Obſervat. on Patriarchal cuſtoms. Archæol. vol. v. xi. pag.* 119.

(9) Deut. xvii. 2---7.

(1) Lev. xx. 2. . . . xx. 27. . . . xxiv. 14. 16. 23. . . . . Numb. xv. 35, 36. . . . . Deut. xiii. 10. . . . xxi. 18---21. . . . xxii. 23, 24. . . . xxii. 21. . . . xxii. 22.

The practice, however, was different, for the prophet Amos ſays, the houſe of Iſrael carried in the wilderneſs forty years the tabernacle of Moloch and Chiun, images of the ſtar-god, that is, as ſome criticks explain it, of the planet Saturn, which they made to themſelves (2). Stephen quotes this paſſage, and expounds it of their worſhipping the hoſt of heaven (3). To this the words of Joſhua agree. This general, after he had ſettled the Iſraelites in the land of promiſe, aſſembled them together, and inquired whether they would ſerve the gods which their fathers had ſerved on the other ſide of the flood, and in Egypt, or Jehovah. When they choſe the latter, he added; now therefore put away the ſtrange gods, which are among you (4). Moſes and the Levites had put to death about three thouſand men for ſetting up the golden calf: but he had not extirpated idolatry: it was practiſed all his time; and it was practiſed in the time of Joſhua; and it continued to be practiſed under the judges through all this period. The people did ſerve, and would ſerve Baal and Aſhtaroth; and although Gideon checked foreign idolatry, yet he ſet up an idol of his own, and as ſoon as he was dead the people turned again to Baalim, and made Baal-berith their god (5). Samuel, the laſt of the judges, obſerves that in his time they ſerved ſtrange gods and Aſhtaroth: ſo that idolatry was practiſed through this whole period (6).

Regal. The third period, which was juſt now called regal, began with Saul, and ended at the captivity of Zedekiah; and like the preceding it exhibits the former two objects in union, a code of ſtatutes which made idolatry and ſeveral vices capital crimes, and an hiſtory of the perpetual violation of it. The kings were arbitrary, but far from inforcing the law, they broke it themſelves, and protected others in doing ſo. David, who was an enemy to idolatry, committed adultery and murder with impunity; Solomon, who built a temple for Jehovah on one mountain at Jeruſalem, built alſo an high place for Chemoſh, the abomination of Moab, on another; and though he ſacrificed three times a year to Jehovah, yet at other times he went after Moloch the god of Ammon, and Aſhtoreth the goddeſs of Zidon (7). Jeroboam, who reigned over ten tribes, ſet up calves of gold, made high places and prieſts, ordained feſtivals and offered ſacrifices to idols: and Rehoboam, who reigned over the other two, either built, or ſuffered the people to build, high places, and ſet up images, and to conſecrate groves, and to do all the abominations of the ancient inhabitants of the land (8). In this manner, in general, they conducted themſelves through all this period. In one inſtance the people took the executive power into their hands, and enforced the law by putting idolaters to death, as in the caſe of eight hundred and fifty prophets of Baal, whom the people ſlew by order of Elijah, although the royal family had protected them (9). In ſome inſtances, the kings inflicted death on idolaters by their own authority without the concurrence of the people, as in the caſe of Jehu, whoſe ſoldiers, by his order, deſtroyed both the prieſts and the worſhippers of Baal (1). At other times, the law was executed by mutual conſent of kings and people. Thus Aſa and the people entered into a covenant, that whoſoever would not ſeek Jehovah, the God of Iſrael, ſhould be put to death, whether ſmall or great, whether man or woman. In like manner Jehoiada, guardian of Joaſh, in his minority made a covenant between the king and the people, in virtue of which the queen regent and Mattan the prieſt of Baal were put to death (2). It is remarkable, that the royal reformers were idolaters themſelves: for Jehu departed not from the ſins of Jeroboam, the golden calves that were in Bethel and in Dan; Aſa, who dethroned his mother becauſe ſhe made an idol in a grove, did not take away the high places; and Joaſh not only left the houſe of the Lord, and ſerved groves and idols, but murdered Zechariah the ſon of his guardian Jehoiada, for remonſtrating againſt idolatry, in the court of that very houſe of the Lord, which he had pretended to purify from idolatry by ſhedding the blood of his mother and the Baalites. It is obſervable, further, that the people, who put others to death, did not reform themſelves: that all reformations of this kind proceeded from prieſts or prophets: and that the Jews attributed both the law and the execution of it to immediate inſpiration of Almighty God.

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(2) AMOS *v.* 25, 26.... MONS. DE LA RIVIERE's *Sermons.*

(3) ACTS *vii.* 42, 43.

(4) JOSH. *xxiv.* 14---23.

(5) EXOD. *xxxii.* 28.... DEUT. *xxxii.* 15---38.... JUDGES *ii.* 11---13.... *vi.* 25---32.... *viii.* 24---27.... 33.

(6) 1 SAM. *vii.* 3, &c.

(7) 1 KINGS *ix.* 25.... *xi.* 5---8.

(8) 1 KINGS *xii.* 25---33.... *xiv.* 23, 24.

Servile.

The fourth part of the Jewiſh hiſtory may be called ſervile. This laſted ſeventy years. It began in the four thouſand one hundred and eighth year of the Julian period, according to the calculation of Dean Prideaux, ſix hundred and ſix years before Chriſt, when Nebuchadnezzar took Jeruſalem: and it ended at the death of Darius, when Cyrus ſucceeded to the government of the whole empire, and reſtored the Jews. During this period the Jews were vaſſals, and their kings and nobility were made eunuchs and ſlaves in the courts of Babylon and Perſia. The common people ſerved to recruit the army, and the artificers were employed at Babylon; ſome fled into Egypt, and gave themſelves wholly up to idolatry: others were diſperſed in Chaldea, Aſſyria, and Perſia, where ſome families retained the worſhip of their anceſtors, and others fell into the idolatrous practices of the heathens, and were confounded and loſt among them (3).

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(9) 1 Kings *xviii.* 17. . . . *xix.* 1, 2, 3.
(1) 2 Kings *x.* 18---28.
(2) 2 Chron. *xv.* 13. . . . *xxiii.* 16, &c.
(3) Prideaux's *Connection*, *vol. i.*

The

Royal-ſacerdotal.

The fifth part extends from the firſt year of Cyrus to the conqueſt of Jeruſalem by Pompey. During this period the Jews were ſometimes favoured, and at other times perſecuted by their powerful eaſtern neighbours, and of their various viciſſitudes four deſerve mention.

The firſt is the rebuilding of their temple under the conduct of Zerubbabel a deſcendent of the royal family, and Jeſhua, the lineal high-prieſt. The work was begun in the ſecond year of Cyrus, and finiſhed in the ſeventh of Darius, a ſpace of twenty years. The latter date was five hundred and fifteen years before Chriſt. This event is ſo nearly connected with the books of Ezra, Nehemiah, and the prophecies of Haggai and Zechariah, that it is, as it were, a clue to the meaning (4). Zerubbabel, whoſe name alſo was Sheſhbazzar, was appointed governour by Cyrus. Three of the pſalms are aſcribed by the ſeptuagint to Haggai and Zechariah, and they ſeem to have been compoſed by them for the uſe of the ſolemnity of the dedication of the temple (5).

The ſecond is the eſtabliſhment of divine ſervice among the Samaritans. Geographers obſerve two cities mentioned in ſcripture of the name of Shimron. Before Joſhua conquered Paleſtine, the land was inhabited by the deſcendents of Canaan, and it was divided into thirty three royalties, governed by ſo many kings, as they are called, Moſes ſubdued two, and Joſhua the remaining thirty-one (6). One of theſe was king of Shimron-meron, a city inhabited by the deſcendants of the Zemarites (7). The city and the territory was given to the tribe of Zebulon (8). This is ſometimes confounded with Samaria, but it was a different place (9).

Nearly five hundred years after the time of Joſhua, the tyranny of Rehoboam the ſon of Solomon brought that diſcontent to maturity, which had diſcovered itſelf during the ſevere reign of David, and the ſplendid deſpotiſm of Solomon, but which, till after the death of Solomon, the malecontents either could not, or durſt not ripen into reſiſtance (1). Rehoboam was a weak imperious man, and ten tribes of the twelve inſiſted on a redreſs of their grievances. This was refuſed, and they revolted, and formed a ſeparate kingdom, a monarchy like the other, and elected Jeroboam king (2). From this period the kingdom of the ten tribes is called Iſrael, and that of the two tribes Judah. Moſes had deviſed an hierarchy in tents: David had arranged and ſettled it in cities: and Solomon had given it a palace at Jeruſalem the metropolis. The artful Jeroboam, who with the prophet Ahijah had formed his plan in the reign of Solomon, and who had been a fugitive in Egypt in the latter part of that reign, created a new hierarchy in the form of that at Jeruſalem, and with a mixture of the idolatry of Egypt. He conſidered religion, as all ſuch men ever did, as an engine of government (3). He and four of his ſucceſſors chiefly reſided at Tirzah. Omri the fifth purchaſed a mountain of one Shemer. There he built a city, which he called after the name of Shemer the owner of the hill Samaria, and thither he transferred the ſeat of the kingdom of Iſrael (4). Here a ſucceſſion of barbarians, called kings, murdered one another, extirpated the whole families of their predeceſſors, oppreſſed virtue, protected and practiſed idolatry, and committed ſo many crimes that they became the abhorrence of all their neighbours (5). In the end the kings of Babylon and Aſſyria put a final period to the kingdom, and the name of Iſrael, ſlew ſome, diſperſed the reſt in different and diſtant parts of the empire, and re-peopled the country with new colonies from Babylon, Cuthah, Avah, Hamath and Sepharvaim, and the deſcendents of theſe coloniſts are the Samaritans of hiſtory ſubſequent to this event (6). As for the ten tribes they never became a people ſince, and hence it is, they are ſaid to be loſt. The beſt hiſtorians obſerve, that neither are the ten tribes extinct, nor do they, as ſome fabuliſts pretend, inhabit any kingdom of their own; but ſome lurked in the land; others fell into the little kingdom of Judah, and ſhared the fate of that; ſome mixed with idolatrous families in foreign countries and loſt the national reſemblance; but the bulk remain diſperſed all over the world, and are more numerous now than they were in the time of Solomon; the name of Iſrael being diſuſed, and they with the reſt of their brethren being known only by the name of Jews. In the reign of Ahaſuerus there were Jews in all the hundred and twenty-ſeven provinces of his empire. At the famous pentecoſt mentioned in Acts, there were Parthians, Medes, Elamites, dwellers in Meſopotamia, and Jews out of every nation under heaven. Paul ſays, in his time the twelve tribes ſerved God day and night in hope of obtaining the promiſe of a Meſſiah: and James addreſſed his epiſtle to the twelve tribes ſcattered abroad (7).

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(4) *The ſame, vol. i. part i. book iii.*

(5) Αγγαιου και Ζαχαριου. cxlvi. cxlvii. cxlviii.

(6) Joshua *xii. . . . xi. i. . . . xii.* 20.

(7) Genesis *x.* 18.

(8) Joshua *xix.* 15.

Euseb. *et* Hieron. *in Onomaſt. in voce Simron.*

Plin. *Hiſt. lib. v.*

Pompon. Mela. *de ſitu orbis. cap. xii.*

Strabon. *Geog. lib. iv.*

(9) Procop. *Gazæi Comment. in Gen. x. apud* Saurin *Diſcours Hiſtoriq. tom. ii. A La Haye*, 1728.

(1) 1 Kings. *xi.* 14---25.

(2) 1 Kings. *xii.* 1---20.

The new coloniſts, who dwelt in the cities of Samaria, and who are hence-forward the Samaritans of hiſtory, at firſt practiſed idolatry (8). Some time after they united the god of the Jews with their other deities, and in proceſs of time by mixing with Jews, who went to reſide among them, they received the books of Moſes in their own dialect for a religious practice, erected a temple on mount Gerizim, like that at Jeruſalem, became worſhippers of one God in the jewiſh form, and in ſpite of the invincible hatred of the Jews, who abhorred them above all other people, are accounted Jews, and continue to this day as zealous worſhippers of the one true God as the Jews themſelves (9). The uſual opinion, that the Samaritans admitted only the pentateuch as their canon of ſcripture, ſeems contradicted by the woman, who converſed with Jeſus at Jacob's well: for ſhe ſaid unto him, I know that Meſſias cometh, who is called Chriſt; when he is come he will tell us all things (1). The Samaritan pentateuch is publiſhed in the later polyglotts. The learned Job Ludolf opened a correſpondence with the Samaritans, which he publiſhed, and which contains many curious particulars concerning them (2).

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(3) EXODUS xxviii. xxix.... DEUT. x. 8.... 2 SAM. vii. 2. 6, 7.... 1 CHRON. xxii. xxiii. 5. 6. xxiv. xxv. xxvi. xxvii.... 2 CHRON. iii. &c.... 1 KINGS xi. 26---40. xii. 25---33. xiii. 33. 34.

(4) 1 KINGS xiv. 17. xv. 21. 33. xvi. 8. 15. 17. 23. 24.

(5) 1 KINGS xv. 27, 28, 29. xvi. 8---11, &c.

(6) 2 KINGS xvii. 20---24.... EZRA iv. 2. 10.

(7) NEWTON *on the prophecies, vol. i. Diſſertation viii.*... ESTHER iii. 8. viii. 9---14. ix. 2, &c.

Theſe events, how afflicting ſoever they were to the Jews, were of that claſs of evils, out of which the wiſe governour of the world brought great good to mankind in general. True it is, Judea and Phœnicia were ſmall diſtricts; in ſize and ſecular importance inconſiderable and comparatively contemptible; yet theſe two diminutive adjacent ſpots have beſtowed on the world the two moſt valuable articles in it. The Phœnicians taught the Greeks, and perhaps all mankind, the uſe of letters: and the Jews enlightened the world with religion (3). Depraved as the deſcendents of Abraham in general were, they were not more ſo than the reſt of the world: and there were always ſome among them, who entertained the moſt ſublime ideas of the firſt cauſe, who worſhipped him as the only living and true God, and who practiſed virtue in proſpect of immortality (4). The diſperſion of the ten tribes diffuſed theſe ideas through all parts of the eaſt, and natives of Babylon, Aſſyria, Egypt,

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(8) 2 KINGS xvii. 25---41.

(9) PRIDEAUX *Con. vol. i. part i. book i.* ... MANASSEH xxii. ... *vol. ii. part i. book vi. Darius Nothus. xv.*

(1) JOHN iv. 25.

(2) *Epiſtolæ Samaritanæ Sichemitarum ad Jobum Ludolfum, cum verſione ejuſdem Latina et Adnot. Accedit verſio Latina per-ſimilis literarum a Sichemitis haud ita pridem ad Anglos datarum. Cizæ.* 1688.

BLASII UGOLINI *Theſaur. antiquitat. ſacrar.*

(3) GIBBON'S *decline of the Roman empire. chap. i. page 25. Syria, Phœnicia, and Paleſtine.*

HERODOT. *Hiſt. Lib. v. cap. lviii.* Οι δε ΦΟΙΝΙΚΕΣ. Phœnices autem, qui cum Cadmo venerant, cum alias doctrinas in Græciam introduxere, tum etiam literas, quæ apud Græcos antea non fuerant.

BOCHARTI *Geog. Sacr. pars poſterior, Chanaan, De coloniis et ſermone Phœnicum. Lib. i. cap. xx.* Phœniciæ et Cadmeæ literæ dictæ, quia Græci a Cadmo accepere et Phœnicibus.... Literas tamen in ipſa Phœnice natas non crediderim, ſed a Syris vel Aſſyriis ad Phœnices deveniſſe.

(4) HEBREWS xi.

Perſia and Ethiopia, were, according to the prophecies, converted to the knowledge of the true God (5). Hence this beautiful expreſſion of Zechariah: Many people of all languages of the nations ſhall take hold of the ſkirt of him that is a Jew, ſaying, we will go with you; for we have heard that God is with you (6). Univerſal monarchy was with their conquerours: arts and ſciences were with their neighbours: but the knowledge of God was with the Jews (7). The converſion of the heathen Samaritans, too, contributed greatly to the ſame end. Joiada the high prieſt at Jeruſalem, had a ſon named Manaſſeh, who married a daughter of Sanballat governour of the Samaritans. Nehemiah, governour of Jeruſalem, baniſhed Manaſſeh for this breach of the law. This exile carried a copy of the pentateuch with him, read it to the Samaritans, and diſſuaded them from idolatry, to which they never ſince returned; and it was his father in law Sanballat, who obtained leave of Darius Nothus to erect the temple on mount Gerizim, of which Manaſſeh was the firſt high prieſt. Hence proceeded a race of men, as the Jews acknowledge, more exact in worſhipping the true God than themſelves: hence came the Samaritan pentateuch in the old phœnician character, which confirms that of the Jews: hence went a greek verſion of the pentateuch for the uſe of helleniſtical Samaritans reſident in other countries, and eſpecially for thoſe at Alexandria: and of courſe the converſion of the Samaritans was an event in providence favourable to the general knowledge and worſhip of the one true God (8).

There is a third remarkable event in the ancient hiſtory of the Jews: their acquaintance with the Greeks and their ſettlement at Alexandria. It is recorded to the honour of the Jews, that ſome of the moſt diſtinguiſhed heroes of ancient hiſtory patronized and reſpected them. Cyrus, Xerxes, Alexander, and the Ptolemies were of this number (9). It was principally in the time of Alexander that they began to cultivate an acquaintance with the Greeks. Three hundred years before the birth of Chriſt, Ptolemy Soter, the immediate ſucceſſor of Alexander in the kingdom of Egypt, in a manner peopled Alexandria with ſeveral thouſand families of Jews and Samaritans, and continued to them all the priviledges, which Alexander had granted other Jews, whom he had ſettled there, and on whom he had beſtowed the ſame immunities as on the Macedonians. Here, by converſing with the greek inhabitants of the ſame city, the chaldean and hebrew languages partly fell into diſuſe with the

(5) Isai. xix. 18---25. . . . Psal. lxxxvii.
(6) Zech. viii. 20---23.
(7) Psal. lxxvi. 1. 4. &c. . . . cxlvii. 12. 19. 20.
(8) Prideaux *Con. vol. ii. part i. book vi. Darius Nothus* 15.
Joh. Jacob Hottingeri *diſſertat.* ΠΕΝΤΑΣ. *Traject. ad Rhen.* 1723. *Append. iii. De diſperſione xii tribuum Iſrael. N. xii.*
(9) Ezra. i. ii. . . . Josephi *Antiq. Lib. ii. . . . Lib. i. cap. viii. . . . Lib. xii. cap. i. . . . Contra Apionem. Lib. i. ii.*

Jews, and a greek tranſlation firſt of the law, afterward of the prophets, and laſtly of the other parts, became neceſſary to the worſhip of the ſynagogue. This was made in the Alexandrian dialect. It is now extant under the name of the ſeptuagint: a name affixed to it in after ages from a pretended miracle in tranſlating it (1). The penmen of the new teſtament all quoted ſcripture from this greek verſion, which ſhews both the popularity of it, and their opinion of its authenticity. It is remarkable, too, that the uſe of the egyptian papyrus was diſcovered about the time that Alexander ſettled the Jews at Alexandria (2). Thus there was a coincidence of events ſimilar to that of the invention of printing and the reformation. The taſte of the court was alſo highly favourable to literature. Ptolemy Soter was a learned man, and a lover of literature. He gained great reputation as an author; for he wrote an hiſtory of the life of Alexander. He founded at Alexandria a college of learned men, and for their uſe he collected the wiſdom of the eaſt in a noble library (3). His ſon, Ptolemy Philadelphus, added to the library all the books he could procure, one of which was the greek pentateuch of the Jews, the only part then tranſlated, and at his death left a hundred thouſand volumes. His ſucceſſors increaſed the number to ſeven hundred thouſand. The fate of this magnificent library can never be mentioned without pain by any lover of literature. By accident, when Julius Cæſar attacked Alexandria, that noble part called Bruchium near the king's palace was conſumed, and four hundred thouſand volumes in it. The other part called Serapeum was repleniſhed by Cleopatra with two hundred thouſand volumes of the library of Pergamus, and in time the latter Alexandrian library exceeded the former. Often rifled, and often repaired, it was at laſt wholly burnt and deſtroyed by the Saracens ſix hundred and four years after Chriſt. While the library was in being, which was nearly nine hundred years, Alexandria was the firſt ſchool of literature in thoſe parts of the world (4). The Saracens acted irrationally, when they burnt books: Jews and chriſtians acted inconſiſtently, when they incorporated the wiſdom of the library with the ſimplicity of their ſacred writings: the palm is due to the Ptolemies, who collected the books, endowed the college, threw open the doors of the library, and left all readers to judge of the contents.

In the reign of Ptolemy Philometor, about one hundred and fifty years before the birth of Chriſt, Onias, a Jew of the ſacerdotal family at Jeruſalem, being diſappointed of the high prieſthood, retired into Egypt, and, being a man of ſingular talents, ſo ingratiated himſelf with the royal family, that he obtained leave to erect a temple like that at Jeruſalem, with a grant of the high prieſthood of it to himſelf and his heirs. About twelve miles from Babylon, and twenty-four from Memphis, he built the temple. Here he appointed prieſts and Levites to officiate in offering ſacrifices. The ſervice was performed in the greek language, and the country was thronged with Jews, and along with them many of the old natives worſhipped in the temple. The ſame Onias built a city, which was called after his own name Onium, and firſt by fraud, and laſtly by miſtake, Heliopolis: (but the true Heliopolis was a different place,) and ſtocked it with Jews (5). This new temple cauſed great contention. The Alexandrian and Jeruſalem Jews denied the lawfulneſs of offering ſacrifices any where except at Jeruſalem. Onias quieted the Alexandrians by quoting a paſſage in Iſaiah, which he read thus: In that day ſhall five cities in the land of Egypt ſpeak the language of Canaan, and ſwear to the Lord of hoſts: one ſhall be called HELIOPOLIS, i. e. the city of the ſun. In that day ſhall there be an altar unto the Lord in the midſt of the land of Egypt (6). The Samaritan Jews at Alexandria contended againſt both Heliopolis and Jeruſalem, affirming that mount Gerizim was the place where men ought to worſhip (7). From words they fell to blows. Government quelled the riot, and ordered both parties to appoint advocates to ſtate and argue their diſpute before the king and council. The Jews gained the cauſe, and the Samaritan advocates were put to death for rioting (8). Out of all theſe events good came to ſociety at large, and the extending of judaiſm, which was the worſhip of one God, was both an accompliſhment of prophecy and a preparation for the goſpel. It ought not to paſs unnoticed, that in all the converſions to the Jewiſh religion, many of which are recorded in ſcripture, and others in credible hiſtorians, there is no mention of the baptiſm of any proſelytes, Samaritan or Aſſyrian, Babylonian or Egyptian. Both the temples, that at Jeruſalem, and this in Egypt, were deſtroyed before proſelyte-baptiſm made its appearance in hiſtory.

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(1) PRIDEAUX. *Con. vol. iii. part ii. book i.*

(2) *The ſame. vol. ii. part i. book vii.*

(3) PLUTARCHUS *in Alexandro*. . . . PRID. *vol. iii. part ii. book i.*

(4) Accurate writers place this among the libraries of the Greeks: and what they call Egyptian libraries are more ancient, and form another claſs. Theſe were in the temples, and were kept by the prieſts. There was one in the temple of Vulcan at Memphis, and Naucrates falſely taxed Homer with plagiary, by pretending that he ſtole his inimitable iliad and odyſſey from thence, and publiſhed them under his own name. See JOHAN. LOMEIERI *De Bibliothecis. Zutphaniæ.* 1669. *cap. iv. De bibliot. Chaldæorum, Arabum, Phænicum, Ægyptiorum . . . v. De bibliot. Græcorum.*

The fourth remarkable event is that noble reſiſtance, which the Maccabees made againſt the tyranny of the king of Syria. After the captivity the high prieſt was the principal regulator of the affairs of the Jews, and they were governed by a ſucceſſion of pontiffs about four hundred years. After the death of Alexander the great his empire was divided by his generals into four kingdoms: Egypt, Syria, Aſia, and Macedon. Antiochus Epiphanes, who ſucceeded to the crown of Syria one hundred and ſeventy-five years before Chriſt, and who was a mere madman guilty of all ſorts of crimes, overwhelmed Judea with his troops, and aided by a mercenary faction of profligate Jews, ſuppreſſed the worſhip of God, polluted the temple by ſacrificing ſwine to idol deities, and inflicted cruel deaths on ſuch as refuſed to conform to the worſhip of idols. He abrogated the law of Moſes, and conſecrated the temple to Jupiter Olympius. The high prieſt at that time was Mattathias of the courſe of Joarib. Himſelf, and his five ſons, equally zealous for the law, openly refuſed to comply, and repelled force by force. There were then in the Jewiſh church, as there had always been ſince the captivity, two ſorts of men, the one called Zadikim, or the righteous, the other Chaſidim, or the pious. The firſt placed religion (in theory at leaſt) in virtue; the laſt in devotion: from the firſt proceeded the ſects of the Samaritans, Sadducees, and Karaites; from the laſt Eſſenes and Phariſees: the firſt obſerved only the law; the laſt ſuperadded the traditions of the elders. The latter joined Mattathias and his ſons, and, having formed themſelves into an army, not only reſiſted their perſecutors, but as the law directed inflicted death on idolatrous Jews. The high prieſt died about a year after the war broke out. His ſons, by his dying requeſt, perſiſted, and the command devolved on Judas. From the initial letters of a hebrew ſentence of the ſong of Moſes and the children of Iſrael at the red ſea, which initials were put as a motto on the ſtandard, the army were called Maccabees, and the general Judas Maccabeus. The ſentence was this: who is like unto thee among the gods, O Jehovah? in Hebrew MI CAMO-CA BAELIM JEHOVAH (9). So the Romans on their ſtandards put S. P. Q. R. the initials of SENATUS POPULUSQUE ROMANUS, the ſenate and the people of Rome. In this war the Jews acquired great honour, and in the end triumphed over all their enemies, ſuppreſſed faction at home, routed vaſt armies abroad, formed an alliance with the Romans, and re-eſtabliſhed the peace and freedom of their country. Simon, who had ſucceeded to the command after the death of his brothers Judas and Jonathan, made peace with Demetrius then king of Syria, and obtained an act of oblivion of all paſt hoſtilities, a releaſe of all taxes, tolls and tributes, and an acknowledgement of the free and independent ſovereignty of Judea. Soon after, as a reward for the ſervices, which he and his family had rendered to their country, he was elected by the unanimous conſent of all orders ſovereign prince of Judea, and confirmed in the high prieſthood, his hereditary honour, and both the dignities were ſettled on him and his poſterity. The original deed was depoſited with the ſacred archives in the treaſury of the temple, and a copy of it was engraven on tables of braſs, and hung up in the ſanctuary. From this time Simon took the ſtate, ſtyle, and authority of prince and high prieſt of the Jews, as did his deſcendents, and all publick acts ran in their names (1). This part of Jewiſh hiſtory is of importance, as on many other accounts, ſo particularly on account of a part of the prophecy of Daniel, which ſome think was accompliſhed in Antiochus Epiphanes, but which others apply to the antichriſt of Rome. Porphyry and his followers deny both, and affirm the pretended prophecy is a true hiſtory, written after the event (2).

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(5) JOSEPHI *Antiq. lib. xiii. cap. 6. lib. xx. cap.* 8. *De Bell. Judaic. lib. vii. cap.* 30. . . . . *Contra Ap. lib. ii. &c.* Mr. BRYANT's *Obſervations on the temple of Onias, pag.* 124.

(6) ISAIAH *xix.* 18, 19.

(7) JOHN *iv.* 20.

(8) PRIDEAUX, *vol. iii. part ii. book iv.*

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(9) EXOD. xv. 11.

The laſt period of Jewiſh hiſtory is provincial, and it extends from the reduction of Judea to the ſtate of a conquered province by Pompey to the total deſtruction of Jeruſalem by Titus. When Jeſus was born, Herod the great was king of Judea. This prince was the ſon of Antipas, or Antipater, a noble Idumean. His mother was of an illuſtrious family among the Arabians. By a ſeries of complicated crimes he rendered his name dreadful. He was of the Jewiſh religion, as all the Idumeans were. He had married into the royal family of Judea, and by ſubduing ſome troops of banditti, by conciliating the Jews by building them a new temple, more magnificent than the former, and above all by keeping well with the ruling powers at Rome, he had eſtabliſhed himſelf ſo as to defy all controul. His numerous acts of injuſtice and barbarity render the hiſtory of the ſlaughter of the infants very credible. He butchered almoſt all his own family: he had nine wives, and he put his favourite wife Mariamne to death; he cauſed Ariſtobulus, the laſt prince of the Aſmonean family, to be murdered; leſt any of the family ſhould cabal for the crown he cut off Hyrcanus, the laſt male prince, above eighty years of age, and Alexandra his daughter, mother in law of Mariamne; in a fit of rage he killed his uncle Joſeph; he put to death his three ſons, Alexander, Ariſtobulus, and Antipater; he murdered two high prieſts, depoſed four more, ſlew all the Sanhedrim except two; fined, puniſhed, and killed the phariſees; and formed in his dying illneſs the moſt barbarous deſign that ever diſgraced the depraved heart of man. He knew the Jews held him in execration, and he foreſaw that they would rejoice at his death. He therefore ſent for the heads of the moſt eminent families in Judea, ſhut them up in Jericho, and left orders that as ſoon as he ſhould be dead the ſoldiers ſhould put every one of them to the ſword, for this, ſaid he, will oblige the Jews in every family all over the land to go into mourning at my death whether they will or no. The tyrant expired a few hours after, the ſentence was not executed, and the nation did rejoice at their deliverance. They complained to Auguſtus at Rome, that they had ſuffered as much as if a wild beaſt had reigned over them: and Euſebius truly ſays, the cruelty of Herod far exceeded every thing that tragedy had repreſented (3). A great leſſon to ſuch nations as put their truſt in princes without reſerving a balance of power in the people to counteract ſuch monſtrous abuſes.

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(1) BOOK OF THE MACCABEES IN THE APOCRYPHA.... PRIDEAUX. *vol. iii. part ii. book iii. An. clxxv. Ptolemy Philometor.* 6. *&c.*

(2) B. NEWTON *on the prophecies, vol. ii. Diſſertat. xvi. xvii. Daniel's prophecy of the things noted in the ſcripture of truth.*

(3) JOSEPHI. *Ant. xvii.* 12.... EUSEB. *Hiſt. Eccles. lib. i. cap.* 8.... PRIDEAUX. *ut ſup.* J. JAC. HOTTINGERI *Diſſertat, iii. S. Johan. Baptiſtæ hiſtoria chronologica. v. De Herode.*

The ſubjection of Judea to Rome was the event in the courſe of divine providence, which diſperſed the Jews over all the weſt, and placed them, as they expreſs it, "witneſſes of the unity of God in all the nations of the world:" and this at a time, when idolatry and vice overwhelmed all the reſt of mankind. Their teſtimony, however, was obſcured by groſs vices and puerile ſuperſtitions, and it made no good impreſſions on the idolaters. It was a fit time to introduce a new religious œconomy, and to employ miſſionaries very different from the common Jews.

CHAP. IV.

A View of the new Œconomy introduced by John the Baptiſt.

THE new œconomy began with the baptiſm of John. The evangeliſt Mark expreſsly ſays ſo (4). Whether the evangelical hiſtory began with this is a very different queſtion. Many criticks, antient and modern, ſuppoſe the genuine goſpels to have been corrupted, and they cut off the two firſt chapters of Matthew, and the two firſt chapters of Luke. Then the four goſpels begin with the baptiſm of John, for the diſcourſe concerning the logos in the goſpel of John is merely introductory. The Ebionites, particularly the learned critick Symmachus, who was an Ebionite, Marcion and the Marcionites, the Manicheans, and many others denied the miraculous conception of Jeſus, and affirmed that they had the genuine goſpels of Matthew and Luke (5). The ſubject certainly deſerves a patient and candid inveſtigation, and more eaſtern materials than are at preſent known in the weſt: but while the temper of the chriſtian world continues as it is now envenomed by ſyſtem, ſubjects of this kind are not likely to be inveſtigated, except by a few, with becoming moderation. However it be, the conception and the birth of Jeſus had no influence on the Jewiſh œconomy: it was the baptiſm of John that opened a new ſtate of religion; and before this the new world, or more properly the new age did not begin (6).

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(4) MARK *i.* I. The beginning of the goſpel of Jeſus... as it is written... Behold, I ſend my meſſenger.

(5) Rev. Dr. PRIESTLEY's *Hiſtory of early opinions concerning Jeſus Chriſt. vol. iv. Birmingham.* 1786. *book ii. chap. xx.* The authorities are quoted.

(6) HEBREWS *i.* 2. Δι ου ϗ τους ΑΙΩΝΑΣ εποιησεν.... 6. Οταν δε παλιν εισαγαγη τον πρωτοτοκον εις την ΟΙΚΟΥΜΕΝΗΝ, λεγει.

Nor is it neceſſary here to examine the preciſe day, or month, or year, in which John made his firſt appearance; or the duration of his miniſtry; or the time when Jeſus was baptized; or how many paſſovers his miniſtry continued (7). Learned chronologiſts of all denominations have laboured, and yet labour hard to ſettle theſe points, and their diverſity of ſentiment is a publick benefit of far more worth to ſociety than their uniformity would be (8). The firſt diſciples of Jeſus did not date by his birth; when chriſtians firſt introduced this mode of reckoning, they miſtook four years, and the errour muſt remain uncorrected except in private diſſertations, where it is proved he was born four years before the common era. The learned Fabricius, who collected the various opinions of chronologiſts, obſerves in the words of father Gaffarelli, that as the birth of Jeſus hath been placed by chronologiſts in every month of the year except July, and in many different years, each opinion being ſupported with ſome plauſibility of argument, it is impoſſible without a divine revelation to fix the time (9). Of courſe an argument of unanſwerable authority riſes to prove that providence never intended to exact an obſervation of the day by chriſtians.

In the reign of the emperour Tiberius, when Judea was a province to Rome, and when Almighty God commiſſioned John to introduce the promiſed ſaviour of mankind to publick notice, the ſtate of the world in regard to piety and virtue was very deplorable (1). Y. of C. 26.

In general, the whole world lay in wickedneſs (2). In particular, the world may be divided into four parts, and each is deſcribed in the holy ſcriptures. The firſt contains the uncivilized part of mankind, and theſe, who are alike in all ages, are depicted in miniature by the apoſtle of the Gentiles, and at

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(7) J. Jac. Hottingeri *Diſſertat. iii. S. Johan. Bapt. hiſtoria chronologica.*

(8) F. Thomæ Vincentii Moneliæ *De annis Jeſu Chriſti Diſſertat.* *Romæ.* 1741. *Tab. Chronol. xvii.*

A. U. 747. P. I. 4707. Ol. 193. ii. Aug. 38. Herodis 34 et 31. A. AE. Chr. 7.

Coſs { Tib. Claud. Nero ii.
{ Cn. Calpurn. Piſo.

Sub his conſulibus Chriſtum menſe Septembri natum perperam cenſuit J. Harduinus.

A. U. 748..... In hunc annum conferunt natalem Chriſti diem, Keplerus, M. Anton. Cappellus, Henſchenius, Pagius, Schelſtratius, Blanchinius.

A. U. 749..... Hoc anno auſpicatiſſimo nativitatem J. Chriſti conſignant J. Dekerius, Petavius, Uſſerius, Lancellottus, Noriſius, Natalis Alexander, Tillemontius, Graveſonus, ceterique eruditi viri, quibus accedimus.

A. U. 750..... Sub his conſulibus [Calviſio Sabino, Ruſo ſeu Rufino] natum Chriſtum ſenſit inter veteres Sulpitius Severus, inter recentiores Bernardus Lamius.

A. U. 751..... Baronius, Joſephus Scaliger, aliique arbitrati ſunt hoc anno nativitatem conſignandam, &c.

(9) Jo. Alberti Fabricii *Bibliograph. antiquaria. Hamburgi et Lipſiæ.* 1716. *cap. vii.* 9.... *cap. x.* 16.

(1) Luke iii. 1.... *Rev.* John Blair, *L. L. D. Chronology and hiſtory of the world. N.* 21.

(2) 1 John v. 19.

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In a ſecond diviſion we may conſider the civilized part of the world, the accompliſhed Greeks, the polite Romans, and all others, who had been reclaimed from brutality and inſtructed in the arts of regular life. It is but juſtice to allow, that their taſte for all the arts was elegant in the higheſt degree: but the ſame juſtice obliges us to affirm, that they were devoid of religion and virtue. The apoſtle Paul deſcribes this claſs of men, in the latter half of the firſt chapter of the epiſtle to the Romans, and, to ſay nothing of books, we have an undeniable proof, and a full illuſtration of what he affirms in the ruins of the famous cities of Herculaneum and Pompeii. About twenty years after Paul wrote his epiſtle to the Romans, a ſudden eruption of mount Veſuvius buried theſe two places with all the inhabitants. They were firſt covered with aſhes and cinders, and then glazed over, as it were, with the boiling lava of the burning mountain. Secured by this, and by future eruptions, from the action of the air, the whole lay undiſcovered, and ſome parts unhurt, for ſixteen hundred and forty-one years (4). Prince Elbeuf firſt made the diſcovery, the king of Naples purſued it, and all the ſtatues, vaſes, pictures, utenſils, and buildings confirm the two truths juſt now mentioned, that the inhabitants had an exquiſite taſte for the arts, and a total ignorance of religion and virtue (5).

Judea in general may be conſidered as a third claſs. The new teſtament deſcribes the Jews of our ſaviour's time ſo fully, that it ſeems needleſs to add any thing. The governours were unprincipled tools of pagan Rome; the chief prieſts were Sadducees, who believed no future ſtate; the expoſitors of the law rendered the text obſcure by traditions; thoſe hungry hypocrites the Phariſees were the guides of the common people; and the people themſelves were abominable and diſobedient, and unto every good work reprobate (6). Their own hiſtorians ſay all this, and much more to the ſame purpoſe. Joſephus aſſigns their infidelity and profligacy as the cauſe of all their calamities, and, according to him, they trampled upon all human laws, derided divine things, and made a jeſt of the oracles of the prophets, as of ſo many dreams and fables (7).

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(3) 1 COR. vi. 9. . . . 1 TIM. i. 10. . . . LEVIT. xviii. 21. 22. 23. 24. 27.

(4) Paul wrote to the Romans in the year 58. . . . Herculaneum and Pompeii were buried by the eruption of Veſuvius, Nov. 1. 79. Prince Elbeuf made the diſcovery in 1720.

(5) *Voyage Pittoreſque de Naples et de Sicile. A Paris.* 1781. *Decouverte d'Herculaneum. tom. i. p.* 4. . . . HAMILTON [*Hon. Mr.*] *Etruſcan, Greek, and Roman Antiquities.*

(6) TITUS i. 16.

(7) JOSEPHI *de Bel. Jud. lib. iv. cap.* 6. Κατεπατειτομεν ουν, &c. et ab illis quidem omne jus humanum conculcabatur, divina autem quœque deridebantur, et prophetarum oracula ut præſtigiatorum commenta ſubſannabant.

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In a fourth diviſion we put the devout Jews. Theſe were few, and they had very imperfect notions of that kind of kingdom, which, their ancient prophets had foretold, God intended to erect; and of that ſort of Meſſiah, by whom the great event was to be effected. Hence it was, that, when he came to his own, his own received him not (8).

In theſe, the laſt and the worſt, days of the Jewiſh commonwealth, John the baptiſt appeared. John was the ſon of an aged couple, who, it ſhould ſeem, reſided at Hebron, a city in the hilly part of the tribe of Judah, and rendered famous in the Jewiſh annals by ſeveral events. There Abraham, the father of the nation, purchaſed his firſt land. There he and Sarah, Iſaac and Rebecca, Jacob and Leah lay buried. There circumciſion was inſtituted. There David held his court the firſt ſeven years of his reign, and there, probably, John was born (9). His father Zechariah, who was a prieſt, had been beforehand informed of the birth and deſtination of John by the angel Gabriel, who near five hundred years before had appeared to the prophet Daniel, and informed him of the preciſe time fixed by the governour of the world for the coming of the Meſſiah.

Zechariah, believing what the angel had foretold, and being alſo himſelf inſpired with a ſpirit of prophecy at the circumciſion of his ſon, trained John up, not in the ordinary way at any publick ſchool, but in a lone place in the wilderneſs of Ziph, or Maon. Here he waited for further orders, and, when he was about thirty years of age, the word of the Lord came to him, as to the ancient prophets, and he went out to announce the advent of a Meſſiah, whom all the nation expected, but whom he had never ſeen, and of whom he could give no account, except that he was juſt at hand, and would ſoon appear to adorn his country, and to enlighten and reform the whole world. He exhorted people to prepare to meet this long-expected repreſentative of a holy God by laying aſide the practice and the love of ſin, and by profeſſing their belief of what the prophets had foretold of the Meſſiah by being baptized, or dipped in water, in the name of the Meſſiah (1).

One of the Jewiſh prophets had foretold, that a voice ſhould cry in the wilderneſs, Prepare ye the way of the Lord; and another had named this extraordinary herald, the prophet Elijah, as we name a wiſe man Solomon, or a

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(8) JOHN i. ii. . . . MAT. xx. 20. &c. . . . ACTS i. 6.

(9) LUKE i. 39. 40. . . . See LIGHTFOOT. . . . GILL. . . . HENRY. . . . . and others on the place.

(1) Thus we underſtand the apoſtle Paul's deſcription of John's baptiſm. Acts xix. 4. Then ſaid Paul, John verily baptized with the baptiſm of repentance, ſaying unto the people, that they ſhould believe on him, which ſhould come after him, that is, on Chriſt Jeſus, *and*, when they, *the diſciples of John*, heard *John ſay* this, they were baptized *by John* in the name of the Lord Jeſus.

John's baptiſm is a ſubject of great controverſy. See GER. JO. VOSSII *Theſes Theol. de bapt. Johannis*. . . . DANIELIS CHAMIERI *Panſtrat. Cathol. tom. v. lib. v. cap. xii.* where BELLARMINE, OSTOROD, CALVIN, and many more are referred to on the ſubject.

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man of remarkable patience Job. John anſwered both the deſcriptions, and he appeared in the wilderneſs, and in every reſpect reſembled the ſtern Elijah (2). The common people were extremely ſtruck with his appearance, and affected with his doctrine, and they went out to him from Jeruſalem, from other parts of Judea, and particularly from all the region round about the river Jordan, and were baptized of him in the Jordan confeſſing their ſins.

An affair of this kind could not eſcape the notice of the rulers, and it belonged to the Sanhedrim to take cognizance of it. The court diſcovered great prudence in conducting this buſineſs. On the one hand, they themſelves rejected his miſſion, but they were obliged by office to examine him as an innovator; and on the other, they feared the multitude, who all held, that John was a prophet, and that his baptiſm was from heaven (3). They did not therefore ſummon him to appear before them, but, with a caution, which had the air of reſpect, they ſent a deputation to inquire into the affair. The deputies found him at Bethabara beyond Jordan, where he was baptizing, and conſequently the inqueſt was a matter of publick notoriety. They inquired who he was, and what character he aſſumed. He aſſured them he was not the Meſſiah. Art thou Elias, ſaid they, meaning, as they underſtood the prophet Malachi, the ancient prophet Elijah riſen from the dead. He replied, I am not. Art thou that prophet like unto Moſes. He anſwered, no. Who then art thou? ſaid they. I am, replied he, the herald of the Chriſt, of whom Iſaiah propheſied, when he ſaid, the voice of one crying in the wilderneſs, make ſtraight the way of the Lord. But, added they, if thou be not the Chriſt, nor Elias, neither that prophet, why baptizeſt thou? This was equal to ſaying, If thou art not an extraordinary perſon immediately commiſſioned by God, why doſt thou introduce a new rite, which is not inſtituted in the law, and for which thou haſt received no authority from us? John freely acknowledged, that he did baptize with water, that he had baptized one perſon, whom they knew not, and whom he knew not till he that ſent him to baptize with water, ſaid unto him, upon whom thou ſhalt ſee the ſpirit deſcending and remaining, the ſame is he, who baptizeth with the holy ghoſt. To him, who was far ſuperiour to himſelf, he referred them for a vindication of his conduct. The next day Jeſus came, and John introduced him as the ſon of God, and made him manifeſt to Iſrael as the lamb of God, which taketh away the ſin of the world.

The civil government of Judea was at this time divided into four parts, and over each a different governour, under the name of a tetrarch, preſided. Herod Antipas, a ſon of Herod the great, was tetrarch of Galilee, when John appeared in publick preaching and baptizing. Herod was a very diſſolute prince, and had committed many atrocious and unpopular crimes. In a journey to Rome

(2) Isai. xl. 3. &c.... Malach. iv. 5.... Mat. xi. 14.

(3) Mat. xxi. 32.... Luke vii. 30.... Mat. xxi. 26.

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he had been entertained at the court of his brother Philip, tetrarch of Trachonitis, and had abuſed his hoſpitality by forming a criminal intrigue with Herodias, the conſort of Philip. In favour of this lady he had divorced his own wife, who was a daughter of a neighbouring king, and, to cover the iniquity of the whole, had cauſed a marriage to be celebrated between himſelf and Herodias, who had left her huſband Philip, and lived in defiance of ſhame with Herod in Galilee. The father of the princeſs, whom Herod had divorced, revenged the affront by declaring war againſt him, and this expoſed him to foreign danger, as the illegality of the divorce and the marriage did to domeſtick inſurrections; for the Jews were very tenacious of the letter of the law, and the law of Moſes was expreſsly againſt the whole affair (4).

Whether Herod ſent for John, to try to ingratiate himſelf with this popular leader, and through him with the people, or whether the zeal of John animated him to go to court, we know not: but, we are certain, he did wait on the king, and did acquit himſelf in a way highly to his honour. John was admirably qualified to diſcharge the kind office of reproving this royal criminal. His education had been uninfected with the ſophiſtry of the ſchools, and he had imbibed the nobleſt principles of Moſes and the prophets. His morals had not been tainted with the diſſipated maxims of populous cities, but were formed of the pureſt exerciſes of undiſguiſed piety and virtue. He was in the bloom of life, and his ſenſes and paſſions, not blunted by ſin, were under the command of a vigorous reaſon regulated by an uncommon degree of religion. His manner was his own, and his auſterity had ſuch a graceful propriety and dignity as always accompanies originality. He was independent in his circumſtances, not by poſſeſſing an ample fortune, but by the happy art of living on a little. He was a ſingle man, and had nobody's fortune to make. His notions of government were juſt, for he conſidered law as ſupreme in a ſtate, and knew no one above the controul of it. He had a perfect knowledge of his own inſignificance in the preſence of the Meſſiah: but in his abſence he felt his dignity, and took himſelf for what he really was, the ſecond man in the kingdom, inſpired by the deity, and acting under authority from God.

When Herod firſt gave John audience, he was ſtruck with awe, and heard him with pleaſure. His conſcience felt the remonſtrances, which John addreſſed to him on the irregularities of his life, and he reformed many of his actions with chearfulneſs: but when John repreſented the unlawfulneſs of his keeping his brother's wife, both Herod and the lady were filled with indignation againſt him. Herodias would have diſpatched him inſtantly: but Herod durſt not allow of his execution, leſt the people, who all counted him a prophet, ſhould revenge his death by dethroning his executioner. Awhile the unhappy Herod was racked between conſcience and convenience, and, to

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(4) Josephi *Antiq. lib. xviii. cap.* 6. . . . Mat. xiv. . . . Mark vi. . . . Luke ix.

Y. of C. 26. avoid extremes, he hit on the expedient of committing him to priſon: and found that the people bore the impriſonment of their prophet without making any inſurrections in his favour. It was at a feſtival, in an unguarded moment, through a falſe point of honour, as a premium to the daughter of Herodias for dancing, that the king conſented, though with reluctance, to the aſſaſſination of John. The barbarous deed was done in private, the head of John was ſtruck off in the priſon, and preſented to the ladies in a diſh at their own requeſt; the body was buried by his diſciples; Jeſus and his followers retired awhile: but, when he appeared ſome time after, Herod recollected the murder with horrour, and exclaimed, John, whom I beheaded, is riſen from the dead!

Certainly, John will riſe from the dead, and Herod muſt meet him, and both muſt be tried for the deeds done in the body by the judge of the whole earth. We need not wait till that day to know the true character of John, for, as no name of antiquity is leſs ſuſpected, or more applauded both by Jews and Chriſtians than his, ſo an infallible judge hath already declared, that John was a burning and a ſhining light, that his authority to baptize was from heaven, and that among them, that were born of women, there had not riſen a greater than John the baptiſt (5).

CHAP. V.

Jeſus the Chriſt.

IT is extremely difficult, and not neceſſary to our preſent deſign, to determine the preciſe time of our ſaviour's baptiſm, or that of the duration of his miniſtry. Certain it is, he himſelf was baptized by John, and during his miniſtry his diſciples baptized under his direction. After his reſurrection from the dead, he gave his followers an expreſs law, which hath never been repealed, to adminiſter baptiſm to his diſciples even to the end of the world.

John was baptizing in the river Jordan. Jeſus went from Nazareth of Galilee to him. John had never ſeen him before: but God, who had given him a commiſſion to baptize, had informed him, that he ſhould know the Meſſiah, when he firſt appeared, from all other men by a viſible ſign. The appointed ſignal did appear on the perſon of Jeſus. John was ſatisfied, and atteſted, that Jeſus was the ſon of God, that he was far ſuperiour to himſelf, and that, for his part, he was not worthy to wait on him, or to do the meaneſt ſervice for him.

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(5) John v. 35 . . . Mat. xxi. 25 . . . Mark xi. 30 . . . Luke xx. 4 . . . Mat. xi. 11.

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While John was full of theſe juſt and proper ſentiments, Jeſus deſired him to baptize him. John, like Moſes when he received his commiſſion, overwhelmed with a ſenſe of his own inferiority, ſhrunk back, and declined the honour, till Jeſus, in the mildeſt manner, informed him, that he himſelf acknowledged the authority of God, under which John acted, and that he thought it right to obey a command confeſſedly given by his heavenly father, and that it would highly become John, who had exhorted ſo many people to obey the Meſſiah, to exemplify his own doctrine by yielding an inſtant obedience to the firſt order, which he condeſcended to give him. John ſubmitted, and baptized him.

When Jeſus had been baptized, he went up ſtraightway out of the water, praying as he went to his heavenly father, when, lo! the clouds parted, and rolled back, a bright light collected itſelf, as it were, into a body, and, having hovered a while, as a dove hovers before it alights on the ground, ſettled and reſted upon him. No banks of the river, no buſhes, or trees, or ſurrounding objects could throw him into a ſhade; there in broad light he ſtood, to be ſeen, and examined, and known of all, while a voice from heaven proclaimed, This is my beloved ſon, in whom I am well pleaſed (6).

Some of the diſciples of John, by his direction and approbation, left him, and became followers of Jeſus. While John was baptizing at Enon near Salim, Jeſus and his diſciples were employed in the ſame good work in other parts of the country. Jeſus teaching, and working miracles, and his diſciples by his order baptizing. The multitude that followed Jeſus was far greater than that which had attended John, and Jeſus made, and, by the hands of his apoſtles, baptized more diſciples than he. John rejoiced at hearing this; but the Phariſees were alarmed, and began thoſe cabals which continued all the time of Chriſt's miniſtry.

Jeſus thoroughly knew mankind, he penetrated through all the veils, under which the rulers of his country concealed their turpitude from vulgar eyes, and he foreſaw that his miniſtry would coſt him his life. He choſe to befriend mankind at this price, and generouſly ſtepped forward, to plead the cauſe of piety, virtue, and freedom, againſt the cruelty and hypocriſy of all tyrants, civil or ſacred, who had ſet God at defiance, and who held all his creatures in awe. The Aſſyrian tyrant had formerly boaſted, that he had ſpoiled whole kingdoms with as little remorſe, and with as much eaſe as boys ſpoil the neſts of birds of their eggs, and that the inhabitants had not dared ſo much as to move the wing, or open the mouth, or peep (7). Other great powers, equally injurious to the liberties of mankind, had ſucceeded in exerciſing the ſame dominion, and, in all countries, the common people, the bulk of mankind, were employed through life in miniſtring

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(6) Mat. iii. 13. &c.... Mark i. 9. &c.... Luke iii. 21. &c.... Isai. xlii. 1.

(7) Isaiah x. 14.

to

Y. of C. 26. to the inſatiable vices of a few. Jeſus knew that the prophet Daniel had deſcribed him under the ſimilitude of a ſtone, cut out of a mountain without hands, that ſhould ſubvert every image, that is, tyranny in every form, and ſhould itſelf become the foundation of a kingdom, that ſhould ſtand for ever (8).

With theſe godlike views he conducted all his miniſtry. He addreſſed himſelf not to the rulers, but to the people at large. He taught them to transfer their attention from human authority to God, the father, and the maſter of all. He apprized them of the nature and worth of revelation, and bade them take the mind of God from his written word. He awoke them to their own dignity, and while he unfolded his wiſdom in his ſermons, and the proofs of his divine miſſion in his miracles, he taught them the uſe of their own underſtandings, and fixed a conviction in their boſoms, beyond the power of ſophiſtry to eraſe. He both taught and exemplified a dauntleſs intrepidity, tempered with a modeſty, that renders the wiſe acceſſible to the weak. He deſcribed the inviſible firſt cauſe, and taught them how to addreſs and pleaſe him. He directed them to practiſe an univerſal juſtice, to maintain an inoffenſive deportment, and to fill the world with kind offices of love. He animated the whole with the promiſe of a future ſtate of perfect felicity, and that nothing might be wanting to give his doctrine effect, he deſcribed the reſurrection of the dead, the laſt judgement, and the final puniſhment of the ignorant and impenitent. He foretold his own death, the calamities of his country, the diſſolution of the moſaical œconomy, the fate of his univerſal religion, and he ordered his apoſtles, whom he had well inſtructed, to tarry at Jeruſalem after his death till he ſhould riſe from the dead, and meet them again and give them further orders.

The apoſtles punctually obeyed his order, and he kept the time which he had appointed, and ſhewed himſelf alive by many infallible proofs. Forty days they ſaw him, and heard him ſpeaking of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God. Among other things he repeated, what he had often ſaid before his death, that he approved of John's baptiſm with water, and that he himſelf would baptize them with the holy ghoſt, or, as another evangeliſt expreſſeth it, endue them with power from on high. On one of theſe remarkable days he ordered his diſciples to meet him on a certain mountain in Galilee, for he had promiſed before his death, that he would ſee them there. Thither more than five hundred brethren repaired, and there they all ſaw him at once. The eleven inſtantly knew him, and worſhipped him; and here he gave them their commiſſion in theſe remarkable words: "All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth. Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the father, and of the ſon, and of the holy ghoſt, teaching them to obſerve all things whatſoever I have commanded you, and, lo! I am with you alway even unto the end of the world."

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(8) Daniel ii. 31. &c.

Jeſus, on the laſt day of ſhewing himſelf to his diſciples, led them out to a ſpot, about a ſabbath day's journey from Jeruſalem, which had been rendered very remarkable by ſeveral incidents during their acquaintance. It was on the borders of Bethphage, Bethany, and the mount of Olives. Hither Jeſus had frequently retired for ſolitude, contemplation and prayer. Here he had ſet out to ride in triumph to Jeruſalem. To this place he had retired after he had eaten his laſt paſſover, here he had been taken into cuſtody to be led like a lamb to the ſlaughter, and here he took leave of his family, and in their ſight aſcended, they ſteadfaſtly looking up, and he lifting up his hands, and bleſſing them, till a cloud received him out of their ſight. He ſat down at the right hand of God, and they returned to Jeruſalem with great joy.

CHAP. VI.

The Greek Church.

OVER the hiſtory of the primitive chriſtian churches in the eaſt, gloom, both natural and artificial, ſpreads itſelf. Remoteneſs of time, diſtance of place, paucity of authentick writers, and difference of cuſtoms neceſſarily render the ſubject obſcure, but an injudicious artifice hath thickened the darkneſs ſo that it ſeems almoſt impenetrable. The hiſtorian travels in the night, and if he be not armed at all points againſt the witchcraft of words, he will undoubtedly loſe his way.

A man, who ſets out with a fancy filled with ideas of patriarchs, prieſts, temples, altars, veſtments, government, rituals, councils, and ſo on, will find himſelf more than fed with this eccleſiaſtical bombaſt, every idea of which is inapplicable to the times, perſons, and conditions, of which he ought to be in purſuit. Euſebius, who was a court biſhop, in times of very relaxed manners, will lead the way, numbers will follow his example, and the ſated ſtudent will be glutted with the luſcious preparations of the eaſt, too well imitated by the weſt. Words and idioms came pouring in with a profuſion natural to the exuberance of the greek language, and weſtern men and manners were ſwelled to an unnatural ſize fitted to the ſounds, leſt the names ſhould ſit ungracefully on the wearers, and applauſe be converted into ſatire. The latins received every thing from the greeks. Myſtery, euchariſt, baptiſm, liturgy, dioceſe, pariſh, biſhop, deacon, monk, patriarch, ſynod, archai, orthodoxy, hereſy, all were greek: and what was only ſophiſtry at Alexandria became an article of faith or a title to dominion at Rome. Faſcinated with all this ſyſtem, how is it poſſible to form juſt notions of primitive greek manners! It is extremely difficult even for a willing mind to keep perpetual watch, and to cool and filtrate the language of writers down to what it ought in juſtice to mean. An example or two will exemplify the meaning of all this.

The author of the Alexandrian or Paſchal Chronicle, who wrote about the middle of the fourth century, ſays, in the year thirty-nine the evangeliſt Mark preached the word of Chriſt to the people of Alexandria, and firſt formed a church there, over which he preſided two and twenty years (9). An annaliſt of after times ſays, in the fourth year of Domitian, the firſt pontiff or high prieſt of the church of Alexandria the immediate ſucceſſor of Mark the apoſtle being dead, Abilius ſucceeded him, and became the ſecond biſhop of Alexandria (1). This is an amendment: but who or what was this firſt pontiff of the noble city Alexandria, who had the honour to precede Abilius, and to ſucceed the holy apoſtle S. Mark? It ſeems, he was high prieſt of a cobler's ſtall. The ſtory is, and it is not improbable: that Mark had the misfortune, as he was walking along a ſtreet in Alexandria to burſt the ſtitching of his ſhoe, ſo that he could not proceed till it was repaired (2). The neareſt cobler was the man. He mended the ſhoe, or ſandal, or whatever it was. This brought them acquainted. The man was taught the goſpel by Mark, and being a man of good abilities, he taught others, and this was the firſt pontiff of Alexandria, that is, the firſt regular teacher of a few poor people at Alexandria, who, peradventure, had no other cathedral than a garret. A teacher of a primitive congregation in Alexandria is not to be confounded with a patriarch of Alexandria.

The chriſtian greek orators go far beyond the hiſtorians, and are the moſt dangerous of all men, and the leaſt to be truſted in hiſtorical facts. The facts at bottom are true, but they are ſo expreſſed as to include a great deal of falſehood. It is not worth while to tranſcribe an oration: but hiſtory taken from

(9) Chronicon Paschale *ſeu* Chronic. Alexandrin. *Cur. & Stud.* Dufresne. *Pariſiis* 1688. *pag.* 230. Τω αυτω ετει Μαρκος. Eodem ipſo anno Marcus Evangeliſta apud Egyptios et Alexandrinos diverſatus, verbum Chriſti annuntiat, primuſque Alexandriæ eccleſias conſtituit, quibus præfuit annos xxii.

(1) Joannis Zonaræ *Annales. Cura et ſtud.* Dufresne. *Pariſiis* 1686. *tom. i. pag.* 582. Quarto anno imperii ejus, Alexandrinæ eccleſiæ primo poſt Marcum apoſtolum pontifici πρωτος Αρχιερευς defuncto, Abilius ſucceſſit, ſecundus Alexandriæ pontifex δευτερος επισκοπος.

(2) Eutychii *patriarch. Alexandrin. Eccles. Origines.... cum commentar.* Joan. Seldeni *Londini* 1642..... Abrahami Echellensis *reſponſio ad Seldeni Comment. Romæ* 1661..... Jaques Basnage *Hiſt. Eccles. tom. i. liv. ii. chap. i. Hiſt. du patriarchat d' Alexandrie.* S. Marc arriva dans l'Alexandrie en y entrant ſon ſoulier ſe rompit. Il paſſa chez un cordonnier nommé Anien [Hananias] ou St. Aignan, lequel en voulant racommoder ce ſoulier, ſe bleſſa la main. La douleur lui fit crier, *mon Dieu*, ou bien un *ſeul Dieu*. Ce cri donna de grandes eſperances a St. Marc: il lui guerit le cordonnier, il le convertit, et il en fit un eveque d'Alexandrie.... On ne finiroit pas ſi l'on rapportoit tous les contes qu'on peut recueillir ſur la vie et ſur la mort de St. Marc.

the oratory of one would read in this manner (3). The glory of S. Ignatius appears by five obſervations. Firſt, on the extent of his biſhoprick. Secondly, the dignity of his electors. Thirdly, the difficulty of the times in which he governed the church of Antioch. Fourthly, the throne on which S. Peter ſat. And laſtly, the power of Jeſus, who committed this church to his care. Saint Ignatius, archbiſhop of Antioch, was intruſted by Jeſus Chriſt with the government of a ſee containing two hundred thouſand inhabitants. If it be difficult to govern fifty or an hundred men, what eminence of wiſdom and virtue muſt he poſſeſs, who governed a church of two hundred thouſand! This prelate illuminated all Syria; like the ſun he roſe in the eaſt and ſat in the weſt. The fact is this: Ignatius was one honeſt good man of a congregation of ſeveral other men as honeſt and good as himſelf: for the firſt churches were all ſaints (4). This man was born in the eaſt, and died at Rome. He lived ſome time at Antioch, a city containing two hundred thouſand inhabitants, all whom he governed exactly as in the reign of Charles II. Jeremiah Ives, who kept a cheeſemonger's ſhop in red-croſs ſtreet, at the corner of new-ſtreet, and taught an Anabaptiſt congregation in the Old Jewry, governed the city of London (5). He illuminated all the eaſt: that is, during his life nobody out of Antioch knew him: but after his death ſomebody publiſhed a letter in his name, which, for his honour, ought to be ſuppoſed a forgery. He was an archbiſhop: but he had no biſhops under him, and his congregation all aſſembled in one houſe during his life, and the lives of his ſucceſſors, for more than an hundred and fifty years after his time (6). In this manner do the greek fathers relate facts, and ſo much did this kind of narration take with the populace, that they named the man, who from the pulpit filled the city of Conſtantinople with ſuch grand ideas, John the golden mouth, or, in modern ſtyle, Saint John Chryſoſtom. Some hiſtorians tranſcribe what theſe fathers publiſhed for oratory, and give it the world as true hiſtory. Others on the contrary tax them with uttering wilful falſehoods. It ſhould ſeem, there is a bottom of truth in the facts, and the deception lies in the high flown oratorical faſhion of reporting them. The eloquence of the ancient Greeks was chaſte, that of the age of the fathers was proſtituted. As chriſtians happened to live, and tell their tale, when this bad faſhion prevailed, they, without any intention to deceive, complied with the faſhion and ſo diſguiſed the fact.

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(3) S. Joannis Chrysostomi *Op. ex editione* Bernardi de Montfaucon. *Pariſiis* 1718. *et an. ſeq.* Εις τον αγιον ιερομαρτυρα Ιγνατιον τον θεοφορον Αρχιεπισκοπον, &c. In S. Ignatium Archiepiſcopum Antiochiæ Magnæ, &c.

(4) Jacques Basnage. *Hiſt. Eccles. tom. i. liv. iii. chap. ii.* S. Chryſoſtome n'a rien oublié pour relever la gloire de St. Ignace. Il lui fait cinq ou ſix couronnes, dont la premiere eſt tirée de *l'entendue* de ſon eveché; la ſeconde de la *dignité* de ſes electeurs; la troiſieme de la difficulté des tems ou il a *gouverné* l'egliſe d'Antioche; la quatrieme du trone ſur lequel St. Pierre s'eſt aſſis; et la derniere de la puiſſance de Jeſus *qui* lui avoit confié cette egliſe. Ce ſtyle eſt un peu enflé; je ne ſcai meme ſi nos habiles panegyriſtes voudroient employer aujourd'hui de ſemblables figures.

(5) *A ſtop to a lying pamphlet falſely called truth's plea for infants lately publiſhed by* Mr. Alexander Kellie. *By* Jer. Ives, *cheeſemonger, London,* 1656.

(6) Basnage *ut ſup. S. x.* L'Egliſe de cet eveque n'etoit pas grande; car on n'en parle que comme *d'une maiſon,* [Euseb. *lib. viii. cap.* 13.] ou l'eveque avoit ſans doute ſon logement, et ou le peuple ne laiſſoit pas de s'aſſembler.

It is curious to ſee with what devout fidelity hiſtorians in the weſt have copied this kind of writing. Almoſt every cathedral in Italy was founded by an apoſtle (7), or by a ſaint archbiſhop in the days of the apoſtles, all ordained by S. Peter, ſo that as the pope of Rome in a direct line ſucceeds S. Peter (8), who was the firſt biſhop of the ſee, ſo does his eminence the cardinal archbiſhop of Milan ſucceed S. Barnabas: and all the reſt have founders of equal or ſimilar reputation (9). If theſe were only catalogues of names and dates, no evil would follow, and probably at bottom many of the facts may be true: but when Peter, poor man! is ſaid to have built churches, and conſecrated altars, and ordained prieſts and archbiſhops; when it is ſaid he governed in Rome, in the reign of Nero too, when the leaſt inclination to exerciſe authority was ſudden certain death: when one is ſaid to vacate a ſee by death, and another to ſucceed him in the pontificate, and rule for ten or nineteen years: readers ought to pauſe, and inquire, how could theſe things be? The knack of arguing from doubtful theory in religion often prevails among men, who in other caſes diſcover a ſound and ſevere habit of reaſoning. A learned judge of the inquiſition eſtabliſhes the law of confiſcating the goods of hereticks by precedents (1). Two are curious...Sarah was an inquiſitor and baniſhed Iſhmael: God was the firſt inquiſitor, and turned Adam out of his own garden; and therefore the holy office ought to ſeize the property of hereticks.

As the language, ſo the manners of the Greeks had a mighty influence over religion. Greece had always been famous for learning and liberty, and when chriſtianity made converts of literary men, they introduced their philoſophy into it, and corrupted it. The primitive eaſtern churches were not then inſpired as the weſtern have ſince been with love of dominion: but what this ſpirit did in the weſt ſophiſtry effected in the eaſt, and every perſon and every thing in the goſpel was brought to the touchſtone of a falſe philoſophy, and became a cauſe of perpetual diſpute. The nature of God, and Chriſt, and unembodied ſpirits; the origin and duration of the world; the future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments, all afforded an infinity of queſtions, which were diſcuſſed in different views of importance, till the genuine ſimplicity of revelation, which is only a report of facts, vaniſhed away. When ſuch unſubſtantial and unedifying theology took the place of the primitive artleſs narration of facts, the churches fell under the temptation of concealing the void and ſupporting the cauſe by ſpecious arguments, ſplendid forms of external devotion, and ſecular dominion. Theſe ſuited the taſte of the world, the world coaleſced with the church, and both in proceſs of time were confounded together in one mighty maſs of truth and errour, virtue and vice, the name of Jeſus and the perpetration of the blackeſt crimes.

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(7) Ferdinandi Ughelli *Ital. Sacra*.... Rocchi Pirrhi *Sicilia Sacra. &c.*

(8) Anastasii *Vitæ Pontif. notis* Francisc. Blanchini *Romæ* 1718.... Steph. Baluzii *Vitæ paparum Avenionenſium. Pariſiis* 1693.

(9) Muratorii *Antiq. Ital. tom. i. p. 2. pag.* 228. *Catalogus Archiepiſcoporum Mediolanenſium a Sancto Barnaba ad annum uſque* 1251...Ibid. *Chronic. Neapol. pag.* 291. Claudii ſecundo anno beatiſſimus Petrus apoſtolus, cum primus Antiochenam fundaſſet eccleſiam, et vii annis ibidem pontificalem cathedram ſediſſet...ad Romam pergit...ibique cathedram ſacerdotalem tenuit annos xxv...Linus papa a beato Petro apoſtolo epiſcopus ordinatus, primus poſt eum Romanæ eccleſiæ pontificalem cathedram tenuit annos xi, &c.

(1) Ludov. a Paramo *De Orig. Inquiſitionis. lib. i. tit. iii. cap.* 2. Quid Sarra uxor Abraham? Nonne eodem officio inquiſitoris fungi viſa eſt, cum Iſmael expellitur a domo Abrahæ propter idololatriam?...pag. 45. Deus non ſolum primis parentibus ignominiæ notam inuſſit; verum in deteſtationem infidelitatis, omnibus bonis everſos ex paradiſo voluptatis ejecit, unde inquiſitores hæreticorum bona proſcribunt. Dei exemplum ſecutum ſanctiſs. inquiſitionis tribunal, hæreticorum bona juſta proſcriptione confiſcat, illoſque bonis omnibus ac fortunis evertit, nec id abs re factum cenſeri debet.

The reveries of remote ages are of ſo little conſequence to chriſtians of modern times, and particularly proteſtants, whoſe religion is governed alone by ſcripture, that a general idea of the men and their manners may very well ſatisfy inquirers. Indeed no better can be had, for the little truth of their hiſtory is ſo mixed with fable that it ſeems impoſſible to obtain preciſion.

The hiſtory of the greek church is naturally diviſible into three parts, the firſt is from the death of John the evangeliſt in the year ninety-nine to the removal of the ſeat of empire from Rome to Conſtantinople in the year three hundred and twenty-eight: a period of two hundred and twenty-nine years. The ſecond is from this time to the taking of Conſtantinople by the Turks, which put an end to the Roman empire. This came to paſs on May the twenty-ninth, fourteen hundred and fifty-three...this ſecond period therefore contains eleven hundred and twenty-five years. The third is from that time to the preſent. The firſt period exhibits chriſtianity in the hands of private men, unſupported by government: the ſecond diſplays it in alliance with the ſtate: and the laſt ſhews it in ſeparate diviſions, eſtabliſhed in one kingdom, left to ſupport itſelf in a ſecond, and oppreſſed and perſecuted in a third. Each of theſe periods ought to be conſidered in two natural views of the external and internal ſtate of the church.

The outward ſtate of the chriſtian church in the firſt period is in general eaſy to determine by the laws of the provinces, the condition of the inhabitants, and the chriſtianity which the diſciples of Jeſus profeſſed.

During this period chriſtians were ſometimes protected, and at other times perſecuted. The edicts of the emperours had the force of laws (2). Theſe

edicts

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(2) Plinii *Epiſt. lib. x. xcvii. xviii....* Mosheim. *Eccl. Hiſt. cent. ii. part i.* Βασιλικων Βιϐλια Ξ. *Edit.* Caroli Annibal. Fabroti, *Pariſiis* 1647. *Notitia.* Libri βασιλικων

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edicts were vague and indeterminate, and conſequently governours of provinces expounded them ſo as to ſerve their own purpoſes. It was not in the genius of the Roman government to perſecute. When the emperour Trajan directed Pliny "not to enquire after chriſtians," he ſpoke the natural language of his own heart, juſt and humane: but when he added, in the ſame edict, "that ſuch as were accuſed and convicted of adhering to chriſtianity ſhould be put to death," he ſpoke the language of a heart depraved with the baſe paſſions, which his condition of an abſolute monarch dictated, ſuch as fear of the multitude, hope of attaching bigots to his intereſt, and other wretched motives called reaſons of ſtate. The emperour Adrian ordered, that chriſtians ſhould not be put to death unleſs they were convicted of committing crimes againſt the laws: but the judges interpreted the profeſſion of chriſtianity a crime or not, as they pleaſed. The emperour Antoninus Pius defined the term in an edict in favour of chriſtians, and directed that they ſhould not ſuffer on account of their religion: but his ſucceſſor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus perſecuted them with an artful unrelenting fury. Succeeding emperours trifled in this manner during all this period, and left to all poſterity an inſtructive leſſon on abſolute monarchy written in broad characters with the blood of the beſt men in the empire (3). It is ſaid by way of apology, that ſome of the Cæſars were men of juſtice, humanity, and virtue, which they remarkably diſplayed on other occaſions, and ſome were eminent for philoſophy and love of virtue. So be it. So much the ſtronger the argument againſt an abſolute government, for if wiſe and good philoſophers be capable of abuſing unlimited power, how much more likely is it that men of an oppoſite character ſhould be ſo?

A conſideration of the condition of the inhabitants of the country, it will be granted, transfers much of the guilt of perſecution from the emperours to the people: but at the ſame time it diſcloſes the futility of that argument for deſpotical government, which is taken from the pretended efficiency of it. In a good government executive power is a ſtrong arm directed by the legiſlative power, as that of a wiſe and mighty man is by a confirmed habit of juſt reaſoning: but where the people have no intereſt in making laws they have no inclination to obſerve precarious orders, and mere power will be found inadequate to the controul of unjuſt and inflamed paſſions. Greece had grown old in habits of idolatry and vice: their religion was ſin, and the gods they adored were examples and patrons of every crime (4). Even Jupiter, whom they

graced

in ſex τευχη ſeu volumina diſtincti ſunt, indeque dicti εξαβιβλος, et in libros ſexaginta ſubdiviſi.

Ant. Mornacii *Obſervat.*... *Studio* Francisci Pinsonii *Paris.* 1654.

(3) Euseb. *Hiſt. Eccles. liv. iii. lib. iv.*... Theod. Ruinart. *Acta Martyrum.*... *præfat. qua refellitur* Dodwelli *diſſertat. de paucitate martyrum. Amſtel.* 1713.... Steph. Evod Assemani. *Acta Martyrum Oriental. et Occid. Romæ* 1748.... Mosheim, *as above.*

(4) Marcelli Palinginii *Zodiacus vitæ. lib. i. Aries, Rotterodami* 1722.

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graced with the title of ſather of gods and men, was repreſented to be laughed at as led along with all the reſt of the gods captives in chains to adorn the triumph of the victorious Cupid, who occupied the ſeat of Jove, was embelliſhed with enſigns of omnipotence, and mounted like a conquerour on a triumphal car. If the governours and officers of the army were above vulgar prejudices, their dependents were not. The prieſts lived by the altars, the artiſts, like Demetrius at Epheſus, and his craftſmen, were ſupported and enriched by the idols. The publick games and amuſements, the ſtews, all the merchants, tradeſmen, mechanicks, and ſervants concerned in them, and even the ruſticks who ſold ſacrifices, all had an intereſt poſitively and directly againſt the ſimple worſhip of one God, and the pure morality of the goſpel. Hence that popular ridicule, contempt, hatred, and perſecution of chriſtianity, which government ſometimes durſt not, or could not, controul (5). In ſome happy climes Trajan and Pliny would have been the mildeſt of magiſtrates: but Trajan wore the imperial purple in the worſt ages of Rome, and Pliny was a governour in the dotage of Greece.

The character of the primitive chriſtians naturally expoſed them in ſuch a country to univerſal ſcorn. The follies and vices imputed to them by the pagans may be divided into three claſſes. The firſt were virtues: the ſecond were miſrepreſentations: the third mere ſlanders. It was a virtue in the primitive chriſtians to renounce the worſhip of all the pagan deities: but this was called atheiſm. It was to their honour not to carouſe on Cæſar's birth day: but this was ſuppoſed to diſcover a diſaffection to the reigning prince, as if intoxication and debauchery were marks of eſteem. They had no taſte for publick amuſements, therefore they were accounted unſociable, and enemies to the happineſs of mankind. They held pagan literature in little or no eſteem: therefore they were taxed with ignorance and illiteracy, want of diſcernment and taſte. Some of their actions were miſrepreſented: their love of liberty was thought a ſpirit of ſedition: their retired plain and ſimple devotions were reputed ſuſpicious, myſterious, and dangerous to government: their zeal for the propagation of truth was diſturbing ſociety: their religious liberty was ſaid to proceed from

In cælo eſt meretrix, in cælo eſt turpis adulter, &c.

LACTANTII *De falſa relig. lib. i. cap. xi.* Quis eſt igitur tam excors, qui hunc in cælo regnare putet, qui ne in terra quidem debuit? Non inſulſe quidam poeta triumphum Cupidinis ſcripſit, quo in libro non modo potentiſſimum deorum Cupidinem, ſed etiam victorem facit. Enumeratis enim amoribus ſingulorum, quibus in poteſtatem Cupidinis ditionemque veniſſent, inſtruit pompam, in qua Jupiter cum cæteris diis ante currum triumphantis ducitur catenatus: eleganter id quidem a poeta figuratum, ſed tamen non multum diſtat a vero.... *Vid.* JOAN. MEURSII *Eleuſinia. Lugd. Batav.* 1619. Plurape te ex Clemente, Arnobio, aliiſque vetuſtiſſimis patribus.

(5) HEN. DODWELLI *Diſſ. Cyprianicæ Diſſert. xi. De paucitate martyrum.* Ignatium ſuſtulit Trajanus. Id unum nego edictis illos in chriſtianos ſæviiſſe, ut proinde multi eſſe nequeant qui horum imperatorum autoritate perierunt.... Non negamus interim erupiſſe nonnunquam populi præſidumque furorem, acceſſiſſe etiam excitatis conſultorum imperatorum reſcripta, quale illud fuit Marci in cauſa Lugdunenſium atque Viennenſium.... *Vide* MABILLONII *Iter. Ital.*

wicked paſſions or want of principle, that divided them into parties: their fraternal eſteem for each other was interpreted on the principles of libertines and debauchees. Some of the charges were mere ſlanders, as that their religion was novel, that they practiſed magical arts, and worſhipped the head of an aſs. They refuted all theſe calumnies moſt clearly in their writings, and, what was yet more to their honour, they completely and triumphantly annihilated them in their holy lives and converſations (6).

There is a conjecture concerning one of theſe charges, infanticide, which demands a moment's attention. One of the beſt engliſh writers on this ſubject, the Rev. Mr. Turner, who accounts in the moſt ſatisfactory manner for theſe calumnies in general, declares himſelf entirely at a loſs to account for that of infanticide, and he aſks, whether the baptizing of infants might not occaſion the ſuſpicion: to which he adds this candid and ſenſible reflection (7). To an Antipædobaptiſt, who fixeth the origin of infant baptiſm much later than the apoſtolick age, this conjecture muſt appear groundleſs and trifling; and perhaps others will entertain the ſame ſentiments about it: but I think myſelf obliged, whilſt I am inquiring into the original grounds and cauſes of thoſe abominable reflections thrown upon the primitive chriſtians, to ſet down every thing (being in want of ſubſtantial evidence and authority) that carries any appearance of probability.

It is with the utmoſt propriety that infanticide is introduced by ſuch as inveſtigate the rites of the primitive church; for if infant baptiſm was practiſed in theſe early times, complaints of pagans, and the anſwers of chriſtians to the charge of murdering infants are the writings moſt likely to give ſome information about it (8). The Greeks and Romans had acquired perfection in the art of bathing infants, as they had in all other arts (9). Phyſicians had preſcribed bathing of infants in ſome caſes and forbidden it in others.

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(6) Euseb. *Hiſt. Eccles. lib. iv. v.*... Hieron. *ad Marcel.*... Orig. *contra Cels.* &c.

(7) *The calumnies upon the primitive chriſtians accounted for, or an Enquiry into the grounds and cauſes of the charge of inceſt, infanticide, atheiſm, onolatria, or aſs worſhip, ſedition, &c. laid againſt the chriſtians in the three firſt centuries. By* Rob. Turner, *M. A. Vicar of S. Peter's in Colcheſter. London* 1727.

(8) Tatiani *Aſſyr. contra Græcos oratio*.... Theophili *ad Autolycum, lib. iii.*... Athenagoræ *Legatio pro Chriſtianis*..... Justini *Martyris Apol.*..... Origen *contra Celſum*.... Tertulliani *Apol.* &c.

(9) Gronovii *Antiq. Græc. De Balneis*..... *Infantibus*, &c.... Andreæ Baccii *De Thermis. cap. xx. apud* Grævii *Balneum quale idoneum infantibus. tom. xii.* Hæc ſunt Galeni inſtituta. Infantibus quidem recens natis, et circa primos annos balneum ejuſmodi ſalubrium aquarum idoneum eſt. Salubres autem vocamus, inquit, exacte temperatas, accommodataſque illi naturæ, vim ſcilicet calidam humidamque habentes. Qua plane ratione, haudquaquam ſalubria huic ætati eſſe dicimus balnea, quæ ex natura minerali medicam vim aliquam præ ſe ferant, omnia enim talia manifeſte ſiccant. Multo vero maxime a frigida lotione coercendi ſunt infantes; nam et ſi hunc morem ſervent quædam efferæ gentes, ut Galenus inquit, in Germania, quod idem in Britannia meminit Cæſar, et in Scythia, parum tamen emolumenti, ſi res ſuccedat, ſin minus detrimenti multum inde conſequi poſſint.

When bathing was neceſſary, they had regulated to a nicety the manner of performing it. They did not approve of dipping them in cold water, and ſaid, that none but ſuch barbarous people as Scythians, Germans, and Britons, did ſo, and they thought it a practice detrimental to the health of new-born infants. If therefore chriſtians did dip infants (for there is full proof they did not baptize by ſprinkling) this diſpute about infanticide is the ſubject of all others the moſt likely to bring it to a hearing. The primitive chriſtians thought this the moſt cruel of all the calumnies laid againſt them, and their books are full of the ſubject: but not one ſyllable tranſpires about infant-baptiſm (1). Were the catholick church taxed with holding a religion deſtructive to infants, they would naturally reply, Our religion, indeed, doth require us to pour water on our infants, ſo did the pagan religion; we do this, but this doth not kill the children. The greek church would clear itſelf of the ſame calumny by ſaying, We do indeed initiate infants into our church by dipping, but we warm and prepare the bath as the Romans uſed to do when they bathed infants, ſo that the children take no damage. What would a modern Baptiſt ſay? Exactly what the fathers ſaid (2). "You tax us with killing and eating children. The charge is abſurd and cruel in the extreme, and we cannot conceive how you came to invent ſuch a ſcandalous calumny. We defy you to prove it. Why do not the magiſtrates examine us on this ſubject? What glory would redound to any governour who could produce a chriſtian that had eaten an hundred infants. We call it wickedneſs to expoſe infants, or to prepare them for ruin by training them up in vice: on the contrary we educate our children in virtue. You tax the Jews with this, and almoſt all nations have charged one another with it before the name of Chriſt was heard of. You, indeed, have ſuch inſtances in your own hiſtories, and yet we do not tax you with eating your children. But you hate us, even the bare name by which we are called, and without giving yourſelves any trouble to examine, you ſay all manner of evil of us." After all, this ſcandal ſeems to have riſen from the practice of receiving the Lord's ſupper, which chriſtians very early called eating the fleſh and drinking the blood of Chriſt, and which the pagans underſtood literally. Mr. Turner owns, this is a very plauſible and natural account of the origin of this calumny, and it is of ancient and high authority, as writers of the life of S. Blandina, and of perſecutions at Lyons have proved (3).

Some writers multiply the number of primitive ſufferers beyond all bounds of credibility; others diminiſh it in an oppoſite extreme: but all admit, that the true ground of their perſecutions lay in the nature of their religion. It could not coaleſce with any form of paganiſm in its worſhip; it could not unite any part of its morality with any modification of vice groſs or refined: therefore they who perſecuted no other form of religion, perſecuted this. The infinite wiſdom of God in revealing this religion appears eminently in the inflexibility of it. Had it admitted of coalition it would have been entirely ſunk and for ever loſt in that enormous maſs of iniquity, the roman empire, to the ſize of which the church bore no proportion. Chriſtianity was itſelf a ſyſtem of perfect juſtice. It was therefore naturally and neceſſarily ſubverſive of injuſtice. Strictly ſpeaking chriſtianity is not ſubverſive of trade, or learning, or government: but of the injuſtice which mankind incorporate with them: and yet it may impoveriſh a merchant, or ſubvert a Cæſar. Should chriſtianity go into a trading-company conducting traffick on principles of iniquity, it would ſubvert the houſe and fortune of the company, by annihilating the maxims by which their affairs had been conducted: and this would be the glory of it, for what is the fortune of a few individuals compared with the general benefit of univerſal juſtice! In the ſame manner in a government. If therefore there were any thing unjuſt in the government of the empire, the chriſtian religion was naturally ſubverſive of it, and chriſtians far from bluſhing for a religion of this kind, may admit on ground for ever defenſible that this divine body of juſtice had its ſhare in reducing the overgrown ſize of power, and conſequently enlarging the bounds of human liberty and univerſal felicity. The world was made for man and not man for Cæſar. The means by which different chriſtians endeavoured to effect this is a conſideration of a very different kind; and it is time now to examine what they were which chriſtians of the firſt and pureſt kind made uſe of.

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(1) Theoph. *ubi ſup.* Iſtud præterea et crudeliſſimum et immaniſſimum eſt, quod nobis intendunt crimen, dum impio ore garriunt, nos humanis veſci carnibus.

(2) See the writers quoted above: Minutius Felix, and others, and above all, Tertullian's *incomparable apology.* O quanta illius præſidis gloria ſi eruiſſet aliquem, qui centum jam infantes comediſſet, &c.

(3) P. de Colonia *Hiſt. Literaire de la ville de Lyon* 1728. *ſiecle ii. chap. i. ſ.* 3. *Epitre des fideles de Lyon et de Vienne.*... Sebastien Nain de Tillemont. *Memoires eccleſiaſt. tom. iii. A Paris.*

Writers of all denominations affirm, and a ſtrict adherence to truth compels them to do ſo, that the churches of the earlieſt times were ſmall independent ſocieties, who aſſembled at leaſt once a week on the firſt day, each in its own place to worſhip God: that in theſe aſſemblies prayer and praiſe were offered to the Deity by one at a time in the name of the reſt: that the holy ſcriptures were read, expounded, and enforced, and that giving inſtruction was open to all: that the doctrines taught were few, plain, and ſimple, taken immediately from the goſpel: that the ceremonies were baptiſm of adults by immerſion, and the Lord's ſupper: and that the morals of the people were irreproachable (4). If any of the writings attributed to thoſe who are called apoſtolical fathers, as Ignatius teacher at Antioch, Polycarp at Smyrna, Barnabas who was half a Jew, and Hermas, who was brother to Pius, teacher at Rome, if any of theſe be genuine, of which there is great reaſon to doubt, they only

(4) Mosheim.... Du Pin. La diſcipline eſtoit fort ſimple, et n'avoit preſque point d'autre eclat, que celui que lui donnoit la ſaintete des mœurs, et de la vie des chretiens,.... J. Basnage *Hiſt. Eccles....* Buddei *Eccles. Apoſt.* &c.

prove the piety and illiteracy of the good men (5). Some are worſe, and the beſt not much better than the godly epiſtles of the lower ſort of Baptiſts and Quakers in the time of the civil war in England. Barnabas and Hermas both mention baptiſm: but both theſe books are contemptible reveries of wild and irregular geniuſſes (6). They ſcent of enthuſiaſm, as the former do of prieſthood, which are preſumptions againſt their antiquity.

Toward the latter end of the ſecond century moſt of the churches aſſumed a new form, the firſt ſimplicity diſappeared; and inſenſibly, as the old diſciples retired to their graves, their children along with new converts, both Jews and Gentiles, came forward, and new modelled the cauſe. The firſt, and the moſt fatal of all events to the primitive religion, was the ſetting up of a chriſtian academy at Alexandria in Egypt. Chriſtians had been reproached with illiteracy, and this ſeemed a plauſible method to get rid of the ſcandal. This ſchool was firſt kept by Pantænus, whom Clement firſt aſſiſted and then ſucceeded, as Origen did him (7). Each improved on his predeceſſor, and all together invented queſtions about the chriſtian religion ſufficient to perplex and puzzle the whole world. From a wild enthuſiaſtical philoſopher of Alexandria, named Ammonius Saccas, theſe men imbibed a chaos of groſs errours called philoſophy, becauſe it was the production of idle men, who concealed their love of eaſe under the ſpecious name of love of wiſdom (8). Vain queſtions about matter and ſpirit; the whole and the parts, human ſouls, demons, and the firſt great cauſe; time, place, circumſtances of events; were all applied by theſe men to the chriſtian religion, and the inſpired writers were put on the rack, and tortured to give anſwers and determine points, of which probably they had never heard the names, and never entertained a thought. Here youth were bewildered under pretence of being taught: here the moſt dangerous of all rules of interpreting ſcripture was laid down, and the tutors firſt amazed themſelves with it, and then diſtracted the minds of their pupils. This was, "that ſcripture had a double ſenſe, the one obvious and literal, the other hidden and myſterious, which lay concealed, as it were, under the veil of the outward letter. The former they treated with the utmoſt neglect, and turned the whole force of their genius and application to unfold the latter; or, in other words, they were more ſtudious to darken the holy ſcriptures with their idle fictions, than to inveſtigate their true and natural ſenſe." Theſe are the words of that excellent hiſtorian, Dr. Moſheim (9).

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(5) J. B. COTELERII *S. S. Pat. Apoſtol. Edit.* JOANNIS CLERICI. *Amſtel.* 1724..... PHOTII *Myriobiblon. Cod. cxxvi.*

(6) BARNABÆ *ſ. xi.*... HERMÆ. *iv.* 3.... *iii.* 3.... *ix.* 16.

(7) S. CLEMENTIS *Alexand, op. edit.* JOAN. POTTERI. *Oxon.* 1715.... ORIGENIS *op. edit. Benedictini.*... TATIANI *et* HERMIÆ *op. cum notis varior. Oxon* 1700.... ATHENAGORÆ *Legatio. Studio* EDWARDI DE CHAIR. *Oxon.* 1706.

(8) MOSHEIM'S *Eccles. Hiſt. cent. ii. part ii. chap. i.... See* DR. MACLAINE'S *note.*

(9) MOSHEIM *as above, chap. iii. Concerning the doctrine of the chriſtian church.*

Some chriſtians foreſaw the miſchief which this ſchool would produce, and remonſtrated againſt it: but they ſoon ſunk into neglect and contempt. Time however hath diſcovered that their fears were not groundleſs, for from this intoxicated houſe proceeded in a regular train moſt of the evils that have ſince afflicted the church. Having laid down a double ſenſe of ſcripture as a firſt principle, all the reſt followed of courſe. The four goſpels became hard books, common chriſtians could not find out the meaning, for that lay in the myſtical ſenſe: conſequently the aid of the ſchool became neceſſary to inform them. In proportion as academicks taught in the churches, and were applauded, unphiloſophical and illiterate teachers were ſlighted. The title and dignity of philoſophers delighted ſo much theſe vain men that they always appeared in the philoſopher's cloak, ſo that a man able to teach was inſtantly known by his habit. The modeſt plain people retired and kept at due diſtance. Some churches choſe theſe ſuperiour geniuſſes to teach them conſtantly, and called them from the ſchool to ſettle among themſelves, and they returned the favour by introducing myſteries, from which proceeded firſt diſputes, and then councils of men of their own order to ſettle them. About the year one hundred and fifty, Theophilus, biſhop of Antioch, firſt made uſe of the word Trinity to expreſs what divines call perſons in the godhead: on which firſt Moſheim, and after him good Dr. King makes this juſt reflection (1). "The chriſtian church is very little obliged to him for his invention. The uſe of this, and other unſcriptural terms, to which men attach either no ideas or falſe ones, has deſtroyed charity and peace without promoting truth or knowledge. It has produced hereſies of the worſt kind."

Every effect produced by theſe cauſes became itſelf the cauſe of another effect. Every church had its haireſis, or opinion, and it became of conſequence to determine which was the right, for each teacher maintained his own with a great degree of gravity and obſtinacy, which ſuch a good man would not have done, if it had not been of the laſt importance to the ſalvation of his flock. To ſettle, then, the right haireſis it was neceſſary for the churches to form a council of delegates; and who ſo proper to be elected for the ſolemn purpoſe as the biſhop, the only one in the church, who underſtood the ſubject, aud knew how to defend it? In theſe aſſemblies delegated biſhops perfected themſelves in the art of wrangling, acquired a tone of authority, and practiſed airs of ſelf importance and dominion. Here, too, for order ſake, it was neceſſary to appoint a chairman, and him time metamorphoſed into an arch or head biſhop, and him again into a metropolitan, and the metropolitan again into a patriarch. Here then chriſtians loſt their liberties. Here delegates became firſt the maſters, and then the tyrants of the people. Here they determined their own haireſis, or hereſy to be the right opinion, or, as they called it, orthodoxy, and the opinions of others to be only mere opinions unſupported by any learned arguments, and condemned to oblivion by the council, that is, ſaid they, by the whole church which Jeſus purchaſed with his own precious blood. It was an enormous compliment, which theſe gentlemen paid themſelves. The goſpel, ſaid they, is evidently divine, becauſe nothing but the miraculous power of God could ſupport it in the hands of illiterate men. As if they and their quirks were to all ſucceeding ages to ſupply the place of the miraculous power of God!

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(1) MOSHEIM'S *Chronological tables, cent. ii.* . . . DR. KING'S *Rites of the greek church, pag.* 7.

Opinioniſts, or, to uſe the greek ſtyle, hereticks paid no regard to all this (2). They formed churches, taught their own doctrines, and held ſeparate aſſemblies every where. There were ſome, as the Nazarenes and Ebionites, harmleſs people, who mixed the rites of Moſes, or the traditions of the elders with the inſtitutes of Jeſus: there were others, as the Marcionites, the Valentinians, the Carpocratians, and the Baſilidians, who mixed the oriental philoſophy with the doctrines of the goſpel: and there were others, as the Montaniſts, who deſpiſed literature, and whoſe rigid diſcipline was tinctured with enthuſiaſm. There was Hermogenes, a painter, Hierax, a bookſeller, and great numbers more who followed their own convictions, taught churches, and probably were men of more zeal than that moſt numerous party, who called themſelves the catholick and orthodox church, and who calumniated all the reſt as hereticks who troubled the peace of Iſrael. It ought not to paſs unnoticed, that the learned Platoniſts "held it as a maxim, that it was not only lawful but even praiſe-worthy to deceive, and even to uſe the expedient of a lie in order to advance the cauſe of truth and piety. The Jews, who lived in Egypt, had learned and received this maxim before the coming of Chriſt, as appeared inconteſtably from a multitude of ancient records; and chriſtians were infected by both theſe (3)." Such were the benefits which the Alexandrian ſchool, and chiefly Origen, conferred on the primitive church! Should it appear (which is extremely doubtful becauſe his works have been garbled and altered) that Origen held infant-baptiſm; it would naturally be inquired, in which of his two meanings of ſcripture may a man find it, in the literal or myſtical ſenſe (4)? And if it were added, Origen ſaid, it was an apoſtolical tradition, it would be directly remembered that philoſophy had given him a patent for falſehood. The truth is, Origen's infants were not babes, but the boys and girls of the church ſchool. This raſh young man came quibbling into the church when he was about eighteen. The biſhop hated him. Old Clement and the pedants emboldened him. His private actions were mad and imprudent: his publick illiberal and intolerant. His preſumptuous affectation of orthodoxy was ſo great that when himſelf a boy, and another perſon an old man in time of perſecution were both ſheltered and maintained by a generous lady, he would not be preſent at family prayer becauſe forſooth the old man was an heretick. He perſecuted the world with an endleſs number of books, and wrote twenty tomes to explain the hidden myſteries of the goſpel of John. His writings, if any be his, abound with errours and contradictions. At length death forced him to quit his delightful work of diſputing and brangling in the year two hundred and fifty-four.

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(2) Dr. Lardner's *Hiſtory of the heretics of the two firſt centuries....* Thomæ Ittigii *de Hæreſibus Ævi Apoſtol....* S. Joannis Damasceni *op. ex edit.* Mich. le Quien. *Pariſiis* 1712.... Photii *Bibliot. ex verſione.* D. Hoeschelii. *et cum notis.* Andr. Schotti.

(3) Mosheim *as above, p. ii. cent. ii. chap. iii. ſ. xv.*

(4) Bayle. *Gen. Dict.*... Abrahami Sculteti *Medulla Theol. lib. vi.* De Origine celebre eſt vetuſtatis judicium; ubi bene, nemo melius: ubi male, nemo pejus.... Libros infinitos ſcripſiſſe dicitur.... laborant omnes homiliæ ejus communi vitio, quod allegoricis ſcripturæ interpretationibus ſunt obſcuratæ.

Whoever firſt affixed the idea of moral turpitude to mere mental errour did an irreparable injury to hiſtory. Epiphanius, a greek biſhop in the fourth century, poſſeſſed with this dæmon, is canonized for a ſaint for abuſing fourſcore claſſes of men under the name of hereticks (5). He was born of very obſcure parents and was left with a mother and a ſiſter by the death of his father in want of common neceſſaries. A generous Jew took him, brought him up, provided for his mother and ſiſter, and at his deceaſe left him his daughter and his fortune. Awhile after he was baptized, and retired to a monaſtery. The monks finding him troubleſome turned him out. Some time he wandered about Egypt, till hearing that a people in the iſle of Cyprus wanted a biſhop, he prayed to God for the biſhoprick, and the Lord heard his voice. He was elected, and with great reluctance firſt declined, and then accepted the office. He could open blind eyes, caſt out devils and raiſe the dead, but, Satan having a ſpite againſt him, he could not rid the iſland of hereticks, with whom it abounded. He therefore, in profound gratitude for the favours he had received from both Jews and chriſtians, wrote this libel on them all. The effect was wonderful. The book ſtruck Aetius, the heretick biſhop, dumb, and he never recovered his ſpeech (6). It brought all his congregation over to the orthodox faith, and there remained only a few ſtraggling hereticks, whom the new biſhop converted by means of an edict, which he obtained of the emperour Theodoſius; and ſo having thoroughly cleanſed the iſland of hereſy, and put it out of the power of hereticks to contradict him, Saint Epiphanius remains in folio hiſtorian in chief of hereticks to this day. Some Jews bathed every day in the ſpring and fall of the year for their health, and this man makes them hereticks for doing ſo, for he did not know that the ſame word which ſignifies ſalvation ſignifies alſo healing or health: he calls theſe Hemerobaptiſts. Who dare write after ſuch an hiſtorian as this?

Had Epiphanius been bleſt with one ray of liberality of ſentiment, and love

(5) ANTONII POSSEVINI *S. Epiphanii Vita.*

(6) SANCTI EPIPHANII *Epiſcopi Conſtantiæ Cypri Opera.... Contra Hemerobaptiſtas. ſecta xvii.... Contra Valeſios, hæreſim lviii.* Sunt autem omnes, &c.

of virtue, he would have written a hiſtory on other principles. When Arius was deprived of the right of judging for himſelf, and when he diſcovered the ſpirit of a man and a chriſtian by not yielding to orders of authority in matters of religion, Arius would have been the hero of his hiſtory, and Athanaſius the heretick: and when Arius baniſhed Athanaſius for doing what he himſelf had done, worſhipping God after the dictates of his conſcience, Arius would have become the heretick, and Athanaſius the hero. This would have made a zig-zag hiſtory of Greece, but it would have held up eminent examples of piety and virtue, now buried under two common unintereſting names of orthodoxy and hereſy; for doubtleſs there were good citizens and devout chriſtians among both.

During the firſt three centuries chriſtian congregations all over the eaſt ſubſiſted in ſeparate independent bodies, unſupported by government, and conſequently without any ſecular power over one another. All this time they were baptized churches, and though all the fathers of the four firſt ages down to Jerom were of Greece, Syria and Africa, and though they give great numbers of hiſtories of the baptiſm of adults, yet there is not one record of the baptiſm of a child till the year three hundred and ſeventy, when Galates, the dying ſon of the emperour Valens, was baptized, by order of a monarch, who ſwore he would not be contradicted (7). The age of the prince is uncertain, and the aſſigning of his illneſs as the cauſe of his baptiſm indicates clearly enough that infant-baptiſm was not in practice. When, therefore, in the fourth century, government eſpouſed one party of chriſtians, and eſtabliſhed them by law, to be for ever diſtinguiſhed from other citizens by ſubſcribing a ſpeculative teſt, neither did the eſtabliſhment alter the ordinance of baptiſm, nor did all the nonconformiſts refuſe to comply with the terms of communion on account of this ordinance. All parties, in the church and out of the church, baptized and rebaptized, except a few, who, like ſome modern chriſtians, thought baptiſm a local temporary inſtitute not binding on poſterity. It hath been obſerved that the councils took notice of many parties, who held ſeparate aſſemblies. Their teſtimony is highly credible, for a paſſion for freedom was popular in Greece. Pagans worſhipped liberty as a deity, and chriſtianity improved the love of freedom. The Greeks have publiſhed accounts of ſeven wonders of the world (8): but, had they, who had rendered themſelves ſo famous for reſiſting civil tyranny, patiently yielded to eccleſiaſtical deſpotiſm, they would have publiſhed an eighth wonder greater than all the ſeven (9).

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(7) Theod. *lib. iv. cap.* 17. Quæ cum Baſilius dixiſſet, exivit. Imperator vero jurejurando, more dementis Herodis, obſtrictus quibuſdam ſectæ Arianæ, qui aderant, pueri baptizandi negotium dat: puerque extemplo obiit mortem.

(8) Philo Byzantius. *De ſeptem orbis ſpectaculis. cum notis* Leonis Allatii.

(9) Ubbonis Emmii *Vetus Græcia*... Joan. Meursii *De populis et pagis Atticæ Lib. Ejuſdem*

The grecian conventiclers, as their practice proves beyond all contradiction, held that the decrees and conſtitutions of prelates were not binding on conſcience: that river water was preferable to conſecrated water for baptiſm: that the holy ſcripture was the rule of faith and practice: that to invoke ſaints was to reverence dæmons: that to kiſs and adore a croſs was impious and fooliſh: that God was to be worſhipped through one mediator, Chriſt: with many more truths naturally connected with theſe (1). The ſpeculations of theſe chriſtians on the ſcholaſtical debates in the eſtabliſhed church were greatly diverſified: but which ever party prevailed in the church, trinitarian or arian, they continued a ſeparate people, and conſequently are come down to the preſent times as incorrigible fanaticks, deſcribed under a variety of names, very few of which convey any juſt notion of the people.

This large body of diſſenters, were reſident in the empire from the firſt eſtabliſhment of the church in the fourth century to the deſtructtion of it in the thirteenth. They were named Meſſalians and Euchites, the one a hebrew, the other a greek name, and both ſignifying a people that pray, for they placed religion not in ſpeculation, but in devotion and piety. Euchite among the Greeks was a general name for a diſſenter, as Waldenſian was in the latin church, and as Nonconformiſt is in England. Dr. Moſheim ſays truly, that "the accounts, which have been given of them, are not in all reſpects to be depended upon: and there are ſeveral circumſtances which render it extremely probable, that many perſons of eminent piety, and zeal for genuine chriſtianity, were confounded by the Greeks with theſe enthuſiaſts, and ranked in the liſt of hereticks, merely on account of their oppoſing the vicious practices, and the inſolent tyranny of the prieſthood, and their treating with deriſion that motley ſpectacle of ſuperſtition that was ſupported by publick authority (2)." Under this name, adds he, all were comprehended, "who oppoſed the raging ſuperſtition of the times, or looked upon true and genuine piety as the eſſence of the chriſtian religion." What a pity, that ſuch a fine pen as that of Moſheim ſhould ſtain the character of ſuch a people with the odious name of enthuſiaſm!

Ejuſdem Piſiſtratus.... Fortuna Attica.... De regno Laconico Miſcel.... GUL. POSTELLI *de repub. Athen. tractatus....* CAROLI SIGONII *de repub. Athen. lib. iv....* M. FREHERI *Sylvula....* MARTIN. SCHOOCKII *Achaia vetus.....* NIC. GRAGIUS. *De repub. Lacedæm....* JOACH. STEPHANI *De juriſdict. Vet. Græcor. Lib. cum multis aliis apud* GRONOVII *Theſaur. Græc. Antiquitat. tom. iv. v. vi. De Republica Athenienſium.... De Repub. Corinthiorum.... De Repub. et Legibus Cretenſium.... Re R. et ſtatu Rhodiorum.... De Samo.... De Chio, &c. &c.... Libertas a Græcis ut Dea culta.*

(1) EMERICI *inquiſitionum Volumen, apud* M. FLACCII ILLYRICI [Francowitz] *Catal. Teſtium Veritatis. Francofurti* 1672. *iv. Græca Eccleſia.* Baſiliæ audio... in codice inquiſitionis hi errores, vel potius veritates Græcis tribuuntur... Quod Decreta et conſtitutiones paparum audiendæ non ſint, nec ſervandæ. Quod tantum valeat baptiſmus aquæ fluvialis, quantum conſecratæ. Quod adorare et oſculari crucem ſit ſtultum et impium, &c.

(2) *Eccleſ. Hiſt. cent. iv. part ii. chap. v.... cent. xii. part ii. chap. v.*

It is not neceſſary to look for founders of theſe ſects, for they were primitive chriſtians, who would not conform. They had, as an antient writer ſays, neither head nor tail, neither princes nor legiſlators, and conſequently no ſlaves, they had no beginning and no end, and in this reſpect they anſwered one of their nick names, which was Melchiſedecians, for like Melchiſedeck they were without father, without mother, without beginning of days or end of life (3). The church thought them enthuſiaſts and blaſphemers: the truth is, they followed no one, but acted as their own underſtandings ordered them, as good men in all ages have always done. It is pleaſant enough to hear the debates of monks and prelates in council about what terms of communion ought to be offered theſe people to bring them into the eſtabliſhment: whether in caſe they ſhould offer to conform, they ſhould allow their baptiſm to be valid, whether their miniſters ſhould be conſidered regularly ordained, whether they ſhould be allured, or compelled, and ſo on. The ſecond council of Nice, held in the year ſeven hundred and eighty-ſeven, would have made in the hands of Ariſtophanes, that facetious greek, a comedy highly entertaining (4). In vain the good prelates conſulted for the benefit of theſe reprobates. They ordered, women ſhould not baptize: but the Euchites underſtood it of orthodox women, a qualification which their matrons did not pretend to. The canons ordered prieſts to ſhave their beards: but the Euchites did not pretend to be of the clergy, and they wore theirs down to their girdle.

If any confidence could be placed in Epiphanius theſe people did not believe the trinity (5). He ſays, they ſpoke of one Almighty, and worſhipped only him. They erected a ſort of courts, probably baptiſteries like Betheſda; and they built oratories, and a kind of churches for publick worſhip. There they aſſembled morning and evening, and ſometimes the meeting held ſo long, that they had candles. There they prayed, ſung hymns, read the ſcriptures, and the wiſeſt taught the reſt. This was the whole of their publick religion. It would be difficult to find either hereſy or enthuſiaſm in all this.

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(3) EPIPHANII *Hæres. lxxx.* Neque principium neque finis, neque caput neque radix; ſed per omnia ſunt ſine fulcro, et ſine principe, ac ſeducti, non habentes omnino fulcrum nominis, aut ſtatuti, aut ritus, aut legiſlationis . . . a veritate digreſſi, precibus et hymnis vacaverunt.

(4) CONCIL NICÆN. *ii. ann.* 787. Actio prima. Joannes religioſiſſimus monachus, preſbyter et locum tenens apoſtolicæ ſedis Antiochiæ, inquit: Multorum ore celebratum eſt, perſancte pater, quo pacto oporteat eos recipere, qui ex hæreſi revertuntur; ob id ſuademus, ut ſacra ſynodus libros ſanctorum patrum impræſentiarum afferri jubeat, quo cognoſcamus et conſideremus quænam in recipiendis certa ratio conſervari debeat. Dubitamus ſiquidem et nos.

Conſtantimis religioſiſſimus Conſtantiæ, quæ eſt in Cypro, epiſcopus, inquit: Rogamus tuam beatitunem Domine, afferantur libri de quibus dictum eſt, ut plena fiducia hanc optimam ordinationem exequamur. Taraſius, ſanctiſſimus patriarcha, inquit: Juxta petitionem Dei amantiſſimorum virorum locum tenentium, et beatiſſimorum epiſcoporum, afferantur libri.

Conſtantinus, vir divinorum ſtudioſiſſimus, ſacri patriarchatus notarius, dixit: Secundum juſſionem veſtræ ſanctitatis adſumus ſacros codices afferentes, quos ex bibliotheca ſacri patriarchatus, et canonibus ſanctorum apoſtolorum, ſacrarumque ſynodorum, ſacrique noſtri patris Baſilii, et aliorum ſanctorum patrum traditionibus ſumpſimus.

Taraſius, ſanctiſſimus patriarcha, inquit: Principio legatur canonicarum ordinationum liber.

Sancta ſynodus dixit: legatur.

(5) *Hæres. lxxx. Contra Maſſalianos, quibus conjunguntur, Martyriani, et Euphemitæ, ac Sataniani Hæreſim.* Deos quidem dicentes, nullum vero adorantes, ſed uni ſoli adorationem tribuentes, et ipſum omnipotentem appellantes. Conſtruxerunt autem hi ſibi ipſis domos quaſdam, aut locos amplos inſtar fororum, et adoratoria ipſa vocaverunt.

This general parent ſtock, called Euchites, or diſſenters, it ſhould ſeem was divided and ſubdivided by the clergy into various claſſes of hereticks. They miſrepreſented their doctrines, blackened their characters, and as often as they could excited princes to perſecute them. This was the meaning of the artiſt, who drew the emperour Andronicus as a horſe, with a bridle in his mouth, and Arſenius the patriarch riding on him with the reins in his hand (6). Some of theſe diſſenters dogmatized as the eſtabliſhed clergy did, and they became manichean, arian, and athanaſian Euchites. Others were named after the countries, where they moſt abounded, as Bulgarians, Macedonians, Armenians, Phrygians, Cataphrygians, Galatians, Philippopolitans, or, as it was corruptly ſounded in the weſt, popolicans, poblicans, publicans. Others were named after ſome eminent teacher, as Paulicians and Paulianiſts from Paul of Samoſata, or, ſays the princeſs Comnena, from Paul and John the ſons of Callinices. Novatians, Donatiſts, Artemonites, and many more were of this claſs. Monarchian ſhocked the ear of an emperour, who knew no king but Cæſar. Melchiſedecian terrified prieſts, who knew no order of prieſthood but their own. Bogomilan bliſtered the populace, who hated the thought of praying for themſelves: a ſimple Euchite therefore was a mere nonconformiſt in Greece. A manichean Euchite was a diſſenter of a doctrinal diſputatious turn: and ſo of the reſt: if indeed the words had any preciſe meaning at all, which contradictory accounts render very doubtful (7). It would require the labour of a life to inveſtigate, diſentangle, and elucidate the hiſtory of hereticks: but every body knows, nothing is eaſier than to pick hereſy out of any book, not excepting the wiſeſt of all books, the ſcripture. Sometimes it is ſaid, they rejected ſome books of ſcripture: that is, they were criticks. Is a man the leſs virtuous for refuſing to believe Solomon's ſong divine? They are generally taxed with great crimes: but is it credible that vicious characters could do what they did, or ſuffer what they ſuffered? Why were they not puniſhed for theſe crimes, and not burnt for opinions? The truth is, they would not be governed in religion by any thing except their own convictions. There is not a ſingle hereſy laid to the charge of theſe blaſted characters, which might not with the utmoſt eaſe be charged on the orthodox. Can any thing be more horribly manichean than to worſhip the devil? But had the works of S. Gregory Nazianzen been deſtroyed, and the titles only of his poems come down

(6) Nicephori Græcoræ *Hiſt. Byzant. Pariſiis* 1702, *lib. vii. De Athanaſio patriarcha.*

(7) Joan. Cantacuzeni *Hiſt. lib. ii. cap. xxxix. De Bailaamo Monacho. p.* 332. Απαλειωτας καλουντα, και ψευδομενους καλουντα, και Μασσαλιανους, &c.

to poſterity, what might not have been ſaid of ſuch a liſt as this: "A copy of verſes addreſſed to God...another to Chriſt...a third to his own ſoul...a fourth to the devil...a fifth to the ſame"...and ſo on (8)?

Who ſteals my purſe, ſteals traſh: 'tis ſomething, nothing;
'Twas mine, 'tis his, and has been ſlave to thouſands;
But he that filches from me my good name,
Robs me of that which not enriches him,
And makes me poor indeed (9).

One of the greateſt evils, that the introduction of ſcholaſtical divinity into the chriſtian church produced, was that cruel ſpirit of ſlander, which from that day to this hath aſperſed the characters of the dead, and perplexed the minds of the living. Not to believe what haughty dogmatiſts affirmed to be true, was reckoned a crime, and it was meritorious to excommunicate an heretick, to torment them with books of intricate ſophiſtry, to tax them with errours which nobody held, and crimes which were never committed, to deſtroy his anſwers, and to deliver his name down to poſterity to be held in perpetual execration. That there were great numbers of chriſtians in the ſecond and third centuries, who held the various opinions that are held now on the points in diſpute, cannot be doubted: but where the crime of doing ſo lay none but a man mad with orthodoxy and intolerance could ever yet diſcover. Hence that perpetual and almoſt impenetrable darkneſs, which the inſignificant opinions, falſe virtues, and wonderful miracles of the ſaints, interlined by way of contraſt with the damnable hereſies, infernal vices, and horrible deaths of hereticks, ſhed over all ancient eccleſiaſtical hiſtory (1). The orthodox were buſily employed in ſuch good works as theſe when a revolution took place in their affairs by the removal of the ſeat of empire from Rome to Byzantium, which from hence is to be named, from Conſtantine the emperour, Conſtantinople.

Eleven years before this time a violent diſpute had broke out at Alexandria betwen Alexander the biſhop of the church, and Arius one of the preſbyters, concerning the nature of Jeſus Chriſt (2). Origen had paved the way by affirming that the ſon was in God what reaſon is in man, and that the holy ghoſt was only the energy of God. This is a ſpecies of what is called Sabellianiſm. Alexander affirmed, that the ſon was of the ſame eſſence with the Father. Arius, on the contrary, held that the ſon was eſſentially different from the Father, but that he was the firſt and moſt excellent of all creatures: that the Father had created him out of nothing the firſt of all his works, and by him had created the world. The diſputes occaſioned by theſe ſubtilties were agitated with ſo much violence, that government thought it neceſſary to take cognizance of it. The emperour Conſtantine acted with great moderation, and condeſcenſion. He thought the diſpute inſignificant, and in a friendly letter adviſed the parties to ſettle their differences amicably. As they would not do ſo, the emperour ſummoned a council of the whole church to meet at Nice in Bythynia to put an end to the diſpute. There were, it is ſaid, more than two thouſand catholick biſhops in the chriſtian world, and probably as many heretical biſhops: but only three hundred and eighteen met. Arius was condemned, and Jeſus was declared conſubſtantial, or of the ſame eſſence with the Father. This was the firſt general council that ever was held in the world, and the decrees were enforced on all chriſtians by the civil power. Here, then, chriſtian liberty was firſt publickly executed by law.

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(8) S. GREGORII *Nazianzeni Op. tom. ii. Pariſiis* 1630. *Carm. Iambic. xvii.* εις διαϐολον Απελθ απελθε δυσμενες ϐροτοκτονε, &c.... *xviii.* Αλλως.... Ηλθες μεν ηλθες, &c.

(9) SHAKSPERE. *Othello.*

(1) EPIPHANII *Opera ex edit.* DION. PETAVII. *Pariſiis.* 1622....S. IRENÆI *Opera ex edit.* RENATI MASSUET. *Benedictini. Pariſiis* 1710....EUSEBII *Hiſt. Eccles.*...SOCRATIS... THEODORETI....SOZOM. EVAG. *Hiſt. Eccles. Cantabrigiæ* 1720....JOANNIS CLERICI *Hiſt. Eccles. duor. prim. ſæculorum. Amſtel.* 1716....LARDNER's *Credibility, &c.*

(2) EPIPH. *Hæres. lxix.*...THEODORET. *lib. iv. cap. i.*...SOZOM. *lib. i. cap. xv.*.... EUSEB. *Vita Conſtant. lib. ii.*...VALESII *Obſ. Eccles.*

It muſt not appear ſtrange that of the hiſtory and the acts of this, the firſt and the moſt important of all general councils, there ſhould be ſo many editions by different authors, that it is not eaſy to determine which is the moſt to be depended on (3). Some make twenty, others forty canons, and others multiply them to more than fourſcore (4). All parties had ſo much intereſt in the buſineſs that each endeavoured to give the hiſtory a turn favourable to its own hypotheſis. Athanaſius ſays, the Arians burnt the canons (5).

Catholicks,

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(3) ABRAHAMI ECHELLENSIS *Diſſert. De auctorit. Canonum. Nicænæ Synodi.* Objiciet forte aliquis, qui fieri poteſt, ut tot libros, tot canones, et conſtitutiones edere potuiſſent patres illi in eo conſilio. Ad hunc reſpondemus: haud mirum eſſe, ſi tempus attendamus, quo duravit concilium, et patrum in eo congregatorum numerum, et ſapientiam. Nam patres fuerunt cccxviii, ſelecti ex mmcccxlviii, ut habet Alexandrinæ editionis præfatio: ſive ex. m.m.xlviii, ut Melchitarum aliorumque proferunt editiones. Tempus autem durationis concilii triennii fuit, &c.

(4) SEVERINI BINII *notæ in Concil. Nicæn.* Quanquam Græci omnes aſſerant et tueantur, Nicæni concilii canones viginti tantum fuiſſe... addantque poſt diligentem inquiſitionem factam, in Archivis Alexandrinæ, Antiochenæ, et Conſtantinopolitanæ eccleſiæ, non plures quam viginti canones repertos eſſe: verius tamen eſt plures quam viginti a patribus Nicæni concilii conſtitutos fuiſſe, eorumque nonnullos naufragium paſſos eſſe.

EUTYCHII *Patriarch. Alex. Chron.* Compoſuerunt etiam ipſi (Conſtantino) libros quadraginta, qui conſtitutiones et leges continebant.

ABU-HARCHUS *Stabbaſides Apol. adverſ. chriſtianos (Mohammedanus ſcriptor apud Abr. Echellen.)* Poſuerunt Nicæni Conſtantino fidem, itemque quadraginta libros, quos canones appellaverunt.

(5) ECHELLENS. Fac patres Nicænos multos edidiſſe libros: fac eoſdem plures condidiſſe canones, et conſtitutiones; ſequiturne proinde, hos Arabicos canones eſſe Nicænos? Quis enim neſcit ea omnia jam olim periiſſe in illa igne ſævientibus Arianis? Ad hæc reſpondetur.

Nemo,

Catholicks, however, collected and publiſhed them, and there are ſome articles in which both greek and latin catholicks agree.

To ſubſcribers the true edition is of great conſequence, and the council ought to have taken care of this very important point. The framers of the Engliſh epiſcopal church at the reformation acted with more circumſpection, by requiring the clergy to approve of two books of homilies, one of which had been ſet forth in the time of Edward the ſixth: and to allow that the book of ordering prieſts and deacons, ſet forth in the ſecond year of Edward the ſixth, had not any thing that of itſelf was ſuperſtitious and ungodly (6). The want of ſuch preciſion in another period of the Engliſh hiſtory produced the well-known reſiſtance of what was called the et cetera oath: for who could tell what et cetera ſtood for? Of the Nicene council it is evident that there are only twenty or twenty-two canons, which can with any ſhadow of argument be reputed genuine (7). Proteſtant divines make many juſt obſervations to ſerve the common cauſe of liberty on this celebrated council: as that the emperour called it, and conſequently that the biſhop of Rome hath not always been in poſſeſſion of the excluſive right of calling councils: that Oſius, biſhop of Corduba, preſided, and ſigned firſt, and the deputies of pope Silveſter after him, whence they infer that the pope hath not always preſided in councils: with many more of the ſame kind (8). There is one which belongs to this hiſtory. The canons ſay nothing of infants. One regulates the admiſſion of catechumens, another the rank of deaconneſſes, and a third expreſsly enjoins anabaptiſm. The fathers, however, were not rigid Baptiſts, for the emperour at the head of the council was only a catechumen, and was not baptized till five or ſix years after the council was diſſolved.

In order to form a clear notion of this anabaptiſm, it is neceſſary to go back. Near an hundred years before this time, there were many chriſtian congregations, who held a middle doctrine between the two extremes, which however they explained differently, concerning the perſon of Chriſt. They did not, on the one hand, call him a mere man, whom the ſcriptures call God. They durſt not, on the other, pronounce him the ſupreme being: and they had either no notion of a plurality of perſons in one God, or they did not approve it. They therefore held what is called now a days the indwelling ſcheme. They thought, that at the birth of the man Chriſt, a certain divine energy, and Praxeas thought the perſon of the father united itſelf to him. There were

Nemo ſane neſcit, Arianos igne, imo magis inuſitata rabie in acta, aliaque Nicæna ſæviiſſe: ſed nemo etiam ſibi perſuadebit facile, Arianam illam ſævitiam cunctas terrarum orbis pervaſiſſe provincias.

(6) *Articles of Religion, &c. xxxv. of homilies, xxxvi. of conſecration of biſhops and deacons.*

(7) LABBEI *Concil. Nicen. tom. ii.*

(8) JAQUES BASNAGE *Eccles. Hiſt. liv. ii. cap. viii.*

Oſius Epiſcopus civitatis Cordubenſis provinciæ Hiſpaniæ dixit: Ita credo ſicut ſuperius ſcriptum eſt. . . . Victor et Vincentius preſbyteri urbis Romæ pro venerabili viro papa et epiſcopo noſtro ſancto Silveſtro ſubſcripſimus: ita credentes, ſicut ſupra ſcriptum eſt.

many all over the empire of this kind. In Africa Praxeas: at Rome Theodotus: in Aſia Artemas, or Artemon, and many more variouſly denominated (9). Some were called Monarchians, becauſe they denied a plurality of perſons in God, and Patropaſſians, becauſe, as their opponents inferred, their ſcheme ſuppoſed the Father to ſuffer in the ſon. Others of the ſame judgement were named from their teachers. The moſt famous of theſe was Paul of Samoſata, teacher or biſhop of the church at Antioch.

Paul was eloquent, rich, and popular, and, it ſhould ſeem, theſe advantages, and not his vices, excited the envy of neighbouring biſhops. He thought Jeſus a man, inhabited as it were by the deity, and therefore to be called God, as a manſion is named from the family reſident in it. He did not offer prayer to Jeſus: but to God, through him. He prevailed with the church to lay aſide ſome hymns, which they had uſed in publick worſhip in the time of his predeceſſor, and in which Jeſus was invoked as God. He ſeems to have paid very little regard to the clerical character, for he dreſſed, and acted, like other citizens, appeared in publick places, and exerciſed the friendly office an arbitrator in his own church, and that of a publick magiſtrate in the city. Envy and orthodoxy united to ſuppreſs this man. The neighbouring teachers pretended he taught hereſy, and they aſſembled at Antioch to deliberate on the ſubject (1). It was not eaſy to convict him of hereſy, for he had a genius lofty and far ſuperiour to their vulgar prejudices. They were word-mongers, he was a man of ſoul. He thought the man Jeſus might, though improperly, be called God. They drew up an orthodox letter, and ſent to him, requiring an explicit anſwer, on pain of their renouncing communion with him. An excommunication by prieſts unſupported by ſecular power is a mere bugbear. Paul treated it ſo, and continued to teach the church at leaſt ſix years after this time: at the end of which the orthodox party had influence enough to get the church to elect another teacher, whom they ordained. For theſe purpoſes they held another ſynod, and ſent forth a circular letter to juſtify their conduct, and conſequently to aſperſe the character of Paul: whoſe greateſt crime ſeems to have been, that he would not ſay as they ſaid. Τον μεν γαρ υιον του ϑεου ου βουλεται ΣΥΝομολογειν. Paul would not quit the houſe in which he lived, and in which the church aſſembled for worſhip. The party carried the affair before the emperour Aurelian, who determined, as any pagan judge at that diſtance would have done, and who, moreover, for a reaſon to be mentioned preſently, was prejudiced againſt Paul, that the houſe ſhould be reſigned to that biſhop, whom the biſhops of Italy acknowledged.

The opinion of Paul in this third century was evidently the ſame that Artemas held in the ſecond, for the cloſe of the circular letter inſults him by ſaying, he might, now that he was depoſed, hold communion with Artemas and his followers (2). Dr. Moſheim thought, the errour of Artemas was an effect of grecian philoſophy: but it doth not appear ſo in Paul (3). He ſent ten queſtions to Dionyſius of Alexandria, which are nothing but ſimple texts of ſcripture with queſtions ſubjoined: as, Chriſt ſaith, My ſoul is troubled: Can the nature of God be troubled? The ſcripture ſaith, The child grew, and waxed ſtrong in ſpirit? How can this agree with your opinion, that he was before all worlds coeternal with the Father? The ſcripture ſaith, Jeſus was hungry and weary: But is Almighty God ſubject to hunger and fatigue (4)? All are queſtions of this ſort, and ſeem to be the natural inquiries of an ingenuous mind. It would not be fair to inſert all the queſtions here, unleſs the anſwers of Dionyſius were inſerted alſo: but theſe would take up too much room. It may, however, be obſerved, that Paul's introduction diſcovers a mildneſs of temper and refinement of manners. "You call me crooked ſerpent. This does not affect me. I honour you for your age, and for your ſufferings for Chriſt: and every body eſteems you for your wiſdom and prudence. Do not complain of my obſcurity. I will tell you what I mean in the language of ſcripture without any mixture of my own." This is the ſubſtance of his introduction (5). Happy, had his opponents treated him with equal candour!

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(9) TERTULLIAN. *contra Praxeam*. . . . EUSEB. *Hiſt. Eccles. lib. v. cap. xxviii*. . . . LARDNER's *Hiſtory of Hereticks of the two firſt centuries.*

(1) CONCIL. ANTIOCHENUM. *i. an.* 264. . . . EUSEB. *Hiſt. Eccles. lib. vii. cap. xxvii. xxviii*. . . . CONCIL ANTIOCH. *ii, an.* 270.

The eaſt was governed at this time by Odenatus king of Palmyra. His conſort the illuſtrious Zenobia rendered Palmyra the ſeat of learning and liberty. The firſt critick in the world, the great Longinus, as eminent for his love of liberty as for his refined literature, was tutor to the children of the royal family, and Paul was teacher of chriſtianity to the queen (6). Through him, moſt probably, Longinus became acquainted with the writings of Moſes, and Paul the apoſtle. During the life of Odenatus the factions of envious biſhops did not affect Paul, for the queen was known to be one of his diſciples (7). In two hundred and ſixty-ſeven Odenatus died, the queen ſucceeded to the government of the eaſt, and Longinus was her prime miniſter. By his advice ſhe reſiſted the tyranny of the roman emperours, and with a noble paſſion for freedom formed alliances with the Armenians, and others, for the purpoſe of repelling that mighty maſs of tyranny, which the roman armies were endeavouring to roll over all the inhabitants of the eaſt. In this glorious cauſe the friends of freedom fell. Paul was depoſed. Longinus, that honour to his ſpecies, was killed in revenge for a letter, the very breath of freedom, which he had dictated, and which was ſent to Aurelian (8). His laſt words were, If this world be only a great priſon, happy is he who is firſt liberated. Zenobia and her family were led in triumph to Rome, and ſome hiſtorians to this day, without ſhedding one tear over the unfortunate captives, or feeling one manly emotion of reſentment againſt the mean tyrant, comfort their readers with a vain tale, that Zenobia inhabited ſuch an houſe in the ſuburbs, that Zenobius, archbiſhop of Florence, was of her family, and that being better informed ſhe dreſſed in a cloſe hood, lived like a roman matron, and died in the orthodox faith, having renounced the errours of Paul the Samoſatan. Such a writer, curſed with orthodoxy, forgets the feelings and the language of a man (9)!

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(2) *Epiſtolæ Synodicæ, Dionyſio, Maximo, et omnibus ubicunque in orbe terrarum collectis epiſcopis, preſbyteris, diaconis, et univerſæ ac catholicæ ſub cælo eccleſiæ: Helenus, et Hymæneus, et Theophilus, Theotecnus, et Maximus, Proclus, Nicomas, et Ælianus, Paulus, Bolanus et Protegenes, Hierax et Eutychius, Theodorus, Malchion et Lucius, et reliqui omnes epiſcopi, et preſbyteri, et diaconi, qui civitates et regiones finitimas apud nos incolunt, et eccleſiæ Dei, quæ apud nos ſunt, dilectis fratribus in domino, ſalutem.* Paulus autem ad Artemonem literas ſcribat; et ſi qui Artemonis partibus faveant, cum eo communicent.... *ex verſione* VALESII. Hic vero ad Artemam ſcribat, ſi lubet: et qui Artemam ſectantur cum eo communicent.

(3) MOSHEIM. *Eccl. Hiſt. cent. ii. part ii. chap. v. ſ. xx. &c.*

(4) PAULI *Samoſatenſis hæretici decem quæſtiones, quas Dionyſio Alexandrino propoſuit.* Quæſtio i. Quomodo ais et ſcribis quod natura Chriſtus Deus apoſtolorum eſt; et non homo ſicut nos Chriſtus? Videmus enim ire ad paſſionem, et dicere: Nunc anima mea turbata eſt. Age, eſt ne hæc natura Dei? &c.

(5) Λογον μεν υμων ποιουμαι Honoro vos tamquam honore dignos propter multam ætatem, et quia ſtigmata Chriſti fertis in corpore veſtro. Etenim apud omnes admirationi eſtis propter ſapientiam et prudentiam: contumelias vero in me veſtras nihil curo, quod me anguem ſerpentem vocas, deinde terra veſcentem et abjectionem. Prologus ergo a vobis nunc ſcriptus ſic ait, ut dicam quod volo, non obſcure, ſed aperte. Quare nihil proprium dicam, ſed de divina ſcriptura.

(6) DIONYSII LONGINI. *De ſublimitate comment. edit.* ZACH. PEARCE.

Paul had a great number of followers, who were called after him Paulianiſts. Some held ſeparate aſſemblies: others continued in the churches, and by their mild and moderate manners kept peace. Some years after the depoſition of Paul, Leontius was biſhop of the church at Antioch (1). The church then conſiſted of three parties of different ſentiments concerning the nature of Chriſt. The biſhop was of the opinion of Paul. He and the Paulianiſts and Arians uſed to begin to ſing the doxology, Glory be to the father, with the whole church, and then pauzed. The orthodox went on, and ſung, And to the ſon, and to the holy ghoſt: and then all joined in chorus, For ever and ever. Amen. Many zealous people blamed the biſhop, and taxed him with being cold and indifferent to truth. He loved peace better than preciſion of ſpeculation, and one day as he was preaching (he was a very aged man) ſhaking his ſilver locks and patting his bald head, he exclaimed, When this ſnow is melted you will diſcover a deal of dirt: meaning, that after his death ſome zealous ſucceſſors would head parties and divide them: and ſo it came to paſs.

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(7) ATHANASII *Epiſt. ad Solit.* Ιουδαια Ζηνοβια, &c. Zenobia Judæa erat, et protectrix Pauli Samoſatenſis.... PHILAST. *apud* BARON. Zenobiam reginam in oriente tunc temporis Paulus docuit Judaizare.

(8) LONGINI *edit. Zach. Pearce. De vit. et ſcript. Longini. pag.* 33. Nemo adhuc, præter te, quod poſcis, literis petiit: virtute faciendum eſt, quicquid in rebus bellicis eſt gerendum: Deditionem meam petis, quaſi neſcias Cleopatram reginam perire maluiſſe, quam in qualibet vivere dignitate: nobis Perſarum auxilia non deſunt, quæ jam ſperamus; pro nobis ſunt Saraceni, pro nobis Armenii: Latrones Syri exercitum tuum, Aureliane, vicerunt, quid igitur ſi illa venerit manus, quæ undique ſperatur? pones profecto ſupercilium, quo nunc mihi deditionem, quaſi omnifariam victor, imperas.

(9) CÆSARIS BARONII *Annales.*

(1) THEODORET. *lib. ii. cap. xxiv.*... SOZOM. *lib. iii. cap. xiii.*... BASNAGE *ubi ſup.*

All the claſſes, who did not hold the doctrine of a trinity of perſons in God, whether called Artemonites, Paulianiſts, Arians, Monarchians, Patropaſſians, Sabellians, or by any other name, adminiſtered baptiſm in the name of Chriſt: and theſe were the people, whom the council of Nice required to be rebaptized, in caſe they came to join the popular party, who believed the trinity of perſons, who called themſelves the orthodox, and who had managed, being the larger and moſt complying party of chriſtians, to get themſelves eſtabliſhed by the ſecular power.

The council of Nice is a very intereſting affair in church hiſtory, and will for ever ſerve as an example of the danger of ſetting up religious teſts. It doth not appear that any thing more was intended than the procuring of peace by the means of uniformity. The emperour at firſt thought the diſpute about the trinity an idle affair (2). He reproved, in a letter which he had the condeſcenſion to write to Alexandria, both Alexander for ſtarting it, and Arius for violently oppoſing it, and adviſed them to be at peace, and let a queſtion alone, which neither of them could determine. He treated all with great goodneſs. He allowed Euſebius, biſhop of Cæſarea, who if he were not an Arian, was at leaſt arianized, to be familiar with him. Paphnutius, an old orthodox biſhop, who had loſt an eye in time of perſecution, and was a cripple, he condeſcended to receive as his father, and to kiſs the ſocket of the eye that had been loſt in a cauſe ſo juſt. He rallied Aceſius, a Novatian biſhop, for diſſenting from the orthodox, while he profeſſed to believe as they did; and when the old man juſtified his conduct by urging the purity of the diſcipline of his own church: Well then, Aceſius, replied the emperour, ſet up your ladder, and go to heaven alone. When he went into the council of Nice, he choſe to ſit below the biſhops, and yet ſome of them were very poor mean men. He had heard them talk of the preſence of God in their ſynods, and themſelves as a ſort of demigods divinely commiſſioned, and when they addreſſed their eloquent definitions to him, he affected not to be competent to judge of ſuch ſublime myſteries; "Verily it was not for him to judge even of their vices; ſhould he have the misfortune to ſee a biſhop committing adultery, he would throw his robe over him to conceal him: no, gentlemen, God ſtandeth in the congregation of the gods, you are appointed to be gods to us: it would be indecent in a man to judge gods." How many of theſe reports are true, it is difficult to ſay: but that Conſtantine endeavoured at firſt to ſet theſe men an example of moderation, and make them all live in peace, ſeems not to admit of a doubt. If any ſeverity followed, it came of courſe, and was applied more to refractorineſs than heterodoxy.

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(2) Eusebii *Vita Conſtantini. lib. iii. cap.* 12.... Socratis *Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. i. cap. vii. viii. &c.*... Theod. *lib. i. cap. vii.*.... Rufin. *lib. i. cap. ii.*.... Gregorii *Epiſt. lib. iv. epiſt. lxxv.*.... Imperator.... libellos flammis tradidit: illud prophetæ Pſal. lxxxii. i. uſurpans: Deus ſtetit in ſynagoga deorum, in medio autem deos dijudicat. Vos nobis a Deo dati eſtis dii, et indecorum eſt ut homo judicet deos. Ego plane, ſi mæchantem epiſcopum viderem, ſcelus obtegerem paludamento.

The council itſelf, if any judgment may be formed by their canons, only intended to preſerve the purity of the church by getting rid of diverſity of ſentiment. The canons that provide for the admiſſion of ſuch as ſhould quit the puritan and paulianiſt churches, and offer to join the catholick church, ſeem to imply mild meaſures: the firſt were to be received by laying on hands, the laſt by being rebaptized: but here are no direct orders to ſuppreſs and puniſh ſuch as ſhould not comply (3). If they came they were to be admitted on ſuch and ſuch terms. If violence followed, it followed of courſe: it was the natural conſequence of erecting a teſt, which never was, or ever can be enforced without perſecution. Hereticks are the moſt ſtubborn of all unyielding animals in the world.

When the principles of a government have been clearly laid down, it is almoſt needleſs to enter on a detail of conſequences. In this late age of the world every body knows what will follow. In the preſent caſe the Nicene fathers ſet up a religious teſt, incorporated it with civil government, and ſhouted that an orthodox emperour was at the head of the church, and as a pledge of good things to come Arius was baniſhed and his books burnt. Preſently the emperour changes his mind, Arius is recalled and orthodoxy receives a counter-ſhock. Time rolls on. Now an arian biſhop reigns, and he baniſhes Trinitarians; then a trinitarian ſucceeds to the purple, and he cleanſes the church of Arians: next a pagan aſcends the imperial throne, and he deſpiſes or perſecutes both: but with what grace can either complain? This long period may therefore be very well abridged, and a general notion of the greek church formed by three obſervations: the firſt on the emperours of the eaſt: the ſecond on the patriarchs and leading church men: and the third on diſſenters, among whom were religious opinions of all ſorts, but no intolerance.

The emperour Conſtantine in the latter part of his reign endeavoured to ſuppreſs idolatry, and to diſcountenance hereſy. He founded and endowed a great number of places of worſhip, elevated the clergy to rank and ſplendour; and departed this life on Whitſunday the twenty-ſecond of May, in the ſixty-ſixth year of his age, and in the year of Chriſt three hundred and thirty-ſeven. The empire was divided between his three ſons. The ſucceſſion in the eaſt exhibits a few good, and a great many bad men. Mr. Voltaire's general deſcription is too juſt (4). "The capital of the greek empire, ſays he, was the

(3) *Canon. viii.* De his, qui ſe nominant Catharos, id eſt mundos, *ſi aliquando venerint* ad eccleſiam catholicam, placuit ſancto et magno conſilio, ut impoſitionem manus accipientes ſic in clero permaneant, &c.

Can. xix. Si quis confugit ad eccleſiam catholicam de Paulianiſtis et Cataphrygis, ſtatutum eſt rebaptizari eos omnino debere.

(4) VOLTAIRE's *General Hiſtory, vol. i. chap. xix. of the Empire of Conſtantinople in the eighth and*

the theatre of revolutions and crimes. A mixture of greek artifice and thracian ferocity formed the reigning character of that court: and indeed what a ſpectacle does Conſtantinople exhibit to the view? The emperour Maurice and his five ſons maſſacred! Phocas aſſaſſinated, as a reward for his murders and inceſtuous proceedings! Conſtantine poiſoned by the empreſs Martina, who has her tongue pulled out, while the noſe of her ſon Heracleonas is cut off before her face! Conſtans knocked on the head in the bath by his own ſervants! Conſtantine Pogonatus putting out the eyes of his two brothers! Juſtinian ii. his ſon, while about to act the ſame ſcene at Conſtantinople, that Theodoſius had done at Theſſalonica, is mutilated and laid in irons by Leontius, at the inſtant that he is going to put to death the principal citizens! Leontius ſoon after treated in the ſame manner as he had treated Juſtinian! This ſame Juſtinian reſtored again and coolly looking on while the blood of his enemies waſhes the publick market places and afterward dying himſelf by the hands of the common hangman! Philip Bardanes dethroned and condemned to loſe his eyes! Leo the Iſaurian, and Conſtantine Copronymus, dying indeed in their beds, but after a bloody reign, as unhappy for the prince as for the ſubjects! The empreſs Irene, the firſt woman who mounted the throne of the Cæſars, and the firſt too who murdered her own ſon to attain the imperial dignity! Nicephorus, her ſucceſſor, hated by his ſubjects, taken priſoner by the Bulgarians, and thrown for food to the beaſts of the field, while his ſkull is uſed as a cup by his conqueror! Laſtly, Michael Curopalatus, cotemporary with Charlemagne, confined in a cloiſter, dying a leſs cruel, though not leſs ſhameful death than his predeceſſors! In this manner was the empire governed during the ſpace of two hundred years. What hiſtory of private robbers, publickly executed for their crimes, can be more horrid and diſguſting?"

The reſidence of the emperour at Conſtantinople naturally checked the growing ſplendour of the church at Alexandria, and attracted the eyes of all to the metropolitan church, graced with the preſence of the imperial court, and riſen now into a palace, crowded with officers, who were embelliſhed with titles and enriched with endowments. By degrees the hierarchy acquired a regular form, and the whole court was divided into twelve patriarchates, the three of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jeruſalem being ſubject to that of Conſtantinople: the patriarch of which diſputed empire with the pope of Rome. The prelates of this church in this period may be divided into three claſſes. The firſt were men of learning and piety: the ſecond were diſſipated men: and the third were mere politicians, ſoft, ſupple, and maſters of addreſs, or tyrannical and bloody, as their ſecular intereſt required.

The greek church produced a great number of eminent men, learned, eloquent, and devout: but, unhappily, when a ſpeculative teſt was ſet up,

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and ninth centuries.... Hiſtoriæ Byzantinæ. tom. xxxvi. Variorum Scriptorum. Collectio ZONARÆ. ....COMNENÆ....NICETÆ....DUCÆ....CANTACUSENI, &c.

the ancient diſtinction of good and bad men fell into diſuſe, and was ſucceeded by another taken from the teſt, ſo that eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians divide by Arius and Athanaſius, and inſtead of informing readers that ſuch a man feared God and wrought righteouſneſs, and ſuch a man did evil, and taught the Greeks to ſin, they content themſelves with ſaying, this was an Arian, and that was an Athanaſian: as if a belief of either of the creeds could ſupply the place of obedience to all the ten commandments. The introduction of a double ſenſe of ſcripture doctrine opened a way for a double morality, ſupported by detached ſentences, and ſo explained as to put the falſe virtues of zeal for orthodoxy, cunning to make proſelytes, penance and mortification, the building of gloomy retreats for the melancholy, and advancing the ſecular glory of a party in the place of the great law of nature, love to God and all mankind. Euſebius and Baſil biſhops of Cæſarea, Cyril biſhop of Jeruſalem, and Cyril biſhop of Alexandria, Athanaſius patriarch, and Arius preſbyter of Alexandria, Gregory biſhop of Nazianzum, and Gregory biſhop of Nyſſen, Ephraim the Syrian, John Chryſoſtom patriarch of Conſtantinople, Photius, and many more of this claſs, were undoubtedly men of abilities, learning, and faſhionable eloquence (5). It is difficult, and not neceſſary to determine on what line in a ſcale of moral excellence each ought to be placed: but certain it is, the conſtitution of the church gave always a contingent, and ſometimes an awkward, or retrograde motion to their virtue.

Of the gay and diſſipated one is ſufficient for an example. In the year nine hundred and thirty-three, Theophylact, ſon of the emperour, was preferred to the patriarchate of Conſtantinople, the higheſt dignity in the church. He was only about ſixteen years of age: but having been deſigned for the church, he had been made an eunuch, and paſſed through the ſeveral offices in the cathedral of S. Sophia neceſſary to an arrival at the patriarchal throne. This young patriarch very naturally conſidered his office as his family did, a proviſion to ſupport his rank (6). He therefore converted his extenſive patronage into a mine of wealth to ſupply his pleaſures. He was exceſſively fond of hounds and horſes, and kept a ſtud of brood mares. He was one ſolemn day in his pontifical habit officiating in the cathedral. Juſt as he was entering on the moſt awful part of the ſervice, a meſſenger whiſpered him, that his favourite mare had foaled. Away he flew inſtantly to his ſtable, which was at ſome diſtance from the cathedral, and gratified his curioſity. When he had examined the foal, and given orders about the mare, he returned, ſet on where he had left off, and finiſhed the celebration of divine ſervice. He was patriarch three and twenty years, and was all his time remarkable for being a deſperate rider, by which he loſt his life in the thirty-ninth year of his age.

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(5) S. BASILII *Magni opera omnia ex edit.* JULIANI GARNIER *Benedictini, Pariſiis* 1721 *et an. ſeq.* 3 *vol. fol.*

S. CYRILLI *Hieroſolymitani opera omnia. ex recenſione* ANTONII AUGUSTINI TOUTTEE, *Benedictini. Pariſiis* 1720, 1 *vol. fol.*

S. CYRILLI *Alexandrini opera omnia. ex editione* JOANNIS AUBERTI. *Pariſiis* 1638, 7 *vol. fol.*

S. ATHANASII *opera omnia. ex edit.* BERNARDI DE MONTFAUCON. *Pariſiis* 1698, 3 *vol. fol.... Collectio nova Patrum Græcor.* EUSEBII. ATHANASII. *et* COSMÆ. *edit.* B. DE MONTFAUCON. *Pariſiis* 1706. 2 *vol. fol.*

S. GREGORII *Nazianzeni opera omnia. ex edit.* JACOBI BILLII. *Pariſiis* 1609. 1611. 2 *vol. fol.*

S. GREGORII *Nyſſeni opera omnia ex edit.* CLAUD. MORELLI. *Pariſiis* 1638. 3 *vol. fol.*

S. EPHREM. *Syri. op. omn. ex edit.* AUG. MARIÆ CARDINALIS QUIRINI. *Romæ* 1732 *et an. ſeq.* 6 *vol. fol.*

S. JOANNIS CHRYSOSTOM. *op. om. ex edit.* BERN. DE MONTFAUCON. *Pariſiis* 1718. *et ann. ſeq.* 13 *vol. fol.... Edit.* FRONTONIS DUCÆI. 8 *vol. fol.*

Talents for political affairs were never wanting in the prelates of this church. Some of their intrigues are laughable, others are ſtained with blood. Early in this period of the greek hiſtory, Theodoſius was at war with Maximus (7). Theophilus, biſhop of Alexandria, determined to pay his court in time to the conquerour. For this purpoſe he diſpatched Iſidore one of his prieſts to the vicinity of the camp, loaded with preſents and furniſhed with two letters, one to each competitor. Immediately after the battle he was to deſtroy that which was addreſſed to the vanquiſhed emperour, and the other, with the preſents, he was to deliver to the conquerour. One of his attendants ſtole both the letters; the prieſt poſted home, and nothing tranſpired. A while after, Nectarius, biſhop of Conſtantinople, died, Theophilus, who had a vote and great intereſt nominated his old truſty friend Iſidore, who had not been rewarded for his late undertaking. The court put into nomination John Chryſoſtom. Debates ran high. Theophilus was like to carry the election in favour of his friend, and Chryſoſtom's party began to deſpair. In this exigence Eutropius, an officer at court, waited on Theophilus, and pulling the two letters out of his pocket, There, ſaid he, either give your vote and intereſt to John

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(6) Joannis Zonaræ *Annales, lib. xvi. xxii.* ο πατριαρχης Θεοφυλακτος. Patriarcha Theophylactus deceſſit, pontificatu annis iii. et xx. functus. Alendi equos et canes ac venationum ſimiliumque rerum inſano ſtudio tenebatur. Cum igitur inter equas plurimas quas alebat, unam inſigniorem ſacro magnæ quintæ die peperiſſe ſacra celebranti patriarchæ nuntiatum eſſet, lætitia elatus, divinoque ſacrificio properanter abſoluto, ad Coſmidium feſtinavit (nam ibi ſtabulabant) viſo que pullo recens nato, in eccleſiam reverſus, feſtum ſanctæ paſſionis ſervatoris peregit. Mortis ei cauſa fuit equitatio, &c.

Luithprandus *in Legat. Notæ* Du Fresne. Romanus imperator filium ſuum Theophylactum eunuchum patriarcham conſtituit.

Du Fresne *Hiſt. Byzant. xx. Familia Romani Lacapeni Imp.* Theophylactus a parente ſacris ordinibus initiatus, poſt præcipuas in Æde Sophiana obitas dignitates, tandem Patriarcha Conſtantinopolitanus renuntiatur. Hanc dignitatem ad obitum uſque obtinuit, quo in gradu flagitioſiſſime vixit, epiſcopatus et dignitates eccleſiaſticas pretio diſtrahens, ipſe inſano alendorum equorum ſtudio ac venationi impenſius deditus.

(7) Socrat. *Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. i. cap. 2.*

Chyſoſtom,

Chryſoſtom, or be tried for your life. The argument was irreſiſtible. Theophilus voted as he was ordered, and John Chryſoſtom was duly elected patriarch of Conſtantinople.

If a ſurvey of the wicked deeds of ſome of theſe prelates would give any pleaſure, the hiſtory will afford an ample ſupply. It naturally came to paſs, that the patriarch of Conſtantinople diſputed for extent of dominion with the biſhop of Rome, and diſputes for territory between princes are never terminated without ſhocking outrages. The council of Nice and the ſchool of Alexandria had not foreſeen theſe conſequences: but obſcurity of ſcripture implied the neceſſity of a prieſthood; prieſthood implied neceſſity of government, and government of conſcience includes innumerable crimes. Hence thoſe foreign contentions of the patriarch Photius with the biſhops of Rome, which ended in a diviſion, never to be remedied: and hence alſo a ſeries of domeſtick cruelties never to be juſtified.

It is painful to be obliged to pauſe every ten minutes, and divide, and ſubdivide: but in ſome caſes it is unavoidable; and in the preſent caſe to diſentangle ſubjects confounded together in one great maſs, ſeems to be the only method of obtaining clear notions of the whole. In the greek hierarchy a tyranny over conſcience was ſet up under the name of church-government. Did all the greek chriſtians tamely ſubmit to it, or had any the courage to claim liberty, and the virtue to give the claim effect? In order to obtain a clear anſwer to this natural queſtion, it is neceſſary firſt to obſerve by what laws the hierarchy was governed: next to remark the conduct of the greek chriſtians in regard to theſe laws: and laſtly, to ſtate the caſe of baptiſm to connect the ſubject with the body of this hiſtory.

The laws of this church were the canons of ſeven oecumenical councils: the firſt of which was held at Nice in the year three hundred and twenty-eight; and the laſt at the ſame place in the year ſeven hundred and eighty-ſeven. Great praiſe, undoubtedly, is due to thoſe learned and indefatigable men, who have collected, compiled, collated, elucidated, and publiſhed complete bodies of councils; for canons are laws of a corporation. There is, however, a certain temptation to fallacy in the mode of compilation. A code of councils contains all the canons, that were ever made by the clergy in ſynod at any time in any part of the world, arranged according to the years of Chriſt. Had theſe laws all proceeded from one legiſlative body in one kingdom, all might have been quoted in proof of the practice of that kingdom. Had all the churches in the world been under the government of one univerſal biſhop, and had theſe been the laws of his empire, they might have been quoted as proof of the univerſal practice of his ſubjects. The fallacy lies in quoting them as if they had been ſo. A code of councils reſembles a theſaurus of antiquities, this is athenian, that is ſpartan, but neither is univerſal: but divines quote them as lawyers in England quote the ſtatutes at large. The learned

Voſſius publiſhed ſome theſes on baptiſm (8). He begins one by ſaying, that Lewis Vives in his comment on S. Auguſtine had affirmed that formerly none but adult believers entered a baptiſtery, and that Strabo, who lived in the year eight hundred and fifty, had affirmed the ſame: but, adds he, I will prove that infant-baptiſm prevailed every where in the church, and was approved by whole councils, for the council at Geronda in the year five hundred and ſeventeen ſays ſo and ſo. This Geronda is a town in Catalonia in Spain. There, at the time juſt mentioned, ſeven biſhops met, themſelves ſuffragans of the archbiſhop of Tarragona, and made this order. Put the caſe, that ſeven curates had met at Halifax in Yorkſhire, and agreed on a rule of diſcipline, would this have been the law of the province of York without a confirmation by a provincial ſynod held by his grace the archbiſhop? Had his grace held a provincial ſynod, and adopted the order, would this have been law in the province of Canterbury? Had a convocation of the whole clergy met, could they have made law for the nation without the concurrence of the civil power? Had parliament confirmed the laws of the convocation, would this have been law at Alexandria in Egypt, and all over the eaſt? In the early ages there was no general legiſlative body, no univerſal biſhop, like the executive power in the ſtate. In the middle ages there were two competitors for univerſal dominion. The competition ended in a partition. The patriarch of Conſtantinople was the eaſtern pope: the biſhop of Rome was the weſtern pope, till the capture of Conſtantinople dethroned the firſt, and the reformation diminiſhed the empire of the laſt. Councils therefore ought to be divided. The Greeks have always diſtinguiſhed them, and to this day acknowledge no other laws than the ſeven general councils juſt now mentioned, and a few by laws, called provincial canons, explanatory of the fountain code (9). To reaſon from a by law of a little unconnected corporation in a nook of the weſt, to the general practice of all the haughty inhabitants of the eaſt, is fallacious in the extreme.

What regard the greek chriſtians paid to theſe laws, is the next inquiry, and the true anſwer is, an immenſe multitude paid no regard to them at all. The laws are of two ſorts: ſome were made for the underſtanding, and order perſons

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(8) GER. JOH. VOSSII *Theſes Theolog. et Hiſtoric. De Pædobaptiſmo.* Quæſtio eſt utrum parvulorum baptiſmus antiquitus obtinuerit in eccleſia Dei. Negat id Ludovicus Vives. Ait, olim, neminem admotum fuiſſe ſacro baptiſterio, niſi adulta jam ætate.... Imo Wal. Strabo, qui anno vixit octingentiſſimo quinquageſimo, idem ſcribere non veretur.... Sane parvulorum baptiſmum antiquis ſeculis *ubique* in eccleſia obtinuiſſe clare docet Hieron.... *Integra* etiam *concilia* parvulorum baptiſmum approbarunt. Concil. Gerundenſe an. 517, &c.

(9)

Councils.		*Emperours.*	*Reign.*	*Biſhops preſent.*	*Year of Chriſt.*
Nice	i.	Conſtantine i.	xx.	318	325
Conſtantinople	ii.	Theodoſius	iii.	150	381
Epheſus	iii.	Theodoſius jun.	xxiv.	about 200	431
Chalcedon	iv.	Marcian	ii.		451
Conſtantinople	v.	Juſtinian	xxvii.		553
Conſtantinople	vi.	Conſtantine v. Pogonatus	xiv.		680
Nice	vii.	Conſtantine vii. and Irene	viii.	350	787

to believe the ſpeculations of their governours. Others were rules of action to direct the conduct. Great multitudes diſobeyed both. The fathers knew this, acknowledged it in their orations, and provided remedies in their canons. To a man, who loves liberty, and is a little prejudiced in favour of the Greeks, whoſe ardour for freedom the breath of Demoſthenes, and that of a thouſand more had been uſed to fan into a flame, it muſt appear delicious to obſerve how hereticks multiplied as tyranny increaſed. The firſt council at Nice took notice of two ſorts of diſſenters (for the Arians and Athanaſians were two great factions in the eſtabliſhment) who held ſeparate aſſemblies, though ſome of them agreed in ſpeculation with the Arians, and others with the Athanaſians (1). Theſe were the Cathari and Paulianiſts. The firſt held the doctrine of the trinity, as the Athanaſians in the church did: but, thinking the church a worldly community, they baptized all that joined their aſſemblies by trine immerſion in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, on their own perſonal profeſſion of faith, and if they had been baptized before, they rebaptized them. The latter baptized by dipping once in the name of Chriſt, and though they varied from the Arians, yet they all thought Chriſt only a man. The fathers of Nice provided, as was obſerved before, for the admiſſion of both, if they ſhould offer themſelves, and the latter were rebaptized. They were very far from complying; for the next council ſix and fifty years after, declared, that there were many, particularly in Galatia, out of the pale of the church, and the admiſſion of nine ſorts into the eſtabliſhed community was provided for (2). Six were to be received without being rebaptized, becauſe they had been baptized in the name of the trinity (3). Some of the Arians uſed the words, retaining however their own ſenſe: but the other three claſſes were to be put into the ſame condition as Greeks, " whom, ſays the council, we firſt make

(1) Concil. Nicænum. i. *an.* 325. *De his, qui ſe Catharos nominant. . . xix. De Paulianiſtis.*

(2) Concil. Constantinop. i. *an.* 381. *can. vii.* Eos qui rectæ fidei adjiciuntur, et parti eorum qui ex hæreticis ſervantur, recipimus, ſecundum ſubjectam hic conſequentiam et conſuetudinem. Arianos et Macedonianos, et Sabbatianos, et Novatianos, qui dicunt ſe ipſos Catharos et Ariſteros, et Teſſeradecatitas, ſive Tetraditas, et Apollinariſtas recipimus, dantes quidem libellos, et omnem hæreſim anathematizantes, quæ non ſentit ut ſancta Dei catholica et apoſtolica eccleſia, et ſignatos, ſive unctos primum ſancto chriſmate, et frontem et oculos, et nares, et os, et aures. Et eos ſignantes dicimus, ſignaculum doni ſpiritus ſancti. Atqui Eunomianos, qui in unam demerſionem baptizantur τους εις μιαν καταδυσιν βαπτιζομενους: et Montaniſtas, qui hic dicuntur Phryges, et Sabellianos, qui eundem eſſe patrem et filium opinantur διδασκοντας, utrumque ſimul confundentes, et alia gravia et indigna faciunt: et alias omnes hæreſes: quoniam hic multi ſunt hæretici, et maxime qui ex Galatarum regione veniunt, quicunque ex his rectæ fidei adſcribi volunt ut Græcos admittimus: et primo quidem die ipſos chriſtianos facimus; ſecundo catechumenos; deinde tertio exorcizamus ſive adjuramus ipſos, ter ſimul in facie eorum et aures inſufflando. Et ſic eos catechizamus ſive initiamus, et curamus ut longo tempore verſentur in eccleſia, et audiant ſcripturas, et tunc eos baptizamus, ϗ τοτε αυτους βαπτιζομεν.

(3) Arians. Novatians. . . . or Cathari. . . . or Ariſteri.
Macedonians. Teſſeradecatitæ or Tetraditæ.
Sabbatians. Apollinariſts.

catechumens, and after they have been long inſtructed baptize (4)." A council at Conſtantinople of the ſeventh century anathematizes thirty-nine ſects by name, beſide a great number of individuals. The more they tried to force uniformity, the faſter hereticks multiplied in their hands, ſo that three hundred years after, in the reign of Phocas, the empire teemed with hereticks, and in the latter end of the twelfth century the whole world was full of hereſy (5). The Greeks ſeem never to have wholly forgot the good leſſons given them by Demoſthenes. The criticiſms of Photius, and the flowers of Chryſoſtom connected with tyranny could not reverſe the law of nature, or beguile the Greeks to forget they were men. The oratory of a Demoſthenes falls in with the natural feelings of the heart, and like the warm air impregnating a frozen river, diſſolves, dilutes, and rolls it along its natural bed into the ocean whence it came.

The hiſtory of the greek nonconformiſts is of itſelf large. It is connected with a great many general events, neceſſary to be known to underſtand it: this adds to the ſize, and makes it larger. It hath been puzzled and perplexed by etymologiſts, and writers againſt hereſy: and this ſwells it into folios. It is impoſſible on the one hand to traverſe the whole: it would not be juſt on the other to ſay nothing about it. The only remaining method is to take a ſmall period, and the following is preferred for three reaſons. Firſt, it is brief: next, it is various, and may ſerve for a miniature of the whole: and finally, it is authentick, for it is taken from writers who lived at the time, and were preſent on the ſpot. The chief of theſe is the princeſs Anna Comnena. Her rank, her reſidence at court, and her averſion to hereſy muſt not be forgot, for each is a diſqualification for writing accurately of the lower ſort of people, chiefly reſident in diſtant provinces, and having no idea of any hereſy except perſecution.

Nonconformiſts had always been diſperſed all over the empire, and had truſted for liberty to the chapter of accidents (6). The clergy were always troubleſome, but imperial apoſtles never attempted to convert them, while they had other affairs of more importance in hand; for domeſtick factions for the purple, inſurrections againſt oppreſſion in the provinces, and irruptions of neighbouring nations into the empire generally ſound them full employ. Some emperours had been indifferent, others had cheriſhed them, others had perſecuted them, but in the middle of the tenth century they had obtained a ſettlement at Philippopolis, where, and in the adjacent country, they lived, of various ſentiments but in perfect concord, till the reign of Alexias (7).

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(4) Eunomians. Sabellians.
Montaniſts or Phrygians.

(5) LEONTI *Byzantini Monachi, lib. tres contra Eutichianos, et Neſtorianos, &c. apud lection. antiq.*

BASNAG. Sub Phocæ imperio omnes hæreſes revireſcebant. obs. tom. i. pag. 533.

JOAN. ZONARÆ *Annales. tom. ii. lib. xviii. xxiii.* Baſilius totum fere orbem ſuæ peſtis implevit. Etiam urbem imperatricem ingreſſus, &c.

(6) PHOTII *Patriarchæ Conſtantinop. Myriobiblon.* ... LUDOV. ANT. MURATORII *Antiq. Ital. tom. v. diſſert. lx. De Hæres.* Poſt annum a Chriſto nato milleſimum ſerpere in Italia cœpere manicheiſmi ſemina, quæ hæreſis vetuſtiſſima, et nunquam in oriente extincta, in Armenia et Bulgaria potiſſimum altas radices egerat, atque inde ad nos etiam advecta fuiſſe non injuria putatur.

So it fell out, in a world where providence brings good out of evil, the worſt men were the beſt emperours to hereticks. In the year nine hundred and ſixty-nine, Nicephorus ii. ſurnamed Phocas, was emperour. John Zimiſces, a barbarous ſoldier of fortune, intrigued with the empreſs, and conſpired to dethrone him (8). Zimiſces was intimate with a monk named Theodorus. The monk ventured to gueſs from the qualities of John that he would never ſtop ſhort of the purple, and as the holy man wore a cowl he preſumed to whiſper this into his ear for a prophecy. One night the empreſs let John and his party into the emperour's apartment. Nicephorus lay aſleep on the floor. John threw himſelf on the emperour's ſofa, and his companions woke his imperial majeſty by kicking his face and head till the blood guſhed out. Probably he had been intoxicated on purpoſe. On being raiſed up, he was led to John, who coolly ordered them to take the hilts of their ſwords, and knock out his teeth, and break his jaws. One more merciful than the reſt ſtabbed him in the back, ſo that the point of the weapon came out through his breaſt. John quieted the houſehold by cutting off the head and ſhewing it at the window. He pacified the populace by donations, and his partners with emoluments. Within a very ſhort ſpace the patriarch Polyeuctes, after he had required and received proofs of his repentance, abſolved him from the guilt of the murder, and placed the diadem on his head.

The patriarchate of Antioch becoming vacant, the new emperour beſtowed it on his old friend the monk. Whether he had done any thing more than propheſy cannot be now aſcertained, however he aſked a favour of the emperour, which he did not think fit to refuſe (9). Theodorus ſaid, he found his patriarchate full of hereticks, and he beſought his imperial majeſty to rid him of them. The emperour complied, but he diſcovered great prudence in the method of doing it. He had long underſtood the character of the people who inhabited Armenia, that they were frugal, laborious, ſtern, peaceable if let alone, but terrible if oppreſſed, and they would fight, for they had not learnt the doctrine of paſſive obedience. He had alſo reconnoitred the empire, and he obſerved that mount Hæmus ran right acroſs from the Euxine to the Adriatick ſea, that the country thereabouts was delicious, but that it was thinly inhabited, becauſe the Scythians uſed to make irruptions about Philippopolis, and plunder the country. He ſuppoſed, therefore, that it was wiſer to make theſe invincible reprobates friends than to treat them as enemies, and that to remove them to Philippopolis would be both to confine them by the mountain, and to compel them to turn their fierceneſs againſt the Scythian robbers, and ſo to convert them into a ſort of guardians of Thrace. The ſcheme ſucceeded. Theodorus got rid of hereticks. Philippopolis, and all the adjacent country, was filled with inhabitants free and happy; and the Scythians were repulſed. They ſometimes aſſiſted the emperours, and Alexias had once fifteen hundred in his train. What was beſt of all, from hence they diſperſed themſelves all over Europe. Here were Euchites of all ſorts, as Manichæans, Paulianiſts, Bogomilans, and various parties; that is, here were multitudes of people, who thought for themſelves, and who, unawed by authority, deſpiſed ſuperſtition, and placed religion in piety and virtue.

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(7) A. Comnen. Και ταμεν δογματα διεφωνουν, συνεφωνουν δε ταις αποστασιαις, οι αλλοι τοις Μανιχαιοις. Impune florens ſecta numero etiam per illas regiones celebrabatur. Adeo ut hæretica late omnia circa Philippopolim eſſent. Augeſcentibus videlicet velut in ſolo uberi primis illis olim deportatis ex Aſia ſeminibus: affluxit ad eluviem fœdiorem et aliud peramari laticis quaſi flumen, Armeniorum ſecta; nec non aliud præterea ex lutulentiſſimis Jacobi fontibus. Ita ut eſſet hic quædam confluentia malorum; et inquinatiſſimarum ſordium prono undique fluxu corrivatarum fœtidiſſima in imo commixtio; hæreſum colluvione diverſarum dogmatibus diſſonis, contumacia concordi unam in communem velut cloacam reſtagnante rebellis impietatis. Contra hanc mixtam aciem phanaticæ.... meus pater.... quoſdam in deditionem ſine vi compulit.

(8) Gregorii Abul Pharajii *Hiſtor. Dynaſt. Oriental. Oxon.* 1663.... Joan. Seylitzæ *Curopalatæ Hiſtor.*... Georgii Cedreni *Compend. Hiſt. ab orbe cond. ad Iſaacum Comnenum. Pariſiis.* 1647.... Joan. Zonaræ *Annales. tom. ii. lib. xvi. cap.* 28. Γεγονε δε του φωκα βασιλευοντος, &c.

(9) Joan. Zonaræ *Annales. tom. ii. lib. xvii.* Οσπερ την αρχιεροσυνην, &c. Theodorus monachus

To make the imperial dignity hereditary in a deſpotical government is a vain project. The empire of the eaſt was an object ſo great that Conſtantinople was a thouſand years the theatre of cabal to get and cruelty to keep poſſeſſion of the throne; and more than forty great families ſucceſſively aſcended it (1). The family of Comnenus went out of Italy, and ſettled in Aſia under Conſtantine the great, or ſome of his firſt ſucceſſors (2). At the latter end of the tenth century they appeared at court, and obtained employments, titles, and honours: and in the year one thouſand and eighty-one, Alexias at thirty-three years of age aſcended the throne, as moſt others did, by ſupplanting his maſter (3). He had the goodneſs to ſpare his eyes and his noſe, and only to convert him into a monk, for which, however, he was not much qualified, for when one aſked him how he liked a monaſtick life, he anſwered, I do not much like faſting, the reſt is tolerable enough.

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nachus pontificatu ſuſcepto, ab eo poſtulavit ut Manichæi, qui fœda ſua ſecta multos contaminarent, ex oriente in occidentem transferrentur. Cujus poſtulatis ille obſecutus, nationem Manichæorum Philippopolim tranſtulit MICHAELIS GLYCÆ *Annales a Mund. Exord. ad mortem Alexii Comneni. Pariſiis* 1660.

ANNÆ COMNENÆ. *ut ſup. pag.* 451.

(1) CAR. DU FRESNE. *Hiſt. Byzant.*

(2) IBID. *xxviii. Stemma Comnenorum.*

(3) ANNÆ COMNENÆ. *Alex. lib. iii.* Αρχη της Βασιλειας Αλεξιου του Κομνηνου.

The emperour Alexias was a middle ſized man, of remarkable vivacity, prudent in council, intrepid in the field, orthodox in religion, a fine ſpeaker, and the greateſt diſſembler in the world (4). Having a thorough knowledge of mankind, he conducted his affairs with great circumſpection, and by ſingular addreſs ſeated himſelf quietly on the throne. Having himſelf obtained the purple by intriguing with the late empreſs and the ladies at court, he precluded future intrigues in his own family by flattering the women into loquacity, telling them he could not ſupport the weight of government without their advice. He provided honourably for the families of the emperours lately depoſed, and practiſed no cruelty on any. Similar talents and joint intereſt cloſely united him and his elder brother Iſaac. They lived in habits of intimacy, and he invented the new dignity of Sebaſtocrator in favour of Iſaac. This compound title ſignifies auguſt emperour, it gives the right of wearing a ſmall crown ornamented with pearls, and it creates the wearer the ſecond perſon in the empire (5). The emperour himſelf was called Autocrator. He ſubdued foreign invaders and domeſtick inſurgents by force. He treated the guilty with moderation. He gratified the ambitious with titles and governments. He placed his brothers in the chief offices of truſt, and ſurrounded himſelf with an exuberance of magnificence, which intereſted artiſts, and the glare threw the vulgar at a diſtance. He was a great encourager of learning, as all wiſe emperours have been, for literature employs many active geniuſſes, who might otherwiſe buſy themſelves in ſedition: beſide, if the learned be orthodox, they raiſe a convenient miſt, which keeps hereticks at bay.

As ſoon as Alexias had arranged his affairs, and felt himſelf ſafe in the throne, he ſurveyed Conſtantinople, and pretended to be extremely affected to ſee how that moſt magnificent of all cities had been pillaged by his ſoldiers in the late revolution. He ſaw the citizens houſes and the churches had been plundered, he recollected the barbarous outrages of his followers, and the agonizing cries and ſhrieks of orphans, widows, and virgins ſeemed to

"pierce the fearful hollow of his ear:"

his countenance became cloudy, his eyes forgot to fire and flame, his head hung down, his breaſt heaved with ſighs, he wrung his hands, and wept, firſt conſulted his mother, and then by the advice of the ladies ſent for the patriarch

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(4) A. COMNEN. *Hiſt. lib. ii.* .... THEOPHYLACT. *Bulgar. Archiep. Epiſt. xli.* .... NICETÆ *Hiſt. Paris.* 1647.

(5) JOANNIS CANTACUZENI *Eximperator. Hiſt. Pariſiis.* 1645. *Dignitatum et Function. Palatii et Eccles. Conſtantinop. ex Curopolata et ejus Scholiaſt. Explanatio.* Σεβαστοκρατωρ Auguſti imperator. Deſpota, primus; Sebaſtocrator, ſecundus; et Cæſar tertius eſſe cæpit, cum Alexius Comnenus Iſaacium fratrem Sebaſtocratorem diceret.

Coſmas, the prelates, and the moſt godly monks, to conſult them what in this ſad caſe of conſcience he ought to do (6). It doth not appear that the late emperour, now a monk, was one of the aſſembly. The wags in the city diverted themſelves with telling a dream, which the father of Alexias had long before his ſon was elevated to the purple (7). He dreamed, he ſaw his ſon Alexias riding with a crown on his head upon a lion, guiding and managing him without a bridle only by holding his ears.

The caſuiſts, having ſettled the ritual, aſſembled. The imperial penitent appeared before them with the air and in the habit of a criminal doomed to die (8). Never did the meaneſt of his ſubjects ſtanding under ſentence of death before the moſt formidable tribunal exhibit a countenance more abject. He fell at the feet of his confeſſors, he deplored the miſeries of the late civil diſorders, he opened the thoughts and intents of his heart through the whole tranſaction, he proteſted he dreaded the diſpleaſure of Almighty God, and in token of a genuine repentance and a lively faith he humbly beſought his judges not to ſpare, but to inflict a penance as long and as difficult as they ſhould think neceſſary for the expiation of his crimes, and the recovery of the favour of God. The prieſts enjoined him to faſt, to pray, to cry, to lie on the ground, and they included in the ſentence all who had aided and abetted his enterprize. The good ladies, who had not been concerned in the revolution, thought decency required them to ſhare the mortifications of their families, and men, women, and children, all laid aſide their ornaments, and wept, and faſted, and prayed, and lay on the ground. Nothing was to be ſeen in the palace but wretchedneſs. The emperour, who excelled all competitors in every undertaking, exhibited a piety ſuperiour to all. He abſtained from food, he ſpent whole nights in tears, he ſlept on the ground, a ſtone was his pillow, and he wore ſackcloth under his robes for forty days. Having thus appeaſed the anger of heaven, he addreſſed himſelf to regulate the empire, to cruſh ſedition, to repel the Turks in the eaſt, and other invaders in the weſt, and reigned glorioutly over all a long ſeries of years. In the end he merited by his conduct to hereticks a new title, and his daughter names him the thirteenth apoſtle (9).

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(6) AN. COMNEN. *lib. iii. pag.* 80.

(7) NICETÆ *Choniatæ Annales.* JOAN. COMNEN.

(8) AN. COMNENÆ. *ut ſup. pag.* 81. Μελαγχολουνται τοινυν, &c. Communiter igitur conſilio habito, advocant patriarcham Coſmam, cumque eo præcipuos quoſque ex ſacra ſynodo et ordine monachorum. Ad hos in unum congregatos ingreditur imperator, rei habitu cultuque, nec rei tantum, ſed jam condemnati, ſic veſtitus, ſic oculos ſic vultum ferens, plane ut viliſſimus de plebe quiſpiam coram judicibus aſſiſteret, mox atrum in ejus caput calculum daturis.

DU FRESNE *in An. Comnenæ Alex. notæ. pag.* 296. Εις θεον. Pietatem Alexii, et cæteras animæ dotes commendat Ordericus Vitalis lib. vii. Erat, inquit, prudens et probus, audax et largus et amabilis omnibus. Et mox: erat multum ſapiens et miſericors pauperibus, bellator fortis et magnanimus, affabilis militibus, munerumque dator largiſſimus, divinæ legis cultor devotiſſimus. Fuit tamen Alexius, ut ait Malmeſburienſis, lib. ii. Aſtutia et fraudibus quam probitate notior.

The Armenian nonconformiſts ſettled by Zimiſces at and about Philippopolis were in ſome ſenſe foreigners, but it is not to be ſuppoſed, they were the only perſons in the empire, who thought and acted in religion for themſelves. Natives every where formed ſeparate ſocieties, and even at Conſtantinople, under the eye of the patriarch and the emperour they did ſo. In the reign of Alexias great numbers of Armenians and enthuſiaſts, as the imperial family called them, reſided at Conſtantinople. When their teachers were men of remarkable talents, and became popular: when in conſequence of this they taught in the houſes of great families, and when any of the clergy became infected with their doctrines, government nipped them a little, and forced them to retire and ſculk into corners: not that emperours cared for hereſy, but for fear of ſedition, for popular aſſemblies under pretence of religion in the palaces of porphyrogenitan families were extremely ſuſpicious. At Conſtantinople they called ſuch children of the emperours as were born while their fathers wore the purple, porphyrogeniti, born in purple. Such families did not forget their dignity after their fathers were dethroned. The reigning emperour too, remembered it, eſpecially when any thing fell out that rendered them popular. There was a man of fine natural parts named Nilus, who ſtudied the ſcriptures, and taught what he ſuppoſed the ſenſe (1). Not having been let into the ſecrets of the ſchools, and the diſcoveries of the fathers, he had never thought of what they called the hypoſtatical union, and his notion ſeems to be that of Paul of Samoſata. However it were, he taught with amazing ſucceſs. A prieſt of note named Blachernitas taſted and taught the ſame doctrine. Tigranes and Arſaces diſputed for it, and defended it. Multitudes followed Nilus, many great families received the doctrine, and he taught in their houſes. Alexias ſent for Nilus, and endeavoured to inform him of the hypoſtatical union: but Nilus defended his doctrine, and could not ſay after his condeſcending maſter. The emperour deſired the patriarch Nicholas to inſtruct the man and his followers. The patriarch called a ſynod, and ſummoned the principal of theſe enthuſiaſts, and as they went to reaſoning with the ſynod inſtead of repenting of their errours, he anathematized them. This frighted the lower people: but as a mock emperour ſtarted juſt at the time in the provinces, whom it was neceſſary for Alexias to hunt down, he headed his army, the ſynod went to ſleep: and enthuſiaſm was left to itſelf.

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(9) An. Comnen. *pag.* 453. Εγω γε τουτον τρισκαιδεκατον αν Αποστολον ονομασαιμι.

Du Fresne. Conſtantinum Ισαποστολου nomine donatum a Græcis teſtantur Menæa, Euſebius, &c. Neque ſoli Conſtantino Ισαποστολου titulum conceſſit eccleſia Græcanica, ſed et Helenæ matri, D. Theclæ, D. Albercio epiſcopo Hierapolitano, Mariæ Magdalenæ et aliquot aliis.

(1) An. Comnen. *Alex. lib. x.* Επειδε την εκκλησιαν, &c. Homo, qui nec quid eſſet unio, quid hypoſtaſis, nec quomodo iſta jungi componique poſſent in hypoſtaticam unionem, didiciſſet umquam, &c.

Alexias and his family thoroughly underſtood that love of liberty was the character of a great mind: but they knew at the ſame time that this diſpoſition tended to emancipate mankind, which would have been very inconvenient to the imperial family (2). The emperour therefore, thought the Philippopolitans began to be too numerous and flouriſhing, and it was time to check their future growth. The city itſelf was pleaſantly ſituated, and well watered by the river Hebrus, which riſing at mount Rhodope ran meandring through the fertile fields, laved Adrianople and Philippopolis and fell into the Mediterranean at a little free town called, from Æneas its ſuppoſed founder, Ænos. Was it poſſible to cultivate this claſſical and evangelical ground, and not feel the fire of freedom (3)?

An event fell out, which called the emperour into this part of Thrace, and he took the opportunity of viſiting Philippopolis. Here he aſſumed the character of an apoſtle, and ſet about the converſion of hereticks. Let it not be once ſuſpected that Alexias was like our James I. James had hardly received from providence ſoul enough to make a bachelor of arts, and he, good man, was in earneſt: but Alexias was a ſuperiour genius, and when he condeſcended to play the pedant, and diſpute for orthodoxy, he did ſo for ſome unrevealed political reaſon. Diſpute, however, he did (4). He opened his doors, ſent for hereticks, allowed them to debate freely with him, and continued with unwearied patience refuting errour and teaching orthodoxy all the live long day, and ſometimes great part of the night, two biſhops and his ſon in law Bryennius Cæſar ſtanding by, admiring his eloquence, and applauding his piety. In the midſt of a warm debate one day, a meſſenger arrived and informed him that the Comani had paſſed the Danube, and made an irruption into the empire. Equal to every thing, he flew like lightning, headed his troops, frighted the robbers away, and returned to Philippopolis to teach hereticks theology. His ſucceſs was amazing, he converted often an hundred in a day, and to encourage theſe new proſelytes he diſtributed rewards moſt bountifully. Perſons of abilities and wealth he promoted to offices under government. For artiſts he ordered a city to be built beyond the river Hebrus, and called Alexiopolis. To the poor labourers with their wives and children he aſſigned lands, and by deeds duly executed ſettled them on themſelves and their heirs for ever, and provided that their widows ſhould inherit, in caſe they died without children. Such a ſublime ſpecies of eloquence never fired the genius of a groveling pedant! Thus he converted thouſands, and led whole provinces into what ſome ſons of cant in England formerly called an orthodox holding. His majeſty cauſed his converts to be baptized, that is, rebaptized, for the members of churches had been dipped once in the name of Chriſt. Many, however, perſiſted in errour like the Maccabees, ſays the hiſtorian (5). There were three principal men, named Couleoon, Pholos, and Cuſinos, whom his majeſty could not convince, and them he ſent to Conſtantinople (6). After his arrival, he condeſcended to take great pains to convert the three; one yielded, and the other two were confined for life in the Ivory tower, where, however, he took care they ſhould want nothing, unleſs it were, what they loved above all things, liberty. There is no mention in all this account of any clergy among this people: but, it will be ſeen preſently, his majeſty, artful as he was, knew very little about the Philippopolitans.

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(2) An. Comnenæ. *lib. i. pag.* 24.

(3) Horat. *Carm. lib. i. od. xii. Ad Auguſtam.*

Aut in umbroſis Heliconis oris,
Aut ſuper Pindo, gelidove in Hæmo?
Unde vocalem temere inſecutæ
Orphea ſylvæ,

Arte materna rapidos morantem
Fluminum lapſus celereſque ventos,
Blandum et auritas fidibus canoris
Ducere Quercus.

Virg. *Georg. lib. i. ver.* 489.

Ergo inter ſeſe paribus concurrere telis
Romanas acies iterum videre Philippi:
Nec fuit indignum ſuperis, bis ſanguine noſtro
Emathiam et latos Hæmi pingueſcere campos.
Scilicet et tempus veniet, cum finibus illis
Agricola, incurvo terram molitus aratro,
Exeſa inveniet ſcabra rubigine pila:
Aut gravibus raſtris galeas pulſabit inanes,
Grandiaque effoſſis mirabitur oſſa ſepulchris

(4) An. Comnenæ. *lib. xiv. pag.* 449, *&c.*

It is difficult to ſay what this great man meant by all this: whether to flatter the clergy; or to weaken the Philippopolitans by dividing them; or to corrupt their morals by enriching them; or to attach them to his family; or to revenge an affront, which the departure of fifteen hundred of them a long while ago from his army without his leave had given him: certain it is, he knew mankind too well to ſuppoſe any body was really converted by theſe meaſures. He knew the whole was grimace on both ſides: but for his part he was one of thoſe impenetrable eaſtern monarchs who thought inſcrutability a qualification neceſſary to a deſpot, for, as one of them ſaid, The heavens for height, and the earth for depth, and the heart of abſolute kings is unſearchable (7).

(5) IBID. Plurimis Manichæorum pertinacia et dubitatio omnis exempta eſt. Ibant perſuaſi exuto errore ad ſacerdotes, et ab iis peccata ultro ipſi ſua fatentes damnanteſque divini baptiſmi fiebant participes. Multos tamen videre erat eodem tempore perverſa conſtantia veram illam et ſanctam Machabæorum æmulantes; imo ſuperantes.

(6) Τον γαρ τοι Κουλεουλα, και τον Κουσινον, και τον επι τουτοις Φωλον.

(7) NICETÆ *Hiſt. Joan. Comneni. pag.* 5. Ην γαρ, &c. Homo, ſi quiſquam alius, occulti animi, qui ſapientiam in diſſimulando poſitam ratus, raro admodum, quid facturus eſſet, præ ſe ferebat.

In all deſpotical governments the ſafety of individuals lies in their unpopularity. Tyrants, the unhappieſt of all mortals, are ſubject to innumerable ſuſpicions and fears unknown to the reſt of their fellow creatures. The monarchs of the eaſt had nothing to fear from ſmall unconnected ſocieties living diſperſedly all over the empire: but if any congregation produced eminent men, who roſe into popularity, the ſuſpicious eye of the throne was attracted and fixed, and it became in that ſyſtem of government good policy to ſuppreſs them. Alexias, well verſed in the knowledge of mankind, thoroughly underſtood he had nothing to dread from the dogmatizing of enthuſiaſts, or the creeping ſuperſtitions of the vulgar, however numerous they might become: but he knew at the ſame time that ambition and revenge lurking in the boſoms of diſappointed courtiers were prepared to throw off the maſk, to head parties, and to ſhake, if not ſubvert, the imperial family. A deſpot, who heads no religious party, hath nothing to fear from any, for he is the common protector of all: but he, who puts himſelf at the head of one party, muſt ſupport, and be ſupported by that party. Whether Jeſus be God or man can be nothing to an emperour: but if he takes a ſide, whether the party he thinks fit to eſpouſe be the ſtrongeſt is an article of the utmoſt conſequence.

The infirmities of old age pay no reſpect to rank (8). The emperour had been long afflicted with repeated attacks of the gout, and now he felt himſelf decline. He was near ſeventy, and had reigned almoſt ſix and thirty years. He therefore arranged his affairs, and, having placed truſty men in the chief offices of government, employed himſelf in making enquiries about religion, as a dying man ſhould do. The news of the times was, that the people called Bogomilans, whom the emperour had overlooked when he converted Philippopolis, where they lived, were in high repute for an apparent ſanctity of manners, and were very numerous, in various parts of the empire (9). The courtiers talked of this, and the imperial family underſtood that they were the ſame ſort of people, that had been known formerly by the names of Fanaticks, Manicheans, Euchites, Paulianiſts, and Maſſalians, exactlv like thoſe the emperour had converted, and that they were now called by the people of Myſia, Bogomilans, from two bulgarian words, which ſignified, God be merciful (1). Having few ceremonies, and none of daily uſe, the moſt remarkable part of their public worſhip was prayer, and as they frequently uſed an expreſſion taken from the parable of the publican and phariſee, God be merciful to me a ſinner, the populace had given them this name. His majeſty irritated his curioſity by many inquiries, and at length underſtood, that one Baſil, a phyſician, was the man of greateſt note among them: a man who was himſelf a very popular preacher, and who had twelve aſſiſtants, who were called apoſtles, and who alſo taught with addreſs and ſucceſs (2). The emperour began to wiſh to ſee this Baſil. Having pauſed awhile he ſent for him.

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(8) Annæ Comnenæ. *lib. xv. pag.* 486.

(9) Ibid. Res in hunc modum ſe habuit. Multus affluebat ſermo undique de Bogomilis, eorumque nova ſecta et profectibus. Squallorem enim religioſæ auſteritatis ac pœnitentiæ genus inprimis iſtud affectat: in eaque ſimulationis vafritie palmam obtinet. Itaque non facile videas aliquem ex comatis iſtis more ſæculari ad Bogomilorum ſectam adhæreſcere: mantelo ac cuculio longe ſeſe libentius hæc abſcondit.... nubes hæreticorum ingens ſeſe extulit.

(1) Harmenopuli *de ſect. lib.*.... Nicetæ *Theſaur. Orthod. Fidei. lib. ii.*.... Euthymii Zybabeni *Panoplia. part ii. tit.* 23.... C. Du Fresne *in An. Comnenæ Alexiadem notæ.* Dicitur autem Bogomilus Myſorum idiomate, qui Dei miſericordiam implorat, unde Ευχιτας, Ενθουσιαστας, et Ομφαλοψυχους, hæreticos iſtos Græci appellarunt.

Baſil was a very tall ſlender old man, about eighty-two years of age (3). His viſage was pale and long, and his beard white and thin. He generally wore a plain gown like a monk. He was born in the reign of Michael IV. about the year one thouſand and thirty-four. He had ſpent fifteen years in ſtudy, and having fine popular talents he had preached and given publick inſtruction for fifty-two years. He and his colleagues, whom the populace called his apoſtles, had widely extended their doctrine and influence, and Baſil had the happineſs at a time of life when other teachers are generally neglected, to ſee himſelf on a pinnacle of popularity and pleaſure, from which he might ſurvey a wide ſurrounding ſcene flouriſhing under his hands. This had not made him giddy or imperious; he never altered his habit or his manners, and modeſty, frugality, and ſimplicity adorned this fine old man. So much was he above the vain affectation of diſtinguiſhing himſelf as the inſtrument of ſo much good, that he avoided the crowd, and it was only by dint of inquiry to be made out, that Baſil was the ſpring from which all theſe rivulets flowed. In Conſtantinople he had numerous converts, and ſome of high rank (4).

A man unaccuſtomed to converſe with the maſters of the world, enters their magnificent palaces with ſlow and diſtruſtful ſteps. Wiſdom and virtue are unequal to the taſk of walking with elegance and eaſe through the unſtudied road of imperial etiquette. Want of familiarity with ſurrounding objects forbids eaſe; while prejudices, like nurſes midnight tales, are at the ſame time recollected, deſpiſed, and yet feared. The emperour knew mankind, and contrived to free the old man at once from all fears of this kind. When he was introduced the emperour was ſitting in company with only his brother Iſaac. His majeſty with a countenance open and full of ſweetneſs roſe and received him with the moſt polite affability. Every idea of diſtance vaniſhed, and Baſil ſat down as he was ordered on the imperial ſofa, the monarch ſeating himſelf by his ſide. He began addreſſing himſelf to Baſil, by ſaying, that himſelf and his auguſt brother were extremely deſirous to be informed of his doctrine, that they were both prepared to receive with the utmoſt docility whatever he ſhould advance as proceeding from the oracle of God, and that they were ready to perform any duties which he ſhould think fit to appoint. Moſt reverend father, added the emperour, I feel an extreme veneration for you, I am charmed with your virtue, and I wiſh to be thoroughly inſtructed by your reverence in the myſtery of that ſublime doctrine, by which you daily convince ſuch numbers of the futility and unprofitableneſs of our popular divinity (5). Baſil converſed prudently, was ſent for frequently, and always met with the ſame courteſy: but whether he ſuſpected the ſincerity of his two illuſtrious diſciples; whether he had not got rid of that tremor, which new and magnificent objects produce; or whatever were the cauſe, he diſcovered no eagerneſs to proſelyte his auditors. The emperour, with uncommon condeſcenſion, made him ſup at his own table, and the brothers both proteſted their ſincerity, preſſed him to open all his heart, and offered to retire with him to a part of the palace free from interruption and noiſe. At length he agreed, and along with his two pupils he went into a private apartment hung with tapeſtry to open his lectures. Here, with all ſincerity and good faith, Baſil laid open his notion of the religion of Jeſus. The royal brothers liſtened, and heard him with edifying marks of approbation. The tutor felt the ſubjects, and grew warm: the diſciples too were inſtructed and pleaſed. All on a ſudden the emperour drew the tapeſtry aſide, and diſcovered to Baſil a ſecretary writing at a table. At the ſame inſtant he ordered the doors to be opened, and followed by his brother out he went, leaving Baſil to his reflections, who was preſently conducted to priſon.

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(2) J. ZONARÆ *Annales. tom. ii. lib. xviii. p.* 300. Της δε τοιαυτης αιρεσεως κηρυξ ην. His temporibus ſecta nefaria Bogomilorum extitit, cujus præco doctorque primarius et apoſtolorum præſidium fuit quidam Baſilius medicus. Βασιλειος ουτος ο ιατρος.

ZYGABENI *Panoplia. tom. ii. tit. xxiii. Adverſus Bogomilos.* Princeps erat Baſilius quidam medicus, homo perniciosſus, atque peſtifer, et corruptelæ plenus, atque malorum omnium inſtrumentum.

(3) JOAN. ZONARÆ *Annal. lib. xviii.* Bogomilorum præſidium fuit quidam Baſilius medicus, habitu monachus, ſed ipſo potius Satana indutus, qui cum annis xv. erroris illius perniciosa dogmata didiciſſet, totum fere orbem ſuæ peſtis implevit..

(4) AN. COMNEN. *pag.* 487. Duodecim ſibi diſcipulos adjunxerat, quos et apoſtolos nominarat: trahens cum ipſis et diſcipulas, mulierculas parvorum morum, ac plane perditæ nequitiæ: horum dimiſſione quoquoverſum impietatem incredibiliter propogavit ſuam: flammam quocumque ac peſtem animabus miſeris, ignea circum velocitate, ferens. . . .491. Impune nimirum diu et inobſervate graſſata latens peſtis viſcera ipſa magnarum domuum pervaſerat, turbamque omnis generis incredibilem comprehenderat blanda contagione quadam illecebroſæ novitatis.

GEORG. CEDRENI *Compend. Hiſt. an. xx. Conſtantini M. et Valentis.*

The daughter of Alexias, who wrote this hiſtory, affects to be ſhocked at the blaſphemies uttered by Baſil. She mentions three: the one that he affirmed Jeſus was not God; the ſecond that he called the churches temples of dæmons; and the third that he ſpoke againſt the ſacrament, which ſhe calls the body and blood of Jeſus Chriſt (6). She refers the reader to a book, written by a dutiful monk, who, at the emperour's command, painted the hereſies of Baſil on purpoſe to deter people from embracing them (7). It is eaſy to gueſs what ſort of a book this is !

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(5) An. Comnen. *pag.* 488. φησιν, ο πατερ τιμιωτατε. Equidem pater reverendiſſime, miror te impenſe ac veneror, virtute tua captus; Cupioque majorem in modum doceri abs tua reverentia elementa illa, quæ quibuſdam tradis arcana doctrinæ non vulgaris, quibus hæc noſtra quotidiana vana eſſe doces et nullius frugis.

(6) Ibid. *pag.* 488. Divinam Chriſti naturam . . . . . traducebat impius . . . . Templa, heu mihi! ſacra templa phana dæmonum prophanus appellabat, &c.

> “ What cannot you and I perform upon
> “ Th' unguarded Duncan ?”

The palace was inſtantly in motion. The council was aſſembled. Officers civil and military, the patriarch, and the eccleſiaſtical ſenate attended, and Baſil was brought out to anſwer to a charge of hereſy. The diſcourſe which he had delivered, as the ſecretary had taken it down, was read. The evidence, it was ſaid, was inconteſtible, and the doctrine execrable. The clergy thought he deſerved to be burnt to death. Baſil, far from bluſhing or recanting, confirmed all he had advanced, and with a manly courage declared he was ready to ſuffer any thing, and even to be burnt to death rather than deny what he believed to be true.

The emperour having ſecured the hereſiarch, and having underſtood that he had a great number of diſciples in the city, publiſhed an edict that Baſil and all his followers ſhould be burnt alive. The officers arreſted many. The ſenate ſat. The emperour mounted the throne, and commanded the guilty to be brought in. Some acknowledged themſelves Bogomilans, others denied. The clergy ſat, the monks ſtood round to diſpute againſt errour, and to applaud whatever the emperour ſhould do. Some perſiſted. Others ſaid they were orthodox, and had been ſlandered. At length up roſe the dreadful Alexias, and with eyes flaſhing fury exclaimed : “ I command two large fires to be inſtantly kindled, and in one a croſs to be erected. Let thoſe who chooſe to die in the catholick faith be burnt in the fire where the croſs ſtands : and let thoſe who are reſolved to die in errour be burnt in the other. It is better for chriſtians who are innocent to die than to lie under the ſcandal of hereſy, and to give occaſion to the weak to ſtumble through ſuſpicions of the purity of their faith.” The guards inſtantly took the priſoners away. The flaming furnaces were quick as thought prepared. The croſs was ſet up. The priſoners arranged themſelves. Some drew near to this : others to that. The city was in an uproar. The people howled, and wailed, and execrated the tyrant. Suddenly, the guards turned about, (they had received private orders) diſmiſſed the catholicks, and returned with the Bogomilans, whom they committed to priſon. There the prieſts went to plague them into orthodoxy. Some prevaricated, and were ſet at liberty : others perſiſted and died in priſon. They call this government !

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(7) AN. COMNEN. *pag.* 490.
ZYGABENI *Panoplia. tom. ii. tit. xxiii.* 1. 2. Imperator mihi juſſit, ut ridicula iſtius hæreſis myſteria patefacta, atque convicta, literarum monumentis mandarem. . . . . Propitius ſit nobis Deus impias eorum opiniones referentibus !

The barbarous diſſembler, who had betrayed Baſil, affected great eſteem for him, ſent for him to the palace to try to convince him, and uſed every method he could invent to make him recant his doctrine, that he might ſave his life. Baſil was immoveable, his judges unanimouſly agreed to paſs ſentence of death on him, and the virtuous old man was committed to the flames (8). A great fire was prepared in a publick place; and in the preſence of innumerable ſpectators he ſuffered, ſay hiſtorians, with a courage and a calmneſs worthy of a better cauſe: as if there were any better cauſe than that of liberty and virtue! The confuſion of the populace was great, and ſome of his expreſſions were perverted, however, he was heard to ſay as he approached his fate, theſe words of the pſalmiſt: "Thou ſhalt not be afraid for the deſtruction that waſteth at noon day.... it ſhall not come nigh thee.... only with thine eyes ſhalt thou behold and ſee the reward of the wicked." The fire was exceſſive, and he was inſtantly conſumed.

There is one circumſtance ſo very ridiculous, that had not proteſtant writers gravely copied the imperial hiſtorian, it would hardly be worth while to mention it. It might frighten children in the twelfth century: but can it now excite any prejudices againſt Baſil or his doctrine? It ſeems when he was returning to his cell ſome evenings from converſing with the emperour, who actually took great pains with him, the devils uſed to pelt him with ſtones: and even after he was in his priſon, the ſtones uſed to fall with great clang upon the floor, or the roof (9). There were earthquakes too where the priſon ſtood. His keeper made oath of this, and he was a man ſound in the faith, and he ſaid the devils threw ſtones at the old man for diſcloſing their ſecrets. Baſil laughed at this, and probably only underſtood that the emperour had fine talents for government.

Alexias, never at a loſs, had the addreſs to throw the ſcandal of this murder on the clergy (1). They give him the praiſe of it: but the moſt horrible part of the ſtory is, proteſtants, unworthy of the name, celebrate the praiſe of Alexias for burning this inoffenſive old man (2). Poiſoned with a venom cruel as the grave they chant his fame round theſe aſhes for cleanſing the empire of hereſy. His daughter is to be forgiven for applauding her own father for his diſſembling abilities in letting out line to hook this old fiſh, as the cruel wanton ſpeaks: but who, that merits the name of proteſtant, can be pardonable in imbibing her ſpirit, and in crabbed ſtyle, not like hers, become the panegyriſt of an ancient tyrant, in whoſe reputation not a ſingle mortal hath any intereſt now! It is impoſſible to look over the books of ſuch men and not ſee that knowledge of greek and arabick is not the wiſdom that cometh from above, pure, peaceable, gentle and full of good fruits.

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(8) Ibid. *pag.* 492.

(9) Ibid. *pag*, 489.... Jo. Alberti Fabricii *Opuſc. hiſtorico-critico-literariorum ſylloge. Hamburgi* 1738. *De Hæreſi Bogomilorum.* Tanta animum Baſilii occupabat rabies, ut nec diſcipulorum querelis ac minis, nec portentis, (lapidibus enim cella, cui tenebatur incluſus miriſmodis petebatur) nec terræ motibus, ut priſtinam mutaret mentem permoveri poſſet; quare communibus calculis condemnatur, ac vivus in Hippodromo C. Politano combuſtus fuit.... Jo. Christ. Wolfii *Hiſt. Bogom. ex E. Zygabeno. Vitemb.* 1712.

(1) An. Comnen. *pag.* 492. Βασιλειον αιρεσιαρχην. Baſilium ſectæ principem quod attinet, abduratiſſimum et deſperatæ pænitentiæ caput animadvertentes ſacri præſules ac Clerici, præcipuique Nazaræorum, ipſo ſententiæ autore, qui tunc erat, patriarcha Nicolao igne dignum cenſuerunt: quibus accedens tandem imperator... parari rogum juſſit, &c.

(2) Baronii *Annales*.... Natalis Alexander.... Petavius, &c.... Fabricius ubi ſup.... Spanhemius.

This effort to ſuppreſs hereſy in the metropolis was the laſt exploit of Alexias (3). His old complaint the gout attacked his vitals, he complained of a load at his heart, and a difficulty of breathing, and becoming worſe and worſe his family ſaw with inexpreſſible feelings that he was haſtening to the grave. The empreſs Irene, and his daughters, never left him night or day, and with an aſſiduity and attention full of enthuſiaſm watched every motion, and precluded every wiſh for relief (4). Meſſengers were diſpatched to all the prelates, churches, and monaſteries to command the whole power of prayer to be directed toward heaven for his recovery. Every ſacred edifice was illuminated, and providence was beſieged with chanting. When he fell into a ſwoon at any time, the ladies pierced the lofty domes with ſhrieks, wrung their hands, tore off their hair, wrapped themſelves in mourning, and lay all bathed in tears raving on the ground. One ſtarted up and trembling felt his pulſe: another embraced and kiſſed him, and raiſed his head; a third ſprinkled water in his face; phyſicians joined their efforts, and all conſpired, if poſſible, to torment him into life. "Ah!" exclaimed the tortured Alexias, as he ſhivered back into obſervation, "Ah! why do ye excruciate me in this manner! you kill me with grief before my illneſs puts an end to me. If you be determined to deſtroy me, at leaſt take care of yourſelves." He knew the hidden ſpring of all this. The ſucceſſion was not ſettled, and they had practiſed ſimulation under the firſt maſter in the world. The emperour had by Irene three ſons and four daughters all porphyrogenitan. John, the eldeſt, was his favourite, and he intended him for his ſucceſſor. The empreſs had ſet her heart on the eldeſt daughter, Anna, the hiſtorian, who was married to Bryennius Cæſar; and ſhe had frequently ſolicited Alexias to ſet aſide John, and to declare Bryennius his ſucceſſor. Alexias had ſometimes reaſoned with her, and at other times flattered her, but had never deſtroyed her hopes. Probably with his uſual artifice he had encouraged one party in his family with hopes of ſucceeding, and had concerted meaſures with John and his party to defeat them. When John found his father was dying, he came into the palace, went to the bed ſide, took up his hand, bathed it with tears, and pulled the imperial ſignet from his finger. The empreſs underſtood the meaning of this, and endeavoured to prevent him. He perſiſted, walked out, mounted a fine horſe, and ſurrounded with friends and guards cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperour. Irene, diſtracted with various paſſions, ran to Bryennius, and urged him to declare himſelf the ſucceſſor of Alexias. He refuſed. Then like lightning ſhe flew to the dying man, and ſhrieking threw herſelf upon him, embraced and kiſſed him, and told him his ſon John had ſeized the purple now before he was dead. Alexias made no reply, but ſeemed to be looking up to heaven. She urged him again and again to ſpeak. He fetched a deep groan, ſaid nothing, but lifted up his eyes and hands as if praying to God. She continued her importunity, and Alexias, juſt expiring, for the laſt time rolled one fierce look of indignation at her. She thought this an indication of his conſent to what John had done, and, fetching a deep groan, exclaimed: "O you perfidious huſband, ever practiſed in hypocriſy, whoſe tongue hath always belied your heart, even now you are putting off life, you cannot lay aſide diſſimulation (5)!" So died the great Alexias Comnenus, on the fifteenth of Auguſt, in the ſeventieth year of his age, and the thirty-eighth of his reign. The empreſs retired into a monaſtery, which ſhe had erected, endowed, and regulated (6).

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(3) An. Comnen. *ut ſup. lib. xv. pag.* 495. Τουτο ουν υστατον εργον, &c.
(4) Ibid.

Bogomiliſm, far from being extirpated, extended itſelf by means of books written in defence of it by Conſtantine Chryſomales, into the monaſteries and churches (7). Some emperours were placid, others were employed in dark conſpiracies, or bloody enterpriſes to transfer the purple. The patriarchs held ſynods, condemned the writings of Chryſomales, and depoſed ſome of the prelates from their thrones; ſo the Greeks call what the latin church calls ſees. The hurricane chiefly affected Peter, abbot of a monaſtery, Pamphilus, Clement, Leontius, and a few more biſhops. At length, near fifty years after the burning of Baſil, the head of the church was affected with hereſy. There was in the reign of Manuel Comnenus a celebrated Bogomilan named Niphon, a monk well verſed in ſcripture, and eminent for the holineſs of his life (8). He was very intimate with a clergyman named Coſmas, a man of learning and eloquence, of ſimple and unaffected piety, and the idol of the common people for his unbounded beneficence to the poor, to whom he often gave even his habits (9). The patriarch, Michael Oxyita, cauſed Niphon and ſome others

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(5) NICETÆ *Choniatæ Hiſtor. Joan. Comnen. pag.* 6.

(6) *Benedictin. S. Mauri Analecta Græc. tom. i. Paris.* 1688. *Regula* IRENES *Auguſtæ interp.* MONTFAUCON.

(7) LEONIS ALLATII *Perpet. Conſen. lib. ii. chap. xi.*

(8) JOANNIS CINNAMI. *Hiſt. lib. ii. pag.* 35.

(9) NICETÆ *Hiſt. Manuel. Comneni. lib. ii.* Κοσμας, &c. Coſmas vero tum in numero diaconorum erat, patria Ægineta, et quamvis eruditiſſimus, virtutum tamen choro erat illuſtrior: in primis benignitate erga pauperes inſignis; quæ tanquam in pretioſo monili gemma radians, ſic ipſa inter virtutes reliquas elucebat: adeo ut aliquando pallium et tunicam, et lineam calyptram capitis, pauperibus miſericordia motus diſtribueret: nec de ſuo tantum largiretur,

ſed

to be arreſted on a charge of hereſy. The excellent talents, and more excellent virtues of Coſmas attracted the eyes of many, and among the reſt of Iſaac, Sebaſtocrator, the brother of the emperour. On the death of the patriarch, Coſmas was preferred to the patriarchate. The weaker brethren hoped for a reformation, eſpecially as the new patriarch releaſed Niphon from confinement, and took him into his houſe as his chief intimate. The wiſer knew better, for they well underſtood that the religion of Coſmas could not poſſibly become a creature of the court. Liberty, not eſtabliſhment, was their object: and they dreaded the fate of Coſmas. A committee of friends from a faction of prieſts went one day to the patriarch, and with a view to Niphon, addreſſed him thus: "Divine paſtor, why do you commit yourſelf to the care of a wolf? Do you not perceive that on this account your flock deſpiſe you? Flee from ſuch pernicious company (1). To live in habits of friendſhip with an excommunicated man is of itſelf a ſufficient accuſation." Coſmas, always firm and mild, heard the complaint, and without diſcovering any emotions of reſentment perſevered in his friendſhip for Niphon. Next, then, they caballed at court and won over the emperour to their party. He converſed with them ſeparately, and all aſſured him Niphon was a very bad man. He inquired of the patriarch, and he told him the direct contrary. It is obſervable in the hiſtory of theſe troublers of the world, that when in their ſynods they had wrought themſelves up to rage, and could not invent words bad enough to expreſs their abhorrence of one another, they uſed to exclaim, You are Euchites! Such an one is an Euchite (2)! This reſembles the conduct of thoſe who ſaid of old; We ſhall not find any occaſion againſt this Daniel, except we find it againſt him concerning the law of his God (3).

The pious patriarch, Coſmas, had miſſed his way, and had ſtumbled into a church, where his conſcience forbad him to perform the offices of it. He had placed religion in virtue: his church had placed it in ſpeculation, and one of their feſtivals, the firſt Sunday in Lent, was called orthodox Sunday, a day on which they chanted creeds, and execrated ſuch as did not believe them (4).

ſed alios etiam ut pauperum inopiæ ſubvenirent impelleret. His de cauſis ille vir omnibus erat venerabilis.

(1) CINNAMI *Hiſt. ut ſup. pag.* 36. Ex iis nonnulli, quibus potiſſimum Coſmæ ſalus curæ erat, accedentes non ſine indignatione, Quid, aiebant, O Divine Paſtor, temet ipſum lupo concredis? An non vides propterea te a grege deſpici? Recede ab exitioſa ſocietate. Cum homine enim ſacris interdicto cohabitare, per ſe idonea ſatis eſt accuſatio.

(2) GEORGII PACHYMERIS *Andronici Palæologi Hiſt. lib. vi. pag.* 333.

(3) DANIEL *chap vi. ver.* 5.

(4) PETRI POSSINI *Gloſſarium in G. Pachymerii Hiſt. Andronic. pag.* 501. ορθοδοξια. Fuiſſe hanc primam dominicam quadrageſimæ diſerte docet Philotheus Homilia in 1. Dom. Quad.... In ea dominica Codinus lib. de offic. innuit recitari ſolitum adſtante imperatore Synodicum Videtur ſignificare formulam fidei, ſive anathematiſmos in hæreſes a ſynodis.

Could Coſmas utter a full-mouthed curſe againſt Euchites, and devote himſelf and his friends to deſtruction? O the barbarity of ſuperſtition!

As the patriarch could not be prevailed on to perſecute, the faction applied to the emperour, who ſigned an order to arreſt and re-impriſon Niphon (5). The officers immediately began to execute the commiſſion. When the news reached Coſmas he was thunderſtruck, and for a moment loſt his ſpirits and his ſpeech. Recovering himſelf he ran afoot to overtake the officers, and free the priſoner. They reſiſted, and ſhewed him their authority. Then, ſaid he, I will go along with him. Such an attachment to the ties of friendſhip and the dictates of liberality is ſeldom to be ſeen!

The clergy availed themſelves of their uſual artifice. They prevailed with Manuel, a young emperour, to convoke a ſynod: in which he was one, and they were all the reſt. The ſynod ſat, the emperour filling the throne. His majeſty aſked, What they thought of Niphon? All exclaimed, He is a bad man. Turning to the patriarch, he ſaid: And what, my lord, do you think of him? Coſmas replied as before. The whole ſynod exclaimed, The patriarch ought to be depoſed: and depoſed he was, though, ſay hiſtorians, he had no fault except that of being a man too honeſt and direct for his high office (6). The populace loved him to exceſs, and even the courtiers revered him, and conſtrued ſome of his ſayings into prophecies, which afterward came to paſs.

There is in the hiſtory of the greek church an amazing and inſtructive variety. The human heart unfolds itſelf in every diſſimilitude of form, in regard to religion both ſpeculative and practical, as it tends toward the common parent of mankind, feeling after God, if haply it may find him. When the church recovers that primitive coolneſs of temper, which human teſts have diſconcerted, ſome pen free from the venom of party zeal will write an hiſtory rich with information, and abounding with motives to moderation, the groundplot of virtue. Free thinking in an empire is the ſame to a church, eſtabliſhed on human teſts, as health is in a city in an unwholſome clime. Every now and then the bleſſing viſits every family. In ſome periods of this hiſtory emperours careſs and favour diſſenters (7). So did Nicephorus by the Paulicians.

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(5) Cinnam. *pag.* 36. Ex nimia ſimplicitate Coſmas ſui oblitus magnas incurrit calamitates, &c.

(6) Cinnamus *et* Nicetas. *ubi ſup.* Omnes ſimul princeps interrogat, quid de Niphone ſentirent. Palam illum impium hominem proclamant.... Converſus inde imperator ad Coſmam, tu vero Domine, inquit, quid de homine ſentis? Et Coſma eadem ſimpliciter, liberiuſque affirmante, conclamavit cœtus univerſus, Minime in throno perſtare illum debere. Ea propter de medio tollitur, vir præterquam nimia ſimplicitate, uti ego quidem exiſtimo, reliquis omnibus bonis copioſiſſime inſtructus.

(7) Photi. *lib. i. Contra Manichæos*..... Geor. Cedreni *Compend. Hiſt. tom. ii.*.... Zonaræ *Annal. tom. ii. lib. xvi.*... Theodosii *Codex. tom. vi.*... Nicephori Gregoræ. *Hiſt. Rom. lib. xi. De monacho Barlaam*.... Joan. Cantacuzeni *Hiſt. lib. ii. cap. xxxix. xl.* Βαρλααμ. Barlaamus monachos impoſtores, mendaces, Maſſalianos, et Omphalopſychos, germanorumque eccleſiæ dogmatum corruptores, et ſimilibus vocabulis appellans, &c.... Gregorius

In others they perſecute them with bitterneſs and rage. So Conſtans, Juſtinian II. and Leo the Iſaurian, oppreſſed the ſame people: Leo the Armenian, inflicted capital puniſhments on them: and that fury, Theodora, deſtroyed above an hundred thouſand of them by fire and ſword, drove them to madneſs and forced them to take up arms. Yet all this could not prevent the ingreſs of hereſy to the church, and Palamas, archbiſhop of Theſſalonica, became a myſtick, and was both applauded and abuſed for being an Euchite. Greek hereticks explained themſelves differently: but whoever caſts his eye on Zygabenes' book will ſee reaſon to think they would moſt of them be now called Unitarian Baptiſts (8).

Although the religious principles and practices of the Bogomilans are purpoſely mangled and miſrepreſented, yet it is not very difficult to obtain probable evidence of what they were (9). Writers ſay, they rejected ſome of the firſt books of ſcripture. The fact is, they knew the old teſtament œconomy was diſſolved and aboliſhed, and therefore they rejected, not as hiſtory, but as a rule of faith and practice to chriſtians, all the books of the old teſtament down to Job. They received all the reſt. They ſaw that people, who did not make this diſtinction, confounded chriſtianity with judaiſm. The ſchools, under pretence of expounding Geneſis, filled the church with vain diſputes about matter and ſpirit, the origin and duration of the world. They ſaw the prieſts ſet up Exodus, Numbers, Leviticus, and Deuteronomy as the rules of an hierarchy, never intended to take place among chriſtians. They heard them employ kings to kill and ſlay for Jeſus on the ground of the books of Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles: and they diſcovered their wiſdom by renouncing all ſuch ſophiſms and the conſequences deduced from them. They believed one God. They denied the doctrine of perſons in the Deity. They

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gorius Palamas, poſtea Archiepiſcopus Theſſalonicenſis, genere Aſiaticus, et in aula imperatoria educatus, et duo fratres ejus, aetate admodum puerili poſſeſſiones, parentes, et quidquid eſt in hominum vita conſpicuum et admirabile, et honores ab imperatore promiſſos, ut parvi, aut nullius momenti reliquerant, Chriſtumque ſolum ſequi, et quæ in cælis eſt claritatem expetere, inſtituerant.

(8) Euthymii Monachi Zygabeni *Orthodoxæ fidei dogmaticæ panoplia. Venetiis.* 1575. Adverſus Apollinarium, Neſtorianos, Monophyſitas, Aphthardocitas, Theopaſchytas, Monotheletas, imaginum oppugnatores, Armenios, Paulicianos, Maſalianos, Bogomilos, Saracenos. . . *tit. xxiii. cap. xvi. tom. ii.* Bogomili baptiſmum noſtrum Joannis baptiſmum eſſe dicunt . . . Suum Chriſti. Si quis ad ipſos confugit eum rebaptizant.

(9) Zygabeni *Panoplia*. . . . . . Harmenopuli *Op. Hæret*. . . . . Fabricii *De Bogomilorum hæres. Diſſertat.* Septem libros duntaxat ſuſcipiunt et colunt, et in ſummo habent pretio, id eſt pſalterium, et librum ſexdecim prophetarum, et evangelium ſec. Matthæum, et ſec. Marcum, et ſec. Lucam, et ſec. Johannem, et ſeptimum librum, quo res ab apoſtolis geſtæ continentur, cum omnibus epiſtolis, et Johannis Theologi Apocalypſi. . . . Ea re decipiunt ſimpliciores, quod fingant ſe credere in patrem, et filium et ſpiritum S. cum tamen patri tres iſtas appellationes tribuant . . . . Baptiſmum aquæ in eccleſiam orthodoxam, baptiſmum Johannis vocant, omneſque more noſtro tinctos baptiſmatis lavacro, Phariſæis et Judæis ad Johannem accelerantibus comparant, quapropter et eos, qui ſe ſectæ Bogomilorum applicabant, rebaptizabant,

thought Jeſus a man in whom the Deity dwelt. They rebaptized ſuch as joined their churches. They worſhipped God by prayer and ſinging his praiſe. They read and enforced the ſcriptures, and ſimply adminiſtered the Lord's ſupper. They placed religion in what it really conſiſts, piety and virtue. They had neither ſophiſtry in their doctrine, nor tyranny in their government. They are ſaid to have been bad expoſitors of ſcripture, and to have abounded in allegory: but aſſuredly, the vileſt of all expoſitors is he, who finds in the goſpel of peace a divine commiſſion to ſpill the blood of his fellow creatures.

Having thus taken a brief and curſory view of the general condition of the greek nonconformiſts, it remains only to obſerve the general ſtate of baptiſm, firſt in the eſtabliſhed church, and then among the diſſenters.

The ſtate of baptiſm in the greek church is an article of more conſequence than it may at firſt appear. If pity for the wretched be a generous paſſion, who can help indulging it when he ſees an illiterate Baptiſt hang his head daunted and diſmayed by the unfair criticiſm of a learned teacher, who tells him the word baptize is greek, and ſignifies pouring as well as dipping? Great men love ſometimes to trifle. Their anceſtors did ſo.

Quondam cithara tacentem
Suſcitat muſam: neque ſemper arcum
Tendit Apollo (1).

The inference which theſe tranſlators draw from their own verſion is not exactly logical; for I prove, ſays a Voſſius, going to baptize an infant, that the word baptize ſignifies to pour as well as to dip (2). In virtue of this, what does he? He takes the infant and neither pours nor dips, but ſprinkles, and then lifts up his voice and ſays to a congregation of Engliſh peaſants, the greek word will bear me out. Verily, this is not fair! This is an old baron caſed in ſteel running upon an unarmed knight. What is there no popular method of convincing the illiterate: and muſt the reign of Origen's double ſenſe of ſcripture be perpetuated from generation to generation world without end?

Suppoſe an honeſt Baptiſt peaſant ſhould ſtand up and ſay to ſuch a man: "Sir, I have underſtood that Jeſus lived and died in the eaſt.... that four of his diſciples wrote his hiſtory in the greek language.... that his apoſtles preached in greek to the inhabitants of Greece, and that the Greeks heard, believed, and were baptized..... Every nation underſtands its own language beſt, and no doubt the Greeks underſtood greek better than we do.....Now I have been informed....ſet me right if I be wrong....that from the firſt preaching of the apoſtles to this day the Greeks have always underſtood that to baptize was to dip, and, ſo far are they from thinking that to baptize is to pour or to ſprinkle, I have been told they baptize by dipping three times. I do not underſtand greek: but I think the Greeks themſelves do. If therefore I were not to dip for other reaſons: and if I were obliged to determine my practice by the ſenſe of the ſingle word baptiſm: and if I were driven to the neceſſity of truſting ſomebody, my reaſon would command me to take that ſenſe from the natives of Greece rather than from you, a foreigner." That this honeſt man would ſuppoſe a true fact is beyond all contradiction. Greek proofs are innumerable, but they are all in greek (3). Happily, here is one of a modern hiſtorian, whom it is impoſſible to read and not honour, though it may be difficult to determine whether to admire moſt the clearneſs of his underſtanding, the fidelity of his narration, or the mild and graceful diſpoſition, which adorn his beautiful work. He was chaplain ſeveral years to the Britiſh Factory eſtabliſhed at St. Peterſburg (4). He had the goodneſs to avail himſelf of the fineſt opportunities of information, and to preſent his country with an undiſputed account of the rites of the greek church. Speaking of baptiſm, he ſays, "Next in order comes baptiſm properly ſo called, in which the greek church uniformly practiſes the trine IMMERSION, undoubtedly the moſt primitive manner; which was firſt changed for one immerſion in Spain." In determining the preciſe meaning of a greek word uſed to ſignify a greek ceremony, what poſſible chance hath a ſeſſion of lexicographers againſt whole empires of native Greeks? Let the illiterate then enjoy themſelves, and recollect when they baptize by dipping they underſtand greek exactly as the Greeks themſelves underſtand it.

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(1) HORAT. *Carm. lib. ii. ode x.*

(2) GER. JOH. VOSSII *Theſes. De Baptiſmo.* Το βαπτιζειν. Interdum accipitur pro abluere, &c..... FRID. SPANHEMII *Diatribe Hiſtor. De origine anabaptiſtarum.* .... JOHAN. CLOPPENBURGII *Gangrena theologiæ Anabaptiſticæ. Diſput. xlix. Franekeræ.* 1645. Cum multis aliis farinæ ejuſdem.

Greatly as the Greeks were divided in ſpeculative opinions, and numerous as the congregations were, which diſſented from the church, it is remarkable, and may ſerve to confirm the meaning of the word baptize, that there is not the ſhadow of a diſpute in all their hiſtory in favour of ſprinkling. Becauſe they were Greeks, they all thought to baptize was to baptize, that is, to dip was to dip. They all baptized, and rebaptized: the eſtabliſhed church, as was obſerved before, by order of council for ſpeculative reaſons, and the diſſenters for moral reaſons (5). Thus the people called Acephali, or headleſs, were

(3) ZONARÆ. *Com. in Canon. Apoſtol. canon. l.* Τρια ϐαπτισματα, &c. Si quis epiſcopus, aut preſbyter, non tria unius initiationis baptiſmata fecerit ſed unum quod fiat in mortem domini, Deponatur. *Interpretatio Zonaræ.* Τρια ϐαπτισματα ενταυθα τας τρεις καταδυσεις φησιν ο κανων. Hic tria baptiſmata canon tres *immerſiones* intelligit in uno myſterio.... THEODORI BALSAMON *in eundem* Loc. Com. Statuit hic canon, per tres *immerſiones* peragi oportere myſterium ſacri baptiſmatis.... THEOPHYLACTI *Bulgariæ Archiep. in Rom. vi.* 5. Ημεις εν υδατι.... εκεινος εν τη γη. Nos in aqua, ille ſepultus eſt, &c.

(4) DR. KING's *Rites of the Greek Church. Office of Baptiſm, page* 192.

(5) *Tractatus contra Græcorum Errores ex Mſſto codice Bibliothecæ Bavariæ inter* CANISII *Lection.*

were reproved and hooted in council for rebaptizing in private houſes, and holding conventicles; and thus the Manicheans are cenſured for reprobating the baptiſm of children; and the Cathari for calling the eſtabliſhed church a worldly community, and rebaptizing ſuch as joined their churches (6). The ſum of the matter ſeems to be, that the eſtabliſhed greek church held both the ſubject and the mode of baptiſm as the firſt inſtitution preſcribed for four or five hundred years, loſing the ſubject by degrees, but retaining the mode to this day: and that the bulk of the diſſenters, perhaps all, retained both the ſubject and the mode, always dipping, and never dipping any but on their own perſonal profeſſion of faith.

The laſt period of the greek church, from the taking of Conſtantinople to the preſent time, exhibits a melancholly picture of fallen greatneſs: greatneſs, for it extends over a territory much larger than that of the church of Rome: fallen, for it reigns no where, it is a ſervant to the ſtate in Ruſſia, and in ſome parts of the eaſt it is oppreſſed and perſecuted. The four patriarchates of Conſtantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jeruſalem, yet remain, and the ſpiritual juriſdiction of the patriarchs reſembles that of the biſhop of Rome over the catholicks in England. The greek religion is "profeſſed through a conſiderable part of Greece, the Grecian iſles, Wallachia, Moldavia, Egypt, Nubia, Lybia, Arabia, Meſopotamia, Syria, Cilicia and Paleſtine, the Ruſſian empire in Europe, great part of Siberia in Aſia, Aſtracan, Caſan, Georgia, and White Ruſſia in Poland (7)." Learning is ſaid to be in a low ſtate, and religion loaded

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tion. Antiq. ex edit. BASNAG. *tom. ii. pag.* 67. *an.* 1252. Græcorum ſacerdotes omnibus modis laborant oſtendere plus factis quam dictis: quod inviolata fides ſacroſanctæ romanæ eccleſiæ irrita ſit. Nam quemcunque Latinum ſibi aſſociant per fidem, ſive latenter, ſive patenter baptizant. Unde latinorum filios, mediantibus matribus, dicti ſacerdotes, patribus neſcientibus, rebaptizant, baptizatos jam ſecundum ritum Latinorum. Quod omnibus dictis ſupra abominationibus deteſtabilius eſt.

(6) JOANNIS FORBESII *Inſtructiones Hiſtor. Theol. lib. iii. cap. xiv. De Acephalis Hæreticis.* Acephali, id eſt ſine capite, nominantur, quia quis prius eam hæreſim introduxerit non invenitur. Cujus hæreſis peſte plurimi orientalium languent, inquit Ado Viennenſis in Chronico ætate ſexta, ad an. 458. Hoc nomen extendebatur ad Monophyſitas... Eſaianos... Hæſitantes. Neſtorianos... Eutychianos.... Manichæos.... Severianos... Egyptios.... Schematicos, &c. Epiſcopi orientales aiunt Acephalos exercere παρασυναξεις και παραβαπτισματα.... Hinc illa vox orthodoxorum clamantium ſub finem quartæ actionis Synodi Conſtantinop. τους κατοικον βαπτισοντας εξω βαλε. Eos qui per domos, ſeu domatim baptizant ejice foras, id eſt, qui clam et occulte faciunt ea, quæ canonibus interdicta ſunt. *Vide* CONCIL. CONSTANTINOPOLITANUM *præſidente Menna patriarcha Conſtantinop.*

MURATORII *Antiq. Ital. tom. v. Diſſert. lx. Specimen opuſculi, quod Gregorius quidam ſcripſit contra Manichæos, qui Paterini dicuntur circiter annum* 1240. *Ex Archiv. Ambroſianæ Bibliothecæ.* Non in uno ſolo articulo fidei errant, ſed in omnibus. De perſonarum trinitate male ſentiunt; dicentes, quod tres perſonæ poſt judicium erant una perſona tantum.... Capitula libri.... vi.... De Johanne Baptiſta, quem catholicus approbat, Paterinus damnat. Vel de baptiſmo aquæ, et de baptiſmo puerorum, quem Paterinus damnat.

(7) CYRILLI *Papæ et Patriarchæ Alexandriæ* JOANNI UYTENBOGAERT. *Epiſt. ii.* Græca Eccleſia in plures nationes dividitur, in Hyberos, Colchos, Arabes, Chaldæos, Æthiopes, Ægyptios,

loaded down with ceremonies as in the church of Rome. The government of the church is reputed a mild ariſtocracy (8). The clergy elect the patriarchs, who are afterward preſented to the ſultan along with a handſome fee. The ſultan's approbation runs in ſome ſuch ſtyle as this: "I command ſuch an one to go and reſide as biſhop in the iſle of Chios, according to the ancient cuſtom and idle ceremonies of thoſe people (9)." The patriarchs of Alexandria have alway avoided this ſubmiſſion, the reſt yield to it: and on theſe terms more than two hundred thouſand chriſtian Greeks reſide unmoleſted in Conſtantinople (1). There are four numerous claſſes of chriſtians reſident in the empire, who hold no communion with the Greeks, Armenians, Copts, Maronites, and Jacobites, all whom the Greeks, as uſual, repute hereticks. Various attempts have been made to bring them under the dominion of Rome, but they have failed of ſucceſs, and probably all future efforts will be alike ineffectual. Some trials have been made to procure an union between them and the reformed churches, but neither have theſe been crowned with ſucceſs. When the infinitely wiſe providence of God brings on events, which enlighten the underſtandings of mankind, they reform themſelves: but till then the wiſe and gentle maxims of liberality and love in the boſoms of a few, like ſome ſoftly purling rills in a diſtant foreſt, glide away unpraiſed and unknown. There is more of the ſpirit of chriſtianity in two placid letters of the good patriarch Cyril, written in the laſt century to ſome Dutch divines, than in all the huge volumes publiſhed by his church in former ages on the Arian controverſy: the firſt are loſt in the crowd, the laſt have filled the world with litigation and ſound (2). The hiſtory of this church will for ever afford a fatal example of the folly of ſuppoſing a double ſenſe of ſcripture, and the madneſs of attempt-

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Ægyptios, Moſcovitas, Rutenos, Bulgaros, Servos vel Sclavos, Albanenſes, Caramanos Valachos, Moldavos & Græcos, &c. Omnes iſtæ nationes in fide Chriſti conſtantes ſunt, Grecæ Eccleſiæ, ſuoque ritui obtemperantes.... DR. KING's *Rites of the greek church, pag.* 2.

(8) CYRIL. *ut ſup.* Eccleſiaſticum noſtrum regimen monarchicum non eſt: mixtum eſt et temperatum. Monarcha eſt unuſquiſque in ſua eccleſia particulari: nec ibi monarcha erit, niſi tyrannus eſſe velit. At ſit monarcha, ubi contumacia captus fuerit, ſubdit ſe judicio Ariſtocratiæ Epiſcoporum.

(9) RYCAUT's *Hiſtory of the Turkiſh Empire.*

(1) CYRIL. *ubi ſup.* Iſtæ nationes habent quatuor legitimos patriarchas, inter quos primum locum tenet Conſtantinopolitanus, ſecundum Alexandrinus, tertium Antiochenus, quartum Hieroſolymitanus. Quatuor ſunt ſectæ eorum, quibus eccleſia noſtra non communicat, Armenica, Coptica, Maronitica, et Jacobitica.

(2) CYRILLI *Epiſt. i.* Humanis opinionibus et innovationibus jam immerſa eccleſia extreme langueſcere videatur. Loco fidei, inanis introducitur philoſophia, verſatilis ille gladius, viam non cuſtodiens, ſed impediens paradiſi. Cui philoſophiæ Chriſtum ſubmittimus, cui credimus, qua niſi probentur fidei myſteria, non ſuſcipimus, hanc ſolam fundamentum ſalutis ponimus: quod ſi iſta ego de te dicam, vel ad te referam tu ad me retorquebis. Si ambo ad papam Romanum, ille ambos excommunicabit, et pro hæreticis habebit. En quæ eſt iſta miſeria, quæ veritatis confuſio; nemoque ſit qui tanto poſſit obviare abſurdo, tantamque explodere a Chriſtianitate obſcænitatem.

ing to force an uniformity of belief. The firſt brought myſteries and hereſies: the laſt gave birth to a thouſand factions.

Two remarks conclude this ſketch of the greek church: the one on the church, the other on the ſtate.

The genius, and conſequently the hiſtory, of the greek church are totally different from thoſe of Rome. The great ſpring of action at Rome was love of dominion; for the head of the church was a ſecular prince: but the patriarch of Conſtantinople always had a maſter at his ſide, the reigning emperour. The patriarch excommunicated hereticks: but the pope deſtroyed them. This church therefore cannot juſtly be called a bloody church. The patriarch Chryſoſtom declaimed perpetually againſt hereſy, and excommunicated hereticks: but with a remnant of true grecian ſpirit he reaſoned againſt penal ſanctions (3).

Becauſe, ſays he, I. Chriſt died for all men; for his enemies, for tyrants, for magicians, for thoſe that hated him and crucified him.

II. Becauſe the church in imitation of Chriſt prays for all men.

III. Becauſe the chriſtian religion rather obliges us to lay down our own lives for our neighbours than take theirs away.

IV. It is uſurping upon the prerogative of Chriſt: for what is ſuch an anathema but ſaying, Let him be given to the devil, let him have no place of ſalvation, let him be ſeparated from Chriſt? Who gave thee this authority and power? Why doſt thou aſſume the dignity of the ſon of God, who ſhall ſit in judgement, and ſet the ſheep on his right hand, and the goats on his left?

V. The apoſtles had no ſuch practice in excommunication. They caſt hereticks out of the church, in ſuch a manner, as one would pluck out a right eye, or cut off a limb, with indications of compaſſion and ſorrow. They carefully rebuked and expelled their hereſies, but did not thus anathematize their perſons.

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(3) B. De Montfaucon. *Synopſis Chryſoſt. op. tom. xiii. Diatribe iii. De Hæreticis.* Non minoris operæ erit ex tanta operum ſilva ea quæ paſſim Chryſoſtomus memorat de hæreſiarchis, de hæreſibus et erroribus, qui ævo ſuo in eccleſia orientali graſſabantur, omnia excerpere et ſuo ordine recenſere. Præter eos enim qui ævo ſuo exorti fuerant, ut Anomæi, Macedoniani, Pholiniani, vetuſtiores etiam multos inducit, quorum ſecta adhuc vel numeroſa, vel nondum extincta erat.... Non ſemel perſtringit ille Docetas.... Gnoſticos ſemel tantum commemorat. .... De Valentinianis multa profert.... De Marcione et Manichæo innumera pene habentur in Chryſoſtomi operibus.... Encratitas una cum Marcioniſtis et Manichæis commemorat.... Sabellii hæreſim paſſim depellit.... Frequentioribus vero telis Paulum Samoſatanum impetit, et ejus aſſeclas, qui tunc magno fuiſſe numero videntur.... In mulieris cujuſdam gratiam, inquit, ſalutem ſuam prodidit Paulus Samoſatanus, illa autem Zenobia erat regina Palmyræ, quæ Paulo Samoſateno favebat.... Melchiſedecianos.... Catharos.... Arianos, Anomæos ex Arianorum ſtirpe memorat. Quia vero Conſtantinopoli etiam Anomæorum frequentia erat; ſecunda quam illa urbe Præſul habuit concio, contra Anomæos erat.... Macedonium quoque impetit, et pneumatomachos, qui paracleto bellum inferebant.... De Marcello Ancyrano et Photino ejus diſcipulo hæc narrat Chryſoſtomus, ipſos nempe eadem aſſeruiſſe et prædicaſſe, quæ Sabellius, qui dicebat filium et patrem et ſpiritum ſanctum unam eſſe perſonam.... Photinus dicebat, Chriſtum nullo modo exſtitiſſe antequam in Maria virgine originem duceret. Illum cum Paulo Samoſateno conſentire putabant multi.... Præter hæc alia refert Chryſoſtomus circa errores multos qui ſuo ævo Antiochenos vigebant.

VI. It is an abſurd practice, whether it be uſed toward the living or the dead. If toward the living, thou art cruel in cutting off one, who is ſtill in a capacity of turning and changing his life from evil to good: if toward the dead, thou art more cruel, becauſe now to his own maſter he ſtands or falls, and is not under any human power. From all this he infers, that we ought only to anathematize the impious and heretical opinions of men, but to ſpare their perſons and pray for their ſalvation (4).

Never was a national character more happily ſtruck off than that of the Greeks by the man, who was divinely commiſſioned to inſtruct them, and who was himſelf the only ſcholar of the apoſtles. The Greeks, ſaid he, ſeek after wiſdom. Sophiſtry grafted on the love of freedom tarniſhed the glory of the greek church. The miſchief began at the Alexandrian ſchool, and it was completed by ſetting the civil power to protect the moſt corrupt party, and to diſcountenance the reſt (5). The Arians ſaw their folly when emperours were orthodox: the orthodox ſaw theirs when emperours were arian: but as neither of them profited by their calamities ſo as to alter their conduct, providence ſet over both a Mohammedan ſultan, and on their own principles the Ottoman emperours became heads of the church. Perhaps all parties are more virtuous now than any one was in the day of its power, ſplendour, and inſolence.

It may juſtly be wondered at, that a people ſo paſſionately fond of freedom ſhould ſubmit to the intolerable deſpotiſm of their civil governours. The truth is, they were overpowered and ſubdued. Tyranny never ſat eaſy upon mankind, and the Greeks were never reconciled to it. When their deſpots fell into their hands, they treated them with a barbarous rage almoſt beyond belief. A great and a fearful leſſon for all tyrants and ſlaves!

One of the moſt cruel emperours of the eaſt was Andronicus Comnenus, who obtained the purple in the year eleven hundred and eighty-three (6). This horrible butcher of mankind though he reigned only about twenty-two months would ſeem, by the liſt of perſons impriſoned, blinded, caſtrated, maimed, poiſoned, ſtrangled, and murdered in various methods by his order, to have held a dreadful empire over the eaſt for at leaſt a century. His cruelties provoked reſiſtance, and his depoſition was determined. In vain he headed troops and fought, he was defeated. Being taken he was firſt loaded with an iron chain about his neck, and irons on his legs. In this manner he was conducted into the preſence of the conqueror Iſaac Comnenus. Some ſtruck him with their fiſts, others kicked him. His teeth were knocked out: his hair was torn off. Women, whoſe huſbands he had killed or blinded, ſtruck him. In the end one of his hands was ſtruck off, and he was thrown into priſon, where he lay ſome time without bread or water, or any kind of nouriſhment. Thence he was taken out, one of his eyes was put out, and he was ſet on a ſorry camel, bare-headed, covered only with a miſerable veſt, and led through the city. Never was ſuch a lamentable ſpectacle. Compaſſion had fled quite away from every breaſt. The dregs of the populace flew at him with an infernal fury. Some ſtoned him, ſome ſtruck him with clubs on the head, others rubbed filth and ordure in his face. Some wounded and ſtabbed him with hooks and ſpits: ſome uttered horrid imprecations againſt his parents and his family; and one fiend threw over him ſcalding hot water. In the end they hung him up by the feet, and practiſed cruelties too ſhocking to relate, till at length crying, Lord have mercy upon me! Why do you break a bruiſed reed! putting his hand to his mouth to ſuck the blood that ran from a wound, he yielded up his miſerable life. They talk of ſedition. Are any ſeditions equal to thoſe which a lawleſs tyranny excites? Are the Acephali to be blamed for refuſing to call ſuch as Andronicus heads of the church? Are the Cathari to be cenſured for renouncing to admit to church fellowſhip the baptized mob of Conſtantinople?

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(4) Dr. King's *Rites of the Greek Church. Of the ſervice of Orthodox Sunday. pag.* 395.

(5) Dr. Benson's *Paraphraſe and Notes on St. Paul's Epiſtles.... Eſſay concerning the unity of ſenſe, to ſhew that no text of ſcripture has more than one ſingle ſenſe.* There the genealogy runs thus: The Jews taught Philo, Philo Clement, Clement Origen, and ſo on.

(6) Nicetæ *Choniatæ Annal. Andronicus Comnenus. lib. ii. Pariſiis.* 1647. *pag.* 224. Ειχε τοινυν τουτον. In Anemæ caſtellum duabus gravibus catenis cum ferreis ſeris ſuperbo collo injectis, et compedibus oneratus, ut captivos tractare moris eſt, conjicitur; eoque habitu ad Iſaacium perducto, &c.... Tot mala perpeſſus, et alia ſexcenta... nihil dicebat aliud, niſi, Domine miſerere, et quid calamum contritum infrigitis? &c.... Louis Cousin. *Hiſt. De Conſtantinop. A Paris.* 1672.

CHAP. VII.

The African Church.

FROM THE IRRUPTION OF THE VANDALS TO THEIR EXPULSION.

IN the ſpring of the year four hundred and twenty-nine, the Vandals, under the conduct of Genſeric, began to overrun Africa, and ſoon ſubverted the Roman government, and ſet up a kingdom, which laſted about one hundred years. Auſtin was turned of ſeventy-five years of age, when the city of Hippo was beſieged, having lived long enough to ſee that wicked doctrine of perſecution, which he had taught the orthodox to practiſe on ſuch as he called hereticks and ſchiſmaticks, returned with a vengeance on the heads of him and his devoted party, who by a revolution in government were now become hereticks themſelves, under a zealous Arian head of the church. Which of them now dare preach an orthodox ſermon on a text, which they had ſo often abuſed: Let every ſoul be ſubject unto the higher powers: the powers that be are ordained of God!

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* The author's remarks on the hiſtory of the african church, previous to this period, have been publiſhed in his Hiſtory of Baptiſm. Not. Ed.

The Vandals are mentioned by Tacitus among other barbarous nations in Germany (7). They migrated under ſome of their chiefs into Pannonia, where they ſettled, and where ſome chriſtians taught them chriſtianity in the Unitarian form. They made ſeveral irruptions into the empire, and at length ſubdued Africa, and ſettled there.

Hiſtorians are not agreed about the time, when they firſt received the Arian doctrine, the moſt probable opinion is, that it was in the reign of the emperour Valens (8). Laying aſide many fabulous and voluminous accounts, the moſt likely in brief is this. Germany was anciently inhabited by a great many different families, tribes, or nations. Of theſe the Goths, who are called by many other names, became in time the moſt numerous and powerful, and capable of affording protection to tribes weaker than their own (9). Some paid a tribute, others were ſubdued, and moſt formed a general alliance. Hence the little ſtates obtained the name of Goths, and of theſe the Vandals were one (1). From their woods and faſtneſſes the Goths often made irruptions into the empire. In one of theſe in the reign of Gallienus, about the year two hundred and ſixty, they invaded Greece, overrun Bithynia, Galatia, and Cappadocia, and returned with booty and captives, among whom were ſome chriſtians (2). Theſe barbarians were not heads of a church, and the greek captives enjoyed their cuſtoms, and taught their conquerours chriſtianity. About forty years after, one of the captives had a ſon, named Ulphilas, a youth of fine parts, and a chriſtian of the primitive kind (3). He tranſlated the ſcriptures into the Gothick tongue, and invented characters to expreſs the uncouth ſounds of the Goths. Thus he became the parent both of the learning and the religion of the northern nations. He perfectly underſtood the ancient chriſtian notion of the old teſtament, and very prudently left out of the Gothick bible the books of the Jewiſh kings (4). He knew had he given theſe to the Goths for a revelation from God, and a rule of faith and practice, they would have been highly pleaſed, and would have gone to fighting for Chriſt. The news of a work of religion among the northern nations reached the orthodox in the empire. The pope made a collection to redeem the captives, and miſſionaries flew to help forward the converſion of the barbarians. Chriſtians had entertained different ſpeculative ſentiments before they went, but lived in perfect union. Theophilus, a Gothick biſhop, went to the council of Nice, and ſubſcribed the orthodox creed. Ulphilas did not believe that creed, but thought Arius was nearer the matter, however he told the Goths, it ought not to break communion, for the whole was a diſpute about words of no conſequence to religion. The miſſionaries taught otherwiſe. The emperour, Conſtantine, was exceedingly pleaſed with Ulphilas, and uſed to call him the modern Moſes; and not improperly, for he was a legiſlator of remarkable meekneſs. When folly had placed the emperours at the head of the church, they expelled Arians, who fled and found refuge among the Goths. As they became numerous, the Arian emperours intrigued with the biſhops and chiefs of the Goths, to unite them to their intereſt by ſuch ties as united themſelves to factions under the name of religions at home. It was either when the Huns made war on the Goths, or in a civil war among themſelves headed by two chiefs, Athanaric and Fritigern, that the emperour Valens offered to ſupport Fritigern againſt Athanaric on condition he would do that among the Goths, which he was doing in the empire, head the Arians and ſuppreſs their opponents (5). The condition was accepted, and thus his imperial majeſty's good brother and ally Fritigern, who perhaps had never heard a ſermon before, became head of a Gothick Arian church, and held that Chriſt was omoiouſios, or of a nature like that of the Father. Athanaric obſerving the weight which this gave his opponent, declared he thought thoſe chriſtians, whom that tyrant Fritigern oppreſſed, reaſoned moſt conſequentially, and he became the head of the injured orthodox party, who held, that Chriſt was omoouſios, or of the ſame nature as the Father, and he perſecuted all the reſt. All the ſaints in the empire, ſuch as Auſtin, and Jerom, and Ambroſe, and monks and nuns, ſung the praiſes of thoſe bleſſed martyrs who died all beſmeared with blood fighting for omoouſion againſt omoiouſion under the ſtandard of the immortal Athanaric (6).

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(7) TACIT. *Op. cum not.* GRONOV.

PROCOPII *Cæſarienſis Hiſt. ſui temporis cum notis* CLAUDII MALTRETI *De Bell. Vandal. Pariſiis* 1662, 1663. *lib. i. cap. ii.* Plurimæ quidem ſuperioribus fuere temporibus, hodieque ſunt nationes Gothicæ, ſed inter illas Gothi, Vandali, Viſigothi et Gepædes cum numero tum dignitate præſtant. Olim Sauromatæ dicebantur ac Melanchlani: quidam etiam Getarum nomen ipſis tribuerunt. Vocabulis quidem omnes, ut dictum eſt: nulla vero re præterea inter ſe differunt. Cutis omnibus candida, flava cæſaries, corpus procerum, facies liberalis, eædem leges, eadem ſacra, Ariana ſcilicet, una demum lingua, quam Gothicam vocamus: ita ut ad unam univerſos gentem pertinuiſſe quondam, ac ſuorum deinde ducum nominibus diſcretos fuiſſe, exiſtimem. Antiquæ eorum ſedes trans flumen Iſtrum.

(8) JORNANDIS *Hiſtor. de Getarum et Gothorum Origine* .... *a* JOSEPH. ANTON. SAXIO *inter Scriptor. rer. Ital. tom. i. cap. xxv.*

(9) JOHN JACOB MASCOU. *Hiſt. of the ancient Germans.* Getæ, Gothi, Gothones, Guthones, Gythones, Scythæ, Melanchlani, Sauromatæ, &c.

(1) Greathingi, Thoringi, Taifaili, Peucini, Baſtarnæ, Corpi, Scirri, Hirri, Alani, Burgundi, Vandali, Gepidæ, &c.

(2) PAULI OROSII (*Diſcipuli Auguſtini*) *Hiſt. cum animadv.* SIGEBERTI HAVERCAMPI. *Lugd. Batav.* 1738. *lib. vii. cap.* 22. Græcia Macedonia, Pontus, Aſia, Gothorum inundatione deletur. *Plura vide ap.* GEORG. *Monach. et* SYNCELL. *Chronograph. Edit. Goarii, Pariſiis* 1652.

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(3) PHILOSTORGII *Cappadocis Eccl. Hiſt. edit, Jac. Gothofredi. Genevæ* 1643. *lib. ii. cap. v.*

(4) IBID.....JACOBI LE LONG *Bibliotheca Sacra. Pariſiis* 1723....FR. JUNII *Codex argenteus. Dord.* 1665.

(5) SOCRAT. *Hiſt. Eccles. lib. iv. cap.* 27....SOZOM. *Hiſt. Eccles. lib. vi. cap.* 36....Dicitur, Ulphilam communioni Arianorum ſe adjunxiſſe, et totam ſuam gentem ab eccleſia catholica ſeparaſſe.

THEODORET. *Hiſt. Eccles. lib. iv. cap.* 37. Gothi hactenus patrem quidem filio majorem eſſe dicunt, filium tamen creaturam dicere non ſuſtinent, licet cum iis *communicent*, qui ita dicunt.....JORNAND. *cap. xxvi.*

Some ſay Genſeric was the firſt royal believer of Arianiſm among the Vandals, who were a claſs of Goths. It is not material, for theſe kings were neither Arians nor Trinitarians in the true college ſenſe of the words: but they were kings. An Arian king was one, who put himſelf at the head of the party called Arians. A Trinitarian king was a chief, who put himſelf at the head of the party that profeſſed to believe the Trinity. Both acted on royal, not religious, motives, and the profeſſion of the king is a probable rule of judging of the ſtrength of the party, for as the object in view was power, the largeſt party was the moſt likely to ſupport it. This rule is not infallible, for much depends on the ſagacity of the prince, and his means of information. James II. made a miſtake of this kind, and he loſt his crown by it. If now and then one king makes himſelf a proficient in a ſcience, and becomes naturally the chief perſon of note in that ſcience, his title ſhould not be hereditary.

The caſe of Genſeric ſeems to be this. The Vandals were Arian chriſtians at leaſt an hundred years before they migrated. The king at home had no authority over religion: but when he led his army into Africa, and found a numerous party of natives perſecuted by the emperours, as heads of the church, for profeſſing the ſame religion as his army profeſſed, he, naturally enough, when he had ſtepped into the imperial ſeat, and taken poſſeſſion of government in all its branches, protected his own army, and the Arian diſſenters attached themſelves to his intereſt for the ſake of liberty, and ſo he became the firſt Vandal Arian head of the church, and not, as ſome ſay, the firſt Vandal Arian. Genſeric was a baſtard brother of the late king Guntharic (7). Guntharic was murdered, and after his death Genſeric hung a bag of ſtones about the neck of the queen, and threw her into a river: next he aſſaſſinated the children: then he became king of the Vandals: and laſtly in Africa, defender of the faith.

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(6) AUGUSTINI *Civit. Dei. lib. xviii. cap.* 52. Niſi forte non eſt perſecutio computanda, quando rex Gothorum, ipſa Gothia perſecutus eſt chriſtianos crudelitate mirabili, cum ibi non eſſent, niſi *catholici*, quorum plurimi martyrio coronati ſunt.

AMBROSII *Com. in Evang. Luc. l. i.* Gothis non imperabat Auguſtus, non imperabat Armenis, imperabat Chriſtus. . . . HIERON. *Epiſt. ad Lætam*. . . . CYRILLI *Hieroſol. Cateches. x*. . . . BASILII M. *Epiſt. cccxxxviii*. . . . CHRYSOST. *Epiſt. xiv.*

(7) PROCOPIUS *ut ſup.* Mortuo Godigiſilo, dominatum ſuſceperunt ejus filii, Guntharis ex juſta ipſi uxore natus, et Geiſerichus nothus.

VICTORIS VITENSIS *Epiſc. Hiſt. Perſecut. Vandal. lib. ii. cap. v.* Geiſericus ſui fratris uxorem ligato pondere lapidum in Amſagam fluvium Cirtenſem famoſum, jactando demerſit, et poſt necem matris etiam filios interfecit.

The reader cannot be diſpleaſed with the reflections of two modern ornaments of this country of the moſt liberal ſentiments and refined taſte, on the title DEFENDER OF THE FAITH (8). "It was given to king Henry VIII. and his ſucceſſors on account of his ſending to the pope a book againſt Luther, of which he acknowledged himſelf the author." Mr. Walpole, after expreſſing ſome doubt concerning his majeſty's talents for ſuch a performance, adds, "It happened unfortunately that the champion of the church neither convinced his antagoniſt nor himſelf: Luther died a heretic; his majeſty would have been one if he had not erected himſelf into the head of that very church which he had received ſo glorious a compliment for oppoſing (9). But by a ſingular felicity in the wording of the title, it ſuited Henry equally when he burned papiſts or proteſtants; it ſuited each of his daughters, Mary and Elizabeth; it fitted the martyr Charles and the profligate Charles, the Romiſh James and the Calviniſt William, and at laſt ſeemed peculiarly adapted to the weak head of high church Ann (9). There might be ſome propriety in giving this title to Henry himſelf; but to call George the third defender of the faith, becauſe Harry the eighth wrote a book, is as ridiculouſly abſurd as if you were to call him Poet becauſe Richard the third wrote verſes."

While Genſeric was defending the faith at the head of eighty thouſand men, Auſtin, who had now no command over the ſword, was inflaming his hearers with violent but inefficient paſſions, by urging them to hate one another for their ſpeculations. He preached and publiſhed a ſermon now, not entitled as in effect formerly, All joy to great Cæſar: but, on the reign of barbarians (1). Toward the cloſe it runs thus, "The Lord ſaith, Enter in at the ſtrait gate. What can be ſtraiter than that wound which one of the ſoldiers made with a ſpear in the ſide of the crucified Jeſus? And yet by this ſtrait almoſt all the world have entered. Come, you Jews, the ſon of God, whom you crucified, calls you. Strive to enter in at this ſtrait gate, for by this your fathers entered. They that cried, Crucify him, who ſaw him crucified, who mocked him, who wagged their heads at him, yet entered by this ſtrait. He did not cry in vain when he hung on the croſs, Father forgive them, they know not what they do. By theſe ſtraits, as I juſt now ſaid, by this ſtrait gate of the ſide of Chriſt the converted thief entered, the penitent Jew, every converted pagan, but the wicked heretick Arian turns his back on him and goes out. He goes out becauſe he is not of the number of thoſe that ſtay. He is one of thoſe, of whom John ſays, They went out from us, becauſe they were not of us, for if they had been of us, they would no doubt have continued with us. O you,

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(8) DR. BERKENHOUT *Literar. Sac. vol. i. King Henry viii.*

(9) *Catalogue of Royal Authors. p.* 10.

(1) *De tempore Barbarico Divi* AUGUSTINI *Sermo. cap. viii.* Contendite, ait Dominus, intrare per anguſtam portam.... Cavete Dilectiſſimi Arianam peſtem..... Quem Chriſtus per baptiſmum vivificavit, quare eum Arianus rebaptizando occidit? Erubeſce, Erubeſce, hæretice. Negavit Petrus, &c.

Arian heretick! the thief knew him when he hung upon the croſs, the Jews feared him when he roſe from the dead, and you treat him with contempt now he is reigning in heaven! Take care, beloved, of the Arian peſtilence! .....Why doth the Arian kill him by rebaptizing whom Chriſt made alive by baptiſm? Shame, ſhame on you, you heretick! Peter denied him, but he returned, and blotted out the crime, which fear had made him commit, by repentance. Paul perſecuted Chriſt in his members, but at his voice he fell, and got up again. He fell one way, but he roſe another. He fell down a perſecutor, but he got up a preacher. Kings perſecute Chriſt in chriſtians: but they do them a great favour, they ſend the members more ſwiftly to be joined to their head. Nobody heaps upon Chriſt ſo many injuries as you do, for you ſtrive to kill the ſouls of a great many, for whom Chriſt came in the fleſh to be killed. O you heretick, bluſh, bluſh! What do you repeat what was once well done for? Chriſt is now within in his members. Don't force him to be rebaptized in them, for he condeſcended to go down with John into Jordan once for them all....Let none lay aſide the titles of Chriſt. You are about to give up your accounts to the Lord the King. Good ſervants, a great deal of work lies before you. The times abound with ſtrangers, and captives, and ſufferers. Make yourſelves friends of the mammon of unrighteouſneſs, that they may receive you into everlaſting habitations." Several catholic hiſtorians obſerve for the glory of God, for the honour of his providence, and for the benefit of the church, that the very day on which Pelagius was born in Britain to ſhed darkneſs over the empire, Saint Monica lay in with Saint Auguſtine in Africa, to diſpel the darkneſs, and to throw light and ſunſhine and midday ſplendour over the minds of all mankind (2). Juſt ſo, ſay they, when hereticks appeared in the weſtern world, did God by his ſpirit excite pope Innocent to erect the moſt holy office of the Inquiſition. However it were, Saint Auſtin ſunk beneath the horizon in leſs than four months after he had preached this very illuminating ſermon, and to the irreparable loſs of the world died in the ſeventy-ſixth year of his age (3).

From this bitter and bloody fanatick of Africa proceeded two hundred and thirty-two pamphlets, an innumerable multitude of epiſtles, expoſitions of the goſpels and the pſalter, beſide ſermons or homilies; and by this man's writings did Luther, Oecolampadius, and other reformers expound ſcripture, and frame an eccleſiaſtical conſtitution to lead Europe into purity of faith and manners:

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(2) LUD. A PARAMO *De Origine Inquiſitionis. lib. ii. tit. iii. cap.* 4. Prudenter eſt ab eccleſiaſticæ hiſtoriæ ſcriptoribus animadverſum, quo die Pelagius in Anglia natus eſt ut tenebras errorum mundo effunderet, eodem ipſo die eccleſiæ lumen Auguſtinum in Africa emicuiſſe, ut impii ac nefarii hominis caliginem depelleret, et univerſam eccleſiam luce ſua colluſtraret.... Quo tempore Waldenſes eccleſiæ pacem turbabant, non ſolum ſummus pontifex Innocentius III. divino ſpiritu excitatus ſacroſanctæ inquiſitionis officium inſtituit, ſed etiam duo illa mundi lumina atque ornamenta, Dominicus et Franciſcus, quaſi de cœlo lapſi ſunt, ut per ſe, et per filios ſuos hæreticorum frænarent impetum.

(3) POSSIDII *Vita Auguſt.*... PROSPERI *Chron. ad an.* 430.

as if Punick faith and African manners, execrable at Rome when Rome was pagan, were fit for ages enlightened by philoſophy and religion (4). Inſtead of improving by all the great men that have lived in the laſt thouſand years, ſhould the world continue to be the diſciples of Auſtin, and his ſpiritual ſenſe of ſcripture? He underſtood the ten commandments in a ſpiritual ſenſe, and thou ſhalt not kill ſignified thou ſhalt not kill an orthodox believer. The command did not protect the life of an heretick. This man and his maxims blaſted the character of chriſtianity, and excited in the minds of many of the moſt learned and liberal of mankind juſt ſuſpicions of the divinity of the religion of Jeſus: for the chriſtianity that Auſtin taught was the ſcourge and the curſe of the empire. If Jeſus employed him, as he affirmed, to teach occult grace and penal ſanctions, for not believing without and even againſt evidence, the ſhame retreats from the obedient diſciple Auſtin, and revolves on his maſter, Jeſus: but far, far from every heart be ſuch a thought! It is impoſſible to defend both Jeſus and Auſtin, and juſtice requires the ſacrifice of the latter.

It hath been affirmed, that chriſtianity ruined the Roman empire: but this poſition is true or falſe, according as the terms are defined. If by empire be underſtood abſolute dominion over the civil and religious rights of mankind, be it granted, for the chriſtianity taught by Jeſus naturally and neceſſarily includes freedom for the ſake of virtue and happineſs. The goſpel of the four evangeliſts, epitomized in the ſermon on the mount, inculcates the fear of God as the firſt principle, an imitation of his moral excellence as the eſſence of religion, and conſequently the open practice of devotion and virtue as rights natural to all men, and neceſſary to chriſtians. Had chriſtianity been a courſe of ſentiment and action congruous to any kind of ſlavery, it would have wanted one principal proof of being divine. To chriſtians, as chriſtians, forms of government are immaterial, an empire and a republick comparatively indifferent, and an adminiſtration of equal and univerſal juſtice is all in all. That ſtate, in which chriſtians can be chriſtians, without oppreſſing, or being oppreſſed, is the government for them. It is the glory of Jeſus that he taught a religion irreconcileable with every ſpecies of injuſtice.

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(4) Eman. a Schelstrate *Eccles. African. Diſſ. iv. cap. iv.* Addit Victor Vitenſis illum catholicæ fidei propugnatorem obiiſſe, cum jam ducentos triginta et duos confecerat libros, exceptis innumerabilibus epiſtolis, expoſitione pſalterii et evangeliorum, atque ſermonibus aut homiliis.

Melch. Adami *Vita Lutheri.* Tunc [an. 1501] et Auguſtini libros legere cæpit, ubi et in pſalmorum, et in libro de *ſpiritu* et *litera*, multas perſpicuas ſententias reperit, quæ confirmabant hanc de *fide* doctrinam et conſolationem, quæ in ipſius pectore accenſa erant. . . . . Oecolampadii *Vit.* In doctrina de euchariſtia ſcribit ad Melancthonem, primum ſibi vellicaſſe aurem D. Auguſtinum; et revocaſſe a ſententia, in qua antea fuerat.

Pellicani *Vita.* Eodem anno (1502) cæpit Joannes Amerbachius ſenior imprimere omnia opera D. Auguſtini; ad quam editionem contulit operam ſuam Auguſtinus Dodo Canonicus ad D. Leonardum, &c.

If by empire be underſtood the territories ſubject to Rome, it muſt be granted chriſtianity, more than any thing elſe, diſmembered the empire, and produced revolutions in the provinces, and in the end the transfer of the ſeat of empire from a Cæſar to a prieſt. But what chriſtianity was this? Not that of Jeſus: his goſpel lays down no plans of ſubverting ſtates to be effected by his followers. Moſes, indeed, is to be read with a map in the hand. He mounts an eminence, ſurveys a country, points with his rod to this nation, and ſays, Deſtroy it; to that land flowing with milk and honey, and ſays, Inhabit it. Nothing of this kind is in the new teſtament, and the apoſtles underſtood it ſo, and ſaid, In chriſtianity there is neither Barbarian, Scythian, Jew nor Greek, but all are one in Chriſt Jeſus. Great numbers entered into theſe views. They thought and acted for themſelves, and gave free governments no trouble: but they were overpowered by a ſet of dogmatiſts, who came among them quibbling out of the ſchools with ſenſeleſs queſtions, perſecuted the good folks for not believing them, took upon themſelves the names of the only chriſtians, ſtepped forward to juſtify their dreams under pretence of defending not virtue but faith, contended for power, became troubleſome and odious to government, reſiſting and being reſiſted, till they perverted government itſelf. This was the chriſtianity that diſmembered the empire. Theſe nominal chriſtians ſhew long liſts of ſaints, who had no virtue, and martyrs who died for the ſame reaſon that murderers are executed, becauſe they would not ſuffer the reſt of the world to live in quiet and peace. If it were proper to enlarge, the whole hiſtory of the Vandal kingdom would ſet all this in a clear light: but three traits may ſerve to convey a general notion of the ſubject.

Let the eye firſt run over Africa, and remark the condition of the inhabitants, when the Vandals came. The ſafety of a juſt government lies in the ſound principles and habits of virtue of the people. Manicheans, Donatiſts, and all other diſſenters had laid down ſuch principles, and the Donatiſts had expreſsly remonſtrated againſt appeals to the civil power in caſes of religion, while for the ſake of freedom and virtue they had diſſented. Implacable Auſtin had ſpent almoſt half a century in baniſhing, butchering, and driving all diſſenters into corners, and there he ſtood, crowing to hail the return of day. Let contemporary writers, who ſaw the Vandals come, ſay what was the condition of the orthodox African church (5). The biſhops, after the example of their oracle, had preached up ſubmiſſion to authority till the people had loſt all ſenſe of freedom: and they had urged faith with ſo much zeal that they had utterly forgot virtue. The Greek Trinitarians called Jeſus omoouſion, to ſignify that he was preciſely of the ſame nature with the firſt great cauſe. This became the Shibboleth of the party, and if a man could utter this he was reputed a good chriſtian. This muſt be ſomewhat difficult to the barbarous lips of an African, for there was another word, which differed only in one letter, that was the badge of the oppoſite faction. That was Omoiouſion, of a nature like that of God, but not the ſame. In teaching the people theſe frivolous diſtinctions theſe miſerable prieſts conſumed their lives, and virtue was never thought of. Salvian, a teacher of eminent virtue and remarkable moderation, an eye witneſs of what he wrote, deſcribes theſe people in colours the moſt odious (6). Divines call him ſour, and blame him for expoſing the vices of chriſtians, leſt infidels ſhould triumph. What a vile policy is this! Salvian lived at Marſeilles, he had no provocation to be ſour, and as he was a good man he had no inducement to conceal and cheriſh vice, leſt the credit of a party ſhould ſuffer. Beſide, it was his own party, for he believed what they taught: but a diſciple of virtue, as he was, knows no party. Sour or mild, he hath never been contradicted. He ſays, the ſubverſion of government by the Vandals was not, as ſome pretended, a divine judgement: but a natural conſequence of the wickedneſs of the people.

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(5) SALVIANI *Op.*... JORNANDIS *Hiſt.*... VICTORIS *Vitens. Hiſt.* &c.

Is it poſſible ſeriouſly to cenſure Manes, Sabellius, Pelagius, and others, for diſſenting from ſuch a church as this? Was Tertullian to blame for quitting it, and going to the Montaniſts? Muſt Donatus be always numbered among ſchiſmaticks for rebaptizing them? It is a queſtion whether either prieſts or people knew into whoſe name they were baptized. Salvian ſuſpected the children were dedicated both to Jeſus by law, and to the old dæmon of the country by choice. There have been caſes in which people have been rebaptized becauſe the adminiſtrator did not know into what he had baptized them, and probably ſuch was the caſe in Africa. A legate of pope Zachary ordered ſome in the biſhoprick of Saltzburg to be dipped again in the proper form of words, becauſe the groſs ignorant prieſt had performed the ceremony, while he gravely muttered over in vile latin what cannot be engliſhed, for the name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt are in the feminine gender (7).

Next, let the attention be turned to the Vandal government. The inhabitants of Africa under it were in the condition of captives under conquerours, as they had always been, for they only changed maſters, and were never free. The Vandals were good maſters, ſuch as the pagan Romans had been, and infinitely preferable to the chriſtian Romans. Their conduct in government is not to be ſought in a regular conſtitution of law, but in a courſe of accidents, or, to ſpeak more like a chriſtian, their rules of government roſe out of events as they came to paſs. The orthodox deſcribe the Vandals as brutal ſavages, barbarians with knives in their hands to cut every man's throat (8). All that invention can collect of the horrible is ſaid of theſe people: but all this is vain declamation. The contrary is true. It is not only Salvian, who applauds their virtue and moderation, but facts of unqueſtionable authenticity confirm it. Under this government the Donatiſts, and other diſſenters, flouriſhed and increaſed, recovered and enjoyed the rights of which the former government had deprived them. Againſt this there are two appearances, the conduct of their kings and armies; and their perſecution of the orthodox.

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(6) SALVIANI *De Gubernat. Dei. lib. vii.* Unde et quod Vandali ad Africam tranſierunt, non eſt divinæ ſeveritati, ſed Afrorum ſceleri, deputandum.

(7) *Monumenta Saliſburgenſia.* Varia apud pontificem intentavit crimina... tertio, eo quod preſbyter aliquis apud Saliſburgum vitiata latinitate uteretur, vel neglecta forma vulgari ſacramenti baptizaret patria, filia, et ſpiritua ſancta, Bonifacius omnes ab illo ſacerdote baptizatos denuo ſacramentalibus undis immergi imperabat.

The Vandals, like other German tribes, had originally no kings. When a quarrel roſe between themſelves and a neighbouring tribe about a meadow, a water, or a ſalt ſpring; or when they ſallied out into the empire for booty; or when they migrated to obtain a new ſettlement, they elected a chief, under whoſe direction they agreed to act. The policy of this chief lay in ſcheming to render himſelf neceſſary to the army, in training up his children in all his own arts, and in making by theſe means the honour and power hereditary in his own family. That branch of the Vandals called Aſtingi, to diſtinguiſh them from another tribe called Silingi, and from others comprehended under the general name of Vandals, was the moſt famous in war; and Genſeric was the third of his family, who in ſucceſſion headed the army as king (9). Five more followed in ſucceſſion during the Vandal kingdom in Africa (1). Genſeric reigned fifty years, and procured a law that the eldeſt male of his family ſhould always ſucceed to the throne, which cauſed a great contention in the family. Hunoric his ſon ſucceeded him, and reigned eight years. Guntamund was the third king in Africa, he reigned eleven years, and was ſucceeded by Thraſamund, who reigned twenty-ſeven years. Hilderic followed next, and reigned eight years. He was ſucceeded by Gilimer the laſt king, who in the fifth year of his reign was conquered by Beliſarius, general to the emperour Juſtinian, and ſo Africa fell into the Greek empire. There is nothing in the hiſtory of theſe kings but what occurs in the hiſtories of all other royal families of thoſe times. They were generals of a great army employed in keeping poſſeſſion of a territory, and to hold their poſſeſſions was the ſole buſineſs of their lives. They are called Arians: but it is not conceivable they knew any thing about the matter, except that the leading men in the empire were divided in regard to religion into two great parties, called the Omous and the Omois, and, as it happened to ſuit their intereſt beſt, to unite with the latter, they were called Omois alſo. There were many beſide fighters, who followed the army, and were protected by them in full liberty, under the

(8) SIGEBERTI *Chron.* Fugatis exſiliatiſque 444 Epiſcopis catholicis, &c.... *Vide* VICTOR. *Vitens.*... GREG. *Turon.*... ISIDOR. *Hiſpal.*.... PROCOP..... SCHELSTRATE....... RUINART.... MOSHEIM *cæteroſque.*

(9) JORNANDIS *Hiſt. ut ſup.* Aſdingorum et ſtirpe, &c.

(1) MASCOU *Hiſt. Germ.*... BLAIR's *Chronology, pl. xxix. and following.*

ancient family name of Goths, Gothmen, or Goodmen (2). It ſuited their genius, they had been uſed to deſcribe men naturally by their properties, not by their ſpeculations. The firſt were notorious; the laſt nobody knew but themſelves. The apoſtle of the Goths had taught them, the diſpute was frivolous, and the good folks remembered what he had ſaid. The natives of Africa, too, ſuch as the Donatiſts and others, who practiſed virtue, and did not diſtinguiſh themſelves by party names, enjoyed as much religious liberty under the Vandals as their military government could allow. Ulphilas thought Jeſus a man, the Vandal chriſtians thought him a man, and called him God only in the ſenſe, in which they ſuppoſed the ſcriptures call him ſo, as Paul of Samoſata had explained it: but as they did not place religion in this opinion but in the practice of virtue, they did not even wear the badge. The kings and the army thought nothing about it, and to them the name Arian and Orthodox meant what Guelphs and Gibbelines, white roſes and red roſes meant in other countries in after times. If this notion be admitted it will reconcile the difference between hiſtorians. Some ſay, the Vandals became Arians under Ulphilas in the time of Conſtantine. Others affirm, Genſeric was the firſt Arian among the Vandals. Both are true in the ſenſe juſt mentioned.

The Vandals are taxed with perſecuting the orthodox: and yet theſe ſame orthodox had churches, choſe their own biſhops, and held councils. They had meetings, and performed their ceremonies of religion in all the lots of the Vandals. They held conferences with the Arians; they publiſhed books againſt them, and even dedicated them to the king (3). They were, however,

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(2) Mabillonii *Vet. Analect. tom. ii.* Adnotat. in Monaſt. S. Michaelis in pago Virdunenſi. Ex Abbatis Smaragdi Tractat. Grammat. Patronom. MSS.

Gothman	Bonus homo	Goodman.	
Arthman	Durus homo	Hardman.	
Richman	Potens homo	Strongman.	
Witman	Candidus homo	Whiteman.	
Suarzman ...	Niger homo	Black man ..	Swarthy man.
Liubman	Amatus homo	Loved man.	

(3) Victor. *Vitens.* Rex Hunerix Vandalorum et Alanorum. Univerſis epiſcopis omouſianis. Non ſemel, ſed ſæpius conſtat, eſſe prohibitum, ut in ſortibus Vandalorum ſacerdotes veſtri conventus minime celebrarent, ne ſua ſeductione animas ſubverterent chriſtianas.

Quam rem ſpernentes plurimi, nunc reperti ſunt contra indictum miſſas in ſortibus Vandalorum egiſſe; aſſerentes ſe integram regulam chriſtianæ veræ fidei tenere. Et quia in provinciis a Deo nobis conceſſis ſcandalum eſſe nolumus, ideo Dei providentia cum conſenſu ſanctorum epiſcoporum noſtrorum hoc nos ſtatuiſſe cognoſcite, ut ad diem Kalendarum Februariarum proxime futurarum, omiſſa omni excuſatione formidinis, omnes Carthaginem veniatis, ut de ratione fidei cum noſtris venerabilibus epiſcopis poſſitis inire conflictum: et fidem omouſianorum, quam defenditis, de divinis ſcripturis proprie approbetis, quo poſſit agnoſci, ſi integram fidem teneatis. Hujus autem edicti tenorem univerſis epiſcopis tuis per univerſam Africam conſtitutis direximus. Data ſub die decimo tertio Kalendas Junias. Anno ſeptimo regni Hunerici.

ſometimes baniſhed, and ſometimes puniſhed: but the fact is, government conſidered them, as Cromwell did the loyaliſts in England, as a ſtate faction, pretending indeed religion, but actually engaged in plots to ſubvert government and ſet up for themſelves. If no other proof were at hand, (and there are many) one incident in the reign of Hunoric would unfold the myſtery. Hunoric on a certain occaſion had turned them out of their churches. He offered to reſtore the places, and all their privileges, on condition they would take ſuch an oath as he ſhould tender (4). It was this, "You ſhall ſwear that after the demiſe of the lord the king you will maintain the ſucceſſion of Hilderick his ſon: and that you will not keep up a correſpondence by letters with any perſon on the continent." Here lay the ſecret. The orthodox would not be content with liberty to be religious in their own way, but they always recollected, they had been maſters, and had given church law to other people, and to reinſtate themſelves and bring all other under the yoke was their whole ſtudy. For this they kept up correſpondences with popes, and emperours, and orthodox people abroad, who for various political reaſons cheriſhed their diſcontent with godly cant till an opportunity ſhould offer to turn their ſtupidity to account.

Africans always diſcovered a ferocity in their language, and a groveling diſpoſition in their manners. King Thraſamund was an handſome, learned, wiſe, juſt, and affable prince (5). He uſed no compulſion among his ſubjects on account of religion, till the old reſtleſs faction provoked him. Riches, honours, places under government, all were open to merit, and in his liberality the wretched of all claſſes found ample relief. Even the orthodox were put upon an equal footing with the reſt: but theſe provoking people could not be happy, for under all his virtue they eſpied the black drop of Arianiſm in his heart. They aſſailed heaven with prayers for power to enable them to extract this damnable venom. At length one Fulgentius, biſhop of Ruſpina, wrote three books on the ſubject, and dedicated them to the king (6). In the cloſe thus he ſpeaks: "We pray God to render the ears of your clemency acceſſible to the word of truth, and to pour into your pious heart the light of ſpiritual wiſdom, ſo that you may honour the ſon of God, Jeſus Chriſt our Lord and God, as you honour the Father. He deſerves this of you, for it is but juſt that he, who made you greater than your father, ſhould be accounted by you in his divine nature equal to his Father." The king ſuffered this, and never moleſted them till they began to create an hierarchy independent of the crown, then it became neceſſary to ſtop their career, and even this mild prince was obliged to baniſh theſe orthodox ſcourges of Africa. They comforted themſelves by carrying along with them into Sardinia the corpſe of their favourite Saint Auguſtine (7). Thraſamund, celebrated even by his enemies for his love of ſcience, and particularly for his cultivating whatever tended to morality; Thraſamund ſtands execrated in eccleſiaſtical hiſtory for being an Arian, and for perſecuting the orthodox; while theſe drivellers are held up as ſaints and martyrs: and yet their only creed was aut Cæſar aut nihil! Abſolute empire or nothing! Gregory of Tours is not aſhamed to violate decency as well as the truth of hiſtory, and to aſperſe the character of a mild and magnanimous king, by affirming that he compelled a young lady to be rebaptized, or, as he expreſſes it, to be dipped in the filthy laver of the Arians, and that he put an incredible number of catholicks to death becauſe they refuſed to comply with ſimilar orders (8). It would be a ſhame to tranſlate the ſtory of this lady, and it may be ſufficient to obſerve that Gregory is miſtaken in the name of the king, the time when he lived, and the country where he reigned, and the tale is equal to ſaying, Charles II. ſucceeded George I. in Britain, and both perſecuted the catholicks of Poland. Of ſuch miſerable materials is a great part of eccleſiaſtical hiſtory compoſed.

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(4) Ibid. Jurate, inquit, ſi poſt obitum domini noſtri regis, ejus filium Hilderich deſideretis eſſe regem, vel ſi nullus veſtrum ad regiones tranſmarinas epiſtolas diriget: quia ſi ſacramentum hujus rei dederitis, reſtituet eos eccleſiis veſtris.

(5) Procopii *De Bell. Vandal. lib. i.* Thraſamundus, Guntamundo ſucceſſor, fuit forma, ingenio, animique magnitudine excellens: Chriſtianos vero ad patrium ſibi dogma transferre cupiens, non vi in corpora inceſſit, ut priores, ſed honores, magiſtratuſque oſtentans, pecuniæ quoque largus inobſequentes qui eſſent noſſe diſſimulans, quin et, ſi quos conſilio, aut fortuna gravibus criminibus obnoxios teneret, his ſectam mutantibus impunitatem dabat.

(6) Fulgentii *Op. de Myſterio Mediatoris Chriſti.* Oramus autem Deum, ut aures clementiæ tuæ verbo veritatis placidas reddat, et pio cordi tuo lumen ſapientiæ ſpiritualis infundat, ut filium Dei, Deum Dominum noſtrum Jeſum Chriſtum ſic honorifices, ſicut honorificas Patrem. Meretur enim hoc a te, ut, eum, qui te fecit patre tuo meliorem, patri ſuo ſecundum divinam naturam fatearis æqualem......... Ruinart. *Hiſt. Perſecut. Vandal. pag.* 115. Symmachus papa omni anno per Africam vel Sardiniam epiſcopis, qui in exilio erant pecunias et veſtes miniſtrabat.

How they had inſtructed their people may be eaſily underſtood by the manner in which they took leave of each other (9). Down came the people to ſee

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miniſtrabat. Anaſtaſius, quia hæreſi favens Eutychetis catholicos inſecutus eſt, divino fulmine periit.

(7) Theod. Ruinart. *Act. Martyr.*

(8) Gregor. *Turon. Hiſt. lib. ii. pag.* 2. Per idem tempus perſecutionem in Chriſtianos [catholicos] Tranſimundus exercuit, ac totam Hiſpaniam, ut ad perfidiam Arianæ ſectæ conſentiret, tormentis ac diverſis mortibus impellebat.

Poſt multas quæſtiones, poſt ablutos terrenarum divitiarum theſauros, cum ad hoc frangi non poſſet, ut beatam ſcinderet trinitatem, ad rebaptizandum invita deducitur. Cumque in illud cænoſum lavacrum vi cogeretur immergi, ac proclamaret, patrem cum filio, ac ſpiritum ſanctum unius credo eſſe ſubſtantiæ eſſentiæque, digno aquas unguine cunctas infecit, id eſt fluxu ventris aſpergit.

(9) Victor. *ut ſup.* Turba fidelium deſcendebat, cereos manibus geſtantes, ſuoſque infantulos veſtigiis martyrum projicientes, iſta voce clamabant: quibus nos miſeros relinquitis dum pergitis ad coronas? qui hos baptizaturi ſunt parvulos fontibus aquæ perennis? qui nobis pænitentiæ munus collaturi ſunt, et reconciliationis indulgentia obſtrictos peccatorum vinculis ſoluturi? quia vobis dictum eſt, quæcumque ſolveritis ſuper terram erunt ſoluta et in cælis.... Schelstrate....Mascou.

the parade of their martyrs going on board a ſhip. Some brought wax tapers to grace the proceſſion. Others threw their infants on the ground to be ſanctified by their bleſſed ſteps. The company ſet up a wailing: ſome cried, "To whom do you commit the care of us now you are going away to receive your crowns? Who will baptize theſe infants at Eaſter when you are gone? Who will hear confeſſions? Who will appoint penance? O miſerable people that we are, who but you can give us abſolution? You have power to bind and looſe, and whatſoever you bind or looſe on earth is bound and looſed in heaven!" Fulgentius was one of this company, but he was not baniſhed for writing books and addreſſing them to the king: but for this doctrine of the keys to which the acclamations of the people refer, this abſolute dominion over the laity, of which theſe African ſlaves were ſo fond. The holy men knew what they were about, and pope Symmachus maintained them, probably better than they had lived at home. There was only one man among them, Anaſtaſius, in the leaſt tinctured with hereſy, and the Lord took him out of the way for the comfort of his ſervants by a thunderbolt.

There is one demonſtrative proof of all this in the conduct of the Vandals to the Donatiſts. They were not of the opinion of their governours concerning the nature of Jeſus: on the contrary, they held with the orthodox, that Jeſus was God, yet they were not perſecuted. What Moſheim ſays is very true (1). "The Donatiſts recovered their former liberty and tranquillity by the ſuccour and protection they received from the Vandals, who invaded Africa, with Genſeric at their head, and took this province out of the hands of the Romans." The ſame may be affirmed of all other diſſenters, and this is the reaſon why there is no outcry about hereſy during the Vandal government. The edicts to puniſh the orthodox expreſsly declare that government only required them to ſubmit to ſuch laws as during their government they had made for all parties. Nothing could be more juſt, yet this juſtice fell hard, and it was therefore tempered with mercy. There is only one claſs of men in the world, who deſerve no toleration, and they are thoſe of any denomination, who will tolerate none but themſelves.

The Vandal kingdom was brought to a period in the year five hundred and thirty-four by Beliſarius (2). Juſtinian, the emperour of the eaſt, a dupe to the orthodox clergy, determined to eſtabliſh uniformity of faith, and for this purpoſe to ſuppreſs hereticks and pagans. He ſeized all the Arian places of worſhip in the empire, and took an immenſe booty, for the churches were richly adorned, and probably, the people had lodged their wealth there, hoping that at leaſt their places of worſhip would be ſpared. Fluſhed with ſucceſs he propoſed to recover Africa to the empire, and hung out that irreſiſtible temptation, the ſuppreſſion of Arianiſm, which the Vandals profeſſed. His council and officers endeavoured to diſſuade him from the undertaking, and probably would have ſucceeded, but one of his biſhops happened luckily to have a viſion, which he related to the emperour, and promiſed him ſucceſs. The ſcale turned. The fleet was equipped. Beliſarius, the firſt general of the age, was appointed to the command, and five hundred veſſels, and twenty thouſand ſeamen, ten thouſand foot ſoldiers, five thouſand horſe, and two thouſand rowers embarked for Africa to teach Vandals and natives to ſay Omoouſion, inſtead of Omoiouſion. In the end the Vandals were defeated, Gelimer the king was carried captive to Conſtantinople, and orthodoxy and perſecution once more overwhelmed that ill-fated country, Africa. Councils, canons, edicts, and all imaginable inſtruments of oppreſſion came rolling in like a tide. All diſſenters were excluded from offices, their places of worſhip were taken away, and even they who had drawn ſo near the eſtabliſhed church as to baptize minors were forbidden to dip them at Eaſter, or to act or think differently from their ſovereign lords the prieſts (3).

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(1) Mosheim. *Eccles. Hiſt. cent. v. part ii. chap. v.*

(2) Joh. Pet. D. Ludewig. *vita* Justiniani *Magni Halæ* 1731. . . . Procopii *Anecd.* . . . Theophanis *Chronograph. cum notis* Combef. *Pariſiis* 1655. . . . Mascou. *Hiſt. Germ.*

FROM THE SUBVERSION OF THE VANDAL KINGDOM TO THE DISAPPEARANCE OF CHRISTIANS.

From the ſubverſion of the Vandal kingdom to the irruption of the Saracens is a period of about one hundred and fifty years: and from thence to the total diſappearance of chriſtians about three hundred more. It is not worth while to follow theſe incorrigible people through either of theſe periods, for nothing appears but one uniform Carthaginian likeneſs. Nothing is ſeen but tyranny, ſlavery, cruelty, futility, and fraud, producing a change of maſters but no freedom either civil or religious. No creature except thoſe doomed to vagrancy, fired with love of his country, or inflamed with zeal for God or virtue once riſes to view. With three obſervations, then, this land of everlaſting ſlavery may be quitted.

The fate of the oppreſſed diſſenters may be obſerved firſt. Even in this clime ſo very unfriendly to freedom and virtue, the goſpel had rouſed to thought many individuals. Thinking tends to reaſoning, reaſoning to determining, and determination of the right is the threſhold of action. Actions repeated become habits, and habits of virtue ſet penal ſanctions at defiance. Thus it fell out here. One name given to the Donatiſts was Montenſes, mountaineers, becauſe in caves in the mountains in times of oppreſſion they held their religious aſſemblies (4). Seventy years they ſtruggled againſt unrighteous laws, and under all their hardſhips they flouriſhed ſo much about the beginning of the ſeventh century that pope Gregory wrote to two African biſhops to exert themſelves to ſuppreſs them (5). Marked out thus for vengeance they diſappeared, but ſo warily that their perſecutors loſt ſight of them, and the preſumption is they went among the pagans for a liberty which the pretended followers of Jeſus refuſed to grant them. Arabs and others, called infidels, never perſecuted till the orthodox taught them. Immenſe and unknown tracts in the inland parts of that vaſt diviſion of the globe afforded ſhelter, and nothing could be more natural to their condition than to take advantage of ſuch an opening. Skin for ſkin, all that a man hath will he give for his life.

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(3) *Novel. xxxvii.* Hæreticus non baptizato; ad rempublicam non accedito, catechumenum non circumcidito.

PROCOPIUS. Etenim Juſtinianus Auguſtus chriſtianis, qui non recte *ſentirent,* baptiſmate, myſteriiſque omnibus interdixerat. Imprimis feſtum paſchale eos urebat, quo infantes ſuos divino lavacro mergere, cæteriſque ad feſtum hoc pertinentibus operari prohibebantur.

Soon after, or rather about this time appeared Mohammed (6). It would be foreign from the purpoſe of this hiſtory to enter into his ſtory: but four obſervations demand the attention of unprejudiced minds. Some tax the Manichæans and other hereticks with being the parents or nurſes of Mohammediſm. This is abſurd, as they underſtand it: but there is no abſurdity in ſuppoſing that the Arabians received what the koran contains of the true and the virtuous from them. The reſt, probably, is eaſtern corruption of the good, which gives the whole the air of fable.

Firſt, It is allowed by all, that the infernal cruelties of pretendedly orthodox chriſtians both in the eaſtern and weſtern empires had rendered the name of chriſtianity hateful (7). The Saracens perſecuted nobody. Jews and Chriſtians of all parties lived happy among them (8). Numbers of them worſhipped one God, practiſed virtue, and expected immortality: but as for eſtabliſhed chriſtians their diſſentions were perpetual, their rage for uniformity unquenchable, and there was not a crime in all the liſt of human vices unknown or unpractiſed under the name of Jeſus Chriſt. This prepared the eaſt for a revolution in religion.

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(4) *Concil. Rom. ſub.* SIRICIO *An.* 386. LABBEI. Quos in Synodi epiſtola Siricius pontifex Montenſes appellat, Donatiſtas fuiſſe, ſciendum eſt: ſic dictos, quod in montibus agere et convenire ſolerent.

(5) GREGORII I. *Papæ. Epiſt. lib. iii. ep. xxxv. ad* VICTOREM *et* COLUMBUM *Africæ epiſcopos. De hæreſi Donatiſtarum iterum pullulante.* Multos inſuper, quibus ſalutem regenerationis qua præbuerat, rebaptizantes.... Quæ res animos noſtros valde mæſtificant, &c.

(6) MURATORII *Anecdot. tom. ii. De Manichæiſmo.* Profecto ab hac errorem ſentina Mahumetiſmum originem duxiſſe ſatis recte animadvertit ſcriptor quidam in comment. ad Auguſtini librum de hæres. cap. xlvi. nullaque ſimilior ſecta, ſive modum naſcendi, ſive dogmatum veſaniam ſpectes, inveniri quam Mahumetiſmus, et Manichæiſmus poteſt. Uterque a Saracenis et Arabibus emanavit. Mahumetum Arabem et Saracenum fuiſſe neminem præterit; ſtultiſſimæ vero opiniones pro quibus Manes Perſa pertinaciſſime propugnavit, primum a quodum Scythiano invectæ fuerunt quem Saracenum Epiphanius, Socrates, et Niceph. nuncuparit, eaſque poſtea impius Manes ſibi adoptavit, et diſſeminavit..... Secta in Perſia, Arabia, atque Egypto potiſſimum viguit, unde poſtea Mahumetiſmus tam quam ex ſerpentis ovo enatus, et excluſus eſt.

Next. It is granted, the life and actions of Mohammed are very little known. Fable on the one ſide and virulence on the other render truth inviſible, and of many volumes written about this man, it is evident the far greater part is unlikely to be true.

Thirdly. It is certain that the Koran, which goes about for his law, was not written by him, for he could neither read nor write. It is not impoſſible that a part of his maxims may be inſerted in the preſent Koran, but as this book refers to another, the preſumption is that he delivered his ideas as the Druids did, and as the Bramins continue to do, to be got by heart, and retained in the memory of his followers. It is alſo clear that Mohammed was acquainted with ſome unitarian chriſtians, and perhaps aſſiſted by them.

Laſtly. It ought to be allowed, that Mohammed contributed largely to the improvement of mankind, by deſtroying idolatry, and grounding his whole ſyſtem on the unity of Almighty God. Monks and nuns, like the old raving mythologiſts, annually generated new gods, each diſputing ſuperiority with another, and all, to the eternal diſgrace of their devotees, with the firſt great cauſe. Nothing can make up for the loſs of God out of religion. All the reſt, call it what you pleaſe, is empty and void. Nor need Mohammed bluſh to compare his morality with that of ſuch idolatrous chriſtians. A religion that admits of idolatry and murder, it ſhould ſeem, cannot be rendered worſe in the hands of canibals. Yes, it may. If idolatry and murder be made eſſential parts, and if they who commit moſt murders be elevated to the higheſt rank of godſhip, it receives an amendment ſupremely diabolical. Chriſtians of the interiour part of Africa are very little known, and letters brought from diſtant and unknown countries, written perhaps by the miſſionaries who bring them, addreſſed to popes and catholick kings, deſerve very little credit. It is poſſible, ſome in Æthiopia and adjacent countries may dip themſelves annually three times in a river in commemoration of the baptiſm of Jeſus by trine immerſion. It is poſſible too that they may inflict a penalty on ſuch as preſume to ſpit on the day they receive the lord's ſupper: but that they ſhould applaud European princes for knocking hereticks and pagans on the head, as they kill dogs, is beyond all reaſonable belief (9). If there be ſuch chriſtians they are a ſcandal to the name. Savages have ſhed one another's blood for a ſalt ſpring: but even they never ſtruck one blow for an omouſion.

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(7) SALE's *Koran. Preliminary Diſcourſe.*

(8) ABRAHAMI ECCHELLENSIS *Syri Maronitæ e Libano hiſt. oriental. ſupplement. apud* PROCOP. *tom. ii. Pariſiis* 1663. *cap. vi.* De Arabum religione ante Mahometiſmum. Arabibus non una eademque omnibus religio erat ante Mahometiſmum, ſed quidam illorum Moſaicam profitebantur legem, quidam vero alii ſub Chriſti Domini militabant vexillis, reliqui varias in ſectas ſcindebantur, variiſque cultibus ac cæremoniis erant addicti. . . . Omnium præcipua habebatur ſecta Chaleditarum, ita dicta a Chaledo filio Sanani Habſita. . . . Hujus doctrina ſumma erat: unum rerum omnium eſſe creatorem et moderatorem potentiſſimum, et ſapientiſſimum; mortuos fore reſurrecturos; probos æternis præmiis, et felicitate donatum iri; contra improbos perpetuis ſuppliciis et infelicitate. . . . Chaledi meminit Mahumetus, ac ut prophetam habuit et laudavit.

A ſecond obſervation regards the orthodox. The eſtabliſhed church of Africa in theſe two periods fell into the whirlpool of the Roman hierarchy, and till the eye loſt ſight of it exhibited nothing but wretchedneſs. Government of conſcience produced articles of belief and penal ſanctions, and theſe brought up to view hereſies, in zeal to ſuppreſs which the laſt breath of theſe expiring biſhops was employed (1). When only five were left they diſputed for dominion over one another. Soon after there remained but one, and then he knew who was maſter. After the Saracens had ſettled all diſputes by overwhelming the country with arbitrary power and the religion of Mohammed, vagabonds drew up long renunciations of Mohammediſm for their conquerours to ſign on being baptized into their orthodox and univerſal church, and inſerted execrations on all the ancient heads of families whom the Saracens had been uſed to celebrate for their wiſdom and virtue. The whole is too long to tranſcribe, but the form runs thus (2). "The catechumen having been faſted and taught to repeat the Lord's prayer and the creed, ſhall go into the baptiſtery, and ſtand before the holy pool with his head uncovered, and ſhall ſay after the prieſt, there waiting in his proper habits, theſe words: I renounce the whole Saracen religion, and I curſe Mohammed, whom the Saracens honour as an apoſtle of God. I curſe Ali, the ſon in law of Mohammed, and Chaſan and Chuſen and their children. I curſe Abu Beker, and Omar, and Talchar, and Abdallah, and Othman, and all other aſſiſtants and ſucceſſors of

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(9) DAMIANI A GOES. *Op. Lovanii* 1544. Literæ ſereniſſ. Davidis Æthiop. Imperat. ad Eman. Portugalliæ..... Regem. Pax tibi Domine Rex Emanuel, qui Dei fretus auxilio Mauros occidis, et tua claſſe, tuo exercitu, et tuis ducibus undique tanquam infideles canes expellis.....In memoriam Chriſti baptiſmi, ſingulis annis omnes in Epiphaniis Domini baptizamur, id quidem facimus non quod ad ſalutem ſpectare credimus, ſed propter ſervatoris noſtri laudem ac gloriam.... Nec Sacerdoti, nec laico... licet expuere, &c.

(1) SCHELSTRATE *Eccl. Afr. Diſſ. iv. cap. vii. De interitu Africanæ eccleſiæ a ſæculo viii. per Saracenorum irruptiones introducto, et huc uſque continuato.*

(2) FREDERICI SYLBURGII *Saracenica, Moamethica, Iſmaeletica, &c.*...Ordo, qui obſervatur ſuper iis, qui a Saracenis ad noſtram Chriſtianorum puram veramque fidem ſe convertunt. Εν τω Βαπτιστηριω. Deinde ſacerdos ſacerdotalem ſibi ſtolam circumponens, in baptiſterium arceſſit illum, et ante ſanctam piſcinam της αγιας κολυμβηθρας eum retecto capite ſtatuens. .... Anathematizo Moamedem.... Et præter hæc omnia, anathematizo Deum Moamedis, de quo dicet eum eſſe unum Deum ſolidum, qui nec genuerit, nec genitus ſit, nec quempiam ei ſimilem extitiſſe.......Credo in patrem, filium, et ſpiritum ſanctum, ſanctam coeſſentialemque et inſeparabilem trinitatem.

Mohammed. I curſe Chadiga, and Aſcha, and all the wives of Mohammed, and Fatima his daughter. I curſe the Koran, and all its doctrines, laws, inſtitutes, narrations, myſteries, traditions, and blaſphemies. I curſe the paradiſe of Mohammed, and all thoſe, whom Mahommed calls angels. I curſe all the falſe quotations of Mohammed from the old teſtament. . . . . I curſe the God of Mohammed, who, he ſays, is one intire deity neither begetting nor being begotten, and like whom there is no other being. And I believe in God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, the holy coeſſential and undivided trinity," and ſo on. Theſe are a ſort of laſt dying ſpeeches and confeſſions of expiring orthodoxy, and of the Auguſtinian African church. It is no breach of charity to ſay, It was begotten in melancholy, lived in frenzy, and died raving mad: for how horrible is the expreſſion Anathematizo Moamedis Deum!

Finally, Inſtead of invoking African ſaints, appealing to them as fathers, affecting to be their children in a ſtate of infancy, imbibing malicious and hateful paſſions againſt men made in the image of God, and raſhly dooming them to deſtruction becauſe they have the misfortune to be born Moors and Turks, chriſtians ſhould ſurvey the African church with emotions manly and like themſelves, or rather like him, who maketh his ſun to riſe on the juſt and unjuſt, and his rain to deſcend on the evil and the good. The goſpel in Africa is an object full of inſtructive leſſons. It ſet even ſlaves a thinking, reaſoning, determining, and acting for themſelves. It taught thoſe who had ſubmitted to every, even the moſt infernal, ſpecies of idolatry, to be jealous of the honour of the firſt great cauſe, and to feel the felicity of thinking for themſelves. To this ſchool bigots to human articles of faith ſhould go. If the abſolute power of both empires eaſtern and weſtern, if domeſtick and foreign force, if all united could not produce uniformity of faith even among degraded ſouls habituated to crawl and ſneak to a maſter from generation to generation, how is it poſſible in this part of the world for unarmed prieſts, or even princes with all their powers, to go on this deſperate expedition now! Teachers of religion ſhould profit by the fate of Auſtin, and bluſh at the thought of chanting and ſpiritualizing pious ſouls, who think no ill, into a bondage, fatal to both the diſciple and the maſter. Men elevated above their brethren by natural abilities, or neceſſary truſts, ought never to think themſelves ſafe, unleſs they ſit on the ſoft affections of their inferiours. Under what a variety of governments hath Africa been! Yet the Africans were never free, becauſe liberty was never ſettled on its true baſe, the people, and becauſe none but the people ever made the people free. When a teacher forgets that he is one of the people, and pretends to a divine commiſſion to utter oracles, he abuſes the truſt repoſed in him by his creators, who elected him to teach, and not to domineer. When one of theſe geniuſes condeſcends to ſpeak to the rude people, as he impudently calls his conſtituents, it is only to inform them of his own importance, and of their inſignificance, to aſſure them that they know poſſible, ſome in Æthiopia and adjacent countries may dip themſelves annually three times in a river in commemoration of the baptiſm of Jeſus by trine immerſion. It is poſſible too that they may inflict a penalty on ſuch as preſume to ſpit on the day they receive the lord's ſupper: but that they ſhould applaud European princes for knocking hereticks and pagans on the head, as they kill dogs, is beyond all reaſonable belief (9). If there be ſuch chriſtians they are a ſcandal to the name. Savages have ſhed one another's blood for a ſalt ſpring: but even they never ſtruck one blow for an omouſion.

A ſecond obſervation regards the orthodox. The eſtabliſhed church of Africa in theſe two periods fell into the whirlpool of the Roman hierarchy, and till the eye loſt ſight of it exhibited nothing but wretchedneſs. Government of conſcience produced articles of belief and penal ſanctions, and theſe brought up to view hereſies, in zeal to ſuppreſs which the laſt breath of theſe expiring biſhops was employed (1). When only five were left they diſputed for dominion over one another. Soon after there remained but one, and then he knew who was maſter. After the Saracens had ſettled all diſputes by overwhelming the country with arbitrary power and the religion of Mohammed, vagabonds drew up long renunciations of Mohammediſm for their conquerours to ſign on being baptized into their orthodox and univerſal church, and inſerted execrations on all the ancient heads of families whom the Saracens had been uſed to celebrate for their wiſdom and virtue. The whole is too long to tranſcribe, but the form runs thus (2). "The catechumen having been faſted and taught to repeat the Lord's prayer and the creed, ſhall go into the baptiſtery, and ſtand before the holy pool with his head uncovered, and ſhall ſay after the prieſt, there waiting in his proper habits, theſe words: I renounce the whole Saracen religion, and I curſe Mohammed, whom the Saracens honour as an apoſtle of God. I curſe Ali, the ſon in law of Mohammed, and Chaſan and Chuſen and their children. I curſe Abu Beker, and Omar, and Talchar, and Abdallah, and Othman, and all other aſſiſtants and ſucceſſors of

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(9) Damiani a goes. *Op. Lovanii* 1544. Literæ ſereniſſ. Davidis Æthiop. Imperat. ad Eman. Portugalliæ..... Regem. Pax tibi Domine Rex Emanuel, qui Dei fretus auxilio Mauros occidis, et tua claſſe, tuo exercitu, et tuis ducibus undique tanquam infideles canes expellis.....In memoriam Chriſti baptiſmi, ſingulis annis omnes in Epiphaniis Domini baptizamur, id quidem facimus non quod ad ſalutem ſpectare credimus, ſed propter ſervatoris noſtri laudem ac gloriam.... Nec Sacerdoti, nec laico... licet expuere, &c.

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nothing, and the ſcripture can tell them nothing, and that therefore in ſpite of fate, if they have not a prieſt, and a prieſt of his church too, to guide them, they muſt be inevitably loſt. Soon after the reformation in Scotland, there was a catholick prieſt, one Nicholas Burne, who diſputed and publiſhed againſt the proteſtant miniſters, and beſtowed one little ſcrap on the people, who ſupported them all (3). This he called "Ane comparesone betuix the auld religion and the new (gif onie be) accommodat chieflie to the capacitie of the rude people, be imitation of S. Auguſtin in his popular deteſtation of the Donatiſtis." Neither Burne nor his opponents underſtood liberty, and the only queſtion between them was, who ſhall govern conſcience, the biſhop of Rome or the king? This haughty imitator of Saint Auguſtine informed the rude people, that the biſhop of Rome had the beſt title and the moſt votes, and a king or an emperour, ſays he, "ſuld not be ſupreme iudge to al controuerſie of religione, quhilk is repugnant to al ſcripturis, to al antiquitie, and to al reaſone, zea to zour doctrine alſo, quha vil haue na other iudge bot onlie the vryttin vord, quhilk can nather heir nor ſpeik." Of all the ſtudents of the Fathers, never did any man underſtand Saint Auguſtine, Saint Cyprian, and all the ſaints of Africa, better than Nicholas Burne, "profeſſor of philoſophie in S. Leonardis college in the citie of Sanctandrois." If poſterity think fit to erect monuments to ſuch men, there is an inſcription at Sienna in Italy admirably adapted to the tomb of each (4). In that city there is in marble a repreſentation of the angel driving Adam and Eve out of paradiſe, and under it this inſcription:

I have offended
Almighty God, and Poſterity.
I am indebted to both:
But neither to me.

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(3) *The Diſputation concerning the controverſit Headdis of religion, haldin in the realme of Scotland, the zeir of God ane thouſand, fyue hundredth four ſcoir zeiris Betuix the prætendit miniſteris of the deformed kirk in Scotland and . . . ane membre of the halie and catholick kirk. Dedicat to his Souerane the kingis M. of Scotland, King James the ſaxt. Pariſe.* 1581.

(4) Montfaucon's *Travels through Italy. chap. xxiv. Sienna.*

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

The Church of Rome.

CHURCH of Rome is now a phraſe of magnitude and ſplendour: yet at firſt it ſtood for no more than an aſſembly of Jews, dwelling at Rome, who believed Jeſus was the Chriſt, and who met to worſhip God and to confer together on the ſenſe of the old teſtament in the hired houſe of Paul of Tarſus, then a priſoner.

The hiſtory of the firſt ages of this church is ſo fabulous, and the intereſts of proteſtants in either diſguiſing or expoſing the fables ſo inſignificant, that a few outlines may very well ſatisfy a modern inquirer. From the firſt preaching of the goſpel at Rome till the time of Conſtantine is one period: from thence to the irruption of the Goths a ſecond: and from that time to the reign of Charlemagne a third. Then the biſhop became a ſecular prince, whoſe territories and tributaries were large till the reformation. From that time to this the pope hath been an abſolute prince in his own territories, a ſort of patriarch in ſome kingdoms, and nothing at all but a foreign prince in others. In England he is talked of as the patriarch of Conſtantinople, his titles to dominion are ſunk in oblivion, and the very names of his feſtivals and ſaints, and religious orders, and miracles, and hereſies, are moſtly gone, and the reſt going as faſt as time can carry them into everlaſting forgetfulneſs. The free and happy civil conſtitution of this country knows no heretick but a diſturber of the peace, and no ſaint but an uſeful member of ſociety. When religious teſts are removed, and they ſit ſo hard on thoſe who ſubmit to them, that as virtue increaſes they muſt be removed, Britain will have arrived at manhood. Learning and philoſophy have deſerted the cauſe of tyranny, and have gone clean over to the ſide of religion, and love of mankind. From their united efforts what may not be expected?

The old Roman empire was a magnificent compoſition of all that mankind agree to call great. All provincials had acceſs to Rome, and the Jews among the reſt. The Romans laughed at Judaiſm, and thought it groſs ſuperſtition, however, they allowed all nations to enjoy their gods, and, except in caſes where religion damaged ſociety, as in that of offering human ſacrifices, they perſecuted none for religion (5). Seditions they puniſhed, and perhaps ſtruggles for liberty under the name of ſeditions: but far from perſecuting religion, they had allowed Jews to reſide in Rome as traders from the time of the Punick war, and about the time of the birth of Chriſt, there were at leaſt eight thouſand in Rome, who openly worſhipped God in their own ſynagogues.

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(5) SUETON. *lib. v. cap.* 25. CLAUDIUS. Druidarum religionem apud Gallos diræ immanitatis, et tantum civibus ſub Auguſto interdictam, penitus abolevit. . . . . . Deorum offenſa diis curæ.

Some Romans, both Jews and proſelytes, were at Jeruſalem at that remarkable pentecoſt mentioned in the ſecond of Acts. They no doubt carried the tidings to Rome, and the diſpute both then, and afterward, when Paul was a priſoner there, whether Jeſus were the Chriſt, lay in the ſynagogues among themſelves, till contention, and on the part of the Jews perſecution, ſeparated the believers from the reſt: but even then chriſtians were confounded with Jews, and were unknown to the Romans as a ſeparate body for many years. The emperour Claudius baniſhed all Jews from Rome, becauſe they had made a tumult in the city, and Luke ſays, chriſtians were included in this edict: but they ſoon returned, and were admitted to honours and dignities (6). They had publick ſynagogues, judges of their own, wealth and employments, and every bleſſing they could wiſh for under ſuch a government.

In this period four objects demand attention: the empire, the emperours, the large body of chriſtians, and the ſmaller diviſions called hereticks.

Whoever caſts his eyes on that grand and elegant edition of the Roman hiſtorians, which was publiſhed a few years ago at Heidelberg, with maps and plates, muſt perceive, that there was no impropriety in the writers of the new teſtament in calling the empire the whole world (7). Strictly, and geometrically ſpeaking, it was not ſo: but the geography of it covered the far greater part of the then known world. Vaſt provinces, which now conſtitute large and populous kingdoms in Aſia and Africa, and by far the greater part of Europe, acknowledged the authority of the Romans, and were governed in part by their laws. This opened a wide field of action for the apoſtles, and primitive teachers of chriſtianity, and as their principles led them to aim at the converſion of mankind, ſo their condition of Roman provincials enabled them to give full ſcope to the ſtrong impulſes of their benevolent feelings. Many churches in all parts of the empire boaſt of being firſt formed by apoſtles: but though the evidences they produce are inſufficient to demonſtrate the fact, yet the fact itſelf is very credible. What ten or twenty men of their abilities, and of their principles, in their circumſtances, and with their opportunities could do in this way, is not eaſy to determine. It is certain Paul was at Rome, preached in Illyricum, and intended a journey into Spain. Tertullian expreſsly ſays, Peter was at Rome, and nothing can be more likely. It is ſurpriſing, that proteſtants ſhould contend with ſo much zeal againſt a tradition ſo very probable, for what end on proteſtant principles doth it anſwer? The roman catholicks reaſon from the fact of Peter's being at Rome to a right of

(6) Judæos impulſore Chreſto aſſidue tumultuantes Roma expulit.... al. Chereſto.... al. Chereſtro... al. Chireſto.

(7) *Scriptores Hiſtoriæ Romanæ Latini veteres qui extant omnes, notis variis illuſtrati a* CAROLO HENRICO DE KLETTENBERG ET WILDECK... *in unum redacti corpus*... *Edente* BENNONE CASPARO HAURISIO. *tribus tomis. Heidelbergæ.* 1743. *et ann. ſeqq.*

univerſal dominion in behalf of his ſucceſſors: but the true reformed anſwer is, if Peter himſelf ſhould arrive now in England, and claim civil authority for this reaſon, the whole nation would agree that he had fallen from grace, and was neither a good chriſtian nor a good citizen. Nothing was eaſier in the days of the apoſtles than to go over all the provinces, and eſpecially to ſuch a man as the apoſtle of the Gentiles, and what he ſays is highly credible, that the goſpel was made known to all theſe nations for the obedience of faith: for it was knowledge and not power that produced faith.

The Jews had no objections againſt making proſelytes to their religion: but when they were given to underſtand, that in order to form an union between themſelves and pagan converts it was neceſſary for them to make a conceſſion of all the ceremonial of the Moſaical œconomy, they went raving mad with intolerance, and pronounced the men who propoſed it blaſphemers worthy to die. It was from this implacable hatred of the Jews that tumults and perſecutions roſe all over the empire. The book of the acts of the apoſtles exhibits a very juſt picture of the whole in miniature. It was not Roman governours, who profeſſed themſelves no judges of ſuch matters, but it was a virulent faction of Jews, aſſiſted alſo by ſuch intereſted men as Demetrius and his craftſmen, who perſecuted the primitive church. This was the general condition of the empire before chriſtians were diſtinguiſhed from Jews.

In kingdoms properly conſtituted the perſonal quality of the chief governour is a matter of comparative indifference, for let who will ſit on the throne the law reigns: but in ſtates become abſolute, like that of Rome in the times now under conſideration, every thing depends on the qualities of the chief ruler. It was a dreadful power, with which the Romans entruſted their emperours, and their tyranny was the true original ſource of the diſmemberment of the empire. What an intolerable monſter was Nero! In his reign there were many chriſtians at Rome. The city was on fire (8). Nobody knew how. Moſt taxed Nero with ſetting it on fire; he laid it upon the chriſtians, and though nobody believed him, yet they ſuffered him to murder a great multitude in a barbarous manner and with cruelty of his own invention. Tacitus ſays, he hit on this expedient to wipe off the ſcandal from himſelf: yet he did not ſucceed. He was the firſt emperour, who ſhed the blood of chriſtians, and it is ſaid Peter and Paul were of the number. This perſecution was confined to the city, and was a mere effuſion of the brutal rage of one madman.

The next five emperours, Galba, Otho, Vitellius, Veſpaſian and Titus, did not interrupt chriſtians, nor did Domitian till the latter end of his reign. This is properly the firſt perſecution: but authentick hiſtory ſays ſo little about it, that hardly any thing is certain except that it was not general, and

(8) TACITI *Annal. xv. xliv.* Ergo *abolendo* rumori Nero ſubdidit reos, et quæſitiſſimis pœnis affecit, quos per flagitia inviſos, vulgus Chriſtianos appellabat. . . . Eorum ingens multitudo, &c. . . EGNATII *Rom. Princip.*

it did not laſt more than a year, for it began about November in the year ninety five, and Domitian was aſſaſſinated in September ninety ſix. Whatever might be the cauſe of this rigour therefore, it was a mere ſquall.

As chriſtians multiplied exceedingly in this period they became of political conſequence, and the eye of government was naturally attracted to them. For reaſons of ſtate therefore ſucceeding emperours favoured or ſuppreſſed them. That ſuch were the real motives is apparent by the conduct of Diocleſian. After his victory over the Perſians he iſſued edicts againſt the Manicheans, whom he ſuppoſed connected with Perſia: but he did not interrupt other chriſtians till two years before his abdication, ſo that they enjoyed peace during twenty years of his reign. Miſerable is the condition of that people, who have one man in their empire above controul. A Titus or a Nerva may place his felicity in making them happy; but a Decius and a Diocleſian may with equal eaſe imbrue their hands in their blood. The ſame power, that iſſues an edict to protect all day, may iſſue another to ſubvert and deſtroy at night. The foundation of ſuch an empire is bad: it ſhould be juſtice, but it is nothing but power. That incomparable roman hiſtorian, Livy, who wrote in the reign of Auguſtus, beautifully remarks, that from ſmall beginings the empire had grown to a ſize inconvenient to itſelf, and had arrived at a period, when it could not bear either its maladies or its remedies (9).

The roman catholicks, who are extremely fond of catalogues of names, and whoſe whole church hiſtory tends to make out their favourite point, a regular ſucceſſion, have drawn out a liſt of biſhops of Rome, and named the firſt fifty ſix ſaints (1). Of theſe, Silveſter, who flouriſhed in the reign of Conſtantine, is the thirty fourth: but he and all his predeceſſors were obſcure men, of whom very little more than their names is known, and who have not left any works remarkable either for genius or piety. There was a Clement, who wrote epiſtles to the Corinthians after the examples of the apoſtles, but if the two letters which bear his name be really his, they only prove that he was a weak man, that jewiſh chriſtians had tinctured him with old teſtament divinity, and that what they all kept chiefly in view, was not the converſion of the world but Aaron's rod that budded (2). To create an hierarchy, and to maſter mankind, were objects never out of ſight with theſe judaizing chriſtians. If theſe inſipid epiſtles were read in churches, as many ancient writers affirm, it only ſhews the nakedneſs of the land.

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(9) Livii *Hiſt. Præfat.* Ab exiguis profecto initiis, eo creverit, ut jam magnitudine laboret ſua. . . . ad hæc tempora, quibus nec vitia noſtra, nec remedia pati poſſumus perventum eſt.

(1) Anastasii *Vit. Roman. Pontif.*

(2) S. Clementis *Roman. Epiſt.* . . Photii *Bibliot. cxxvi.* Extra oceanum mundos quoſdam exiſtere ſupponit cap. xx. In ſecunda dicta peregrina velut e ſacra ſcriptura inducit, quibus ne prima quidem epiſtola omnino vacat. Et interpretationes locorum quorumdam alieniores profert. Alioquin ipſa quæ in his epiſtolis inſunt ſenſa, non nihil abjecta ſunt, nec continentem ſeriem ac conſequentiam ſervant . . . . Cotelerii *Patres Apoſtol.* . . . Bernardi *Adnotat. in Clement.* . . . Jo. Jac. Wetstenii *Epiſt. Clem.* . . . Dr. Lardner's *Diſſertat. on Clement's Epiſtles.*

What the biſhop of Rome was in the city, other biſhops were in other parts of Italy: the churches were independent on each other, and the people elected their teachers, who moſt of them inculcated a jewiſh chriſtianity, having in it the ſeeds of an hierarchy, which firſt produced a ſacred order of men, in imitation of the old Levites, then ſunk the people to elevate the order: the order created a maſter like Aaron, whom each voter hoped to ſucceed, and the whole iſſued in riots to determine which of the pretended Aarons was the true heir to the dignity (3). The church of Aquileia was founded by S. Mark, and conſequently the biſhop was a patriarch, and ought to be ſomething more. That at Milan was founded by S. Barnabas, and therefore the archbiſhop of Milan was lord primate. The people of Ravenna were firſt taught by S. Apollinaris, one of the ſeventy, and all other churches in great cities had ſimilar founders, and like claims, and each maintained its own pretenſions by holding councils, and excommunicating the reſt. At length it was found out that Jeſus had given the keys of his kingdom to Peter; that Peter had governed at Rome for four and twenty years; that Mark and Barnabas, and all others had only been his curates; and conſequently that Rome was the ſeat of ſpiritual dominion, and the biſhop there the true and undoubted chriſtian pontiff. An incredible number of volumes have been written to propagate and defend, and to unravel and confute this chriſtian mythology. If this diſpute had been only about the right of wearing bells and pomegranates, as Aaron had done, and a breaſt-plate that nobody but a Jew could read, it might have created mirth: but it took a very ſerious turn when it was perceived that Aaron had under all his fine things a knife and a blood baſon!

Ought any man to be ſurpriſed at finding Italy full of diſſidents? What became of the old Roman pride of Senatus populuſque Romanus? Doth it follow, becauſe the emperour at the head of the finances and the army had rendered himſelf abſolute, that every Jew who taught chriſtianity became abſolute on a ſudden? Certainly not. Italians did not at once loſe ſight of liberty, and nothing was more common at Rome even in late ages than in tumults about government for the populace to ſhout, not, The church and the people! but, Long live the people and the church! It was this ſpirit that produced diſſidents, that is, men juſtly offended with ſpiritual tyranny who would not ſubmit to a publick ſtandard of faith, but would judge for themſelves (4).

It happened in Europe exactly as it had in Aſia and Africa. While conſcience was free, there was a diverſity of ſentiment, but no diviſion: but when the majority gave out their opinions as laws for the reſt, conſcience felt its dignity and reſented the affront by ſeparating for freedom. The great party to juſtify themſelves went to diſputing and proving the goodneſs of their diſcipline, and named their ſyſtem unity, and that of the minor party ſchiſm. Strictly ſpeaking, Greece was the theatre of hereſy: and at Rome another pretended crime near akin to it called ſchiſm was the cauſe of ſimilar diſturbances. As this is an article of great conſequence in the hiſtory of the Weſtern church, the ſubject muſt be taken up from the beginning.

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(3) UGHELLI *Ital Sac.* . . . MURATORII *Antiq. Ital.* . . . BASNAGE *Hiſt. Eccles.* &c.

(4) *Diarium Romanum. apud* MURATORII *Antiq. Ital. tom. xxiv. pag.* 1011. Una pars dicebat Viva la chieſa e l'Orſo; et alia pars dicebat, Viva la chieſa e la Colonna. . . . Innumerabiles gentes *armatorum* ſtabant clamantes; o Romani, como non dicete: Viva la Chieſa, e lo popolo? et ibi ſcaramuzzabant. . . . Invenerunt totum populum Romanum congregatum, et ſtatim una cum Paulo de Urſinis fecerunt nova capita regionum pro ſtatu populi Romani, et Sanctæ Matris eccleſiæ, ſemper clamando: *Viva lo popolo, e la eccleſia.* An. 1409.

The word ſchiſm is greek, and the theme literally ſignifies to part or divide (5). In this ſenſe it is uſed in the goſpels; as, Jeſus ſaw the heavens opened, that is, the clouds parted. The ſoldiers ſaid, Let us not rent, or part the coat. This word is applied to the parting or ſeparating of chriſtians from one another, and an idea of guilt is affixed to it: but it is impoſſible to juſtify this idea without examining what the word implies, that is, an union prior to the ſeparation. This leads back to another queſtion: In what did the union of the primitive chriſtian church conſiſt? That moſt learned and liberal foreign lawyer Boehmer, who never wrote ſuperficially on any ſubject, hath inveſtigated this with his uſual accuracy, and hath proved to a demonſtration that the union of primitive chriſtians was preciſely fraternal: that out of this, which he calls the internal union of each congregation, roſe another, which he names external, uniting ſeveral congregations together: that hence came communion, or common union; and that all this was an affair of mutual eſteem wholly unconnected with civil and political affairs, implying no obedience of one to another; or any kind of political ſubjection, to which, adds he, the court of Rome and every other hierarchy tend (6). He proves by well choſen quotations from Euſebius, Irenæus, and others, that this union admitted of great variety of ſentiment, and that diverſity of opinions and ceremonies of worſhip did not interrupt the publick peace: and he obſerves, that when Auguſtine defined an inveterate ſchiſm an hereſy he was diſconcerted and out of temper with the Donatiſts. On this ground, it may ſafely be affirmed, there may be a ſchiſm without a ſeparation, and a ſeparation without a ſchiſm.

There was among primitive chriſtians an uniform belief that Jeſus was the

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(5) Σχισμα.... Σχιζω. Mark i. 10.... John xix. 24.

(6) JUSTI HENNINGII BOEHMERI. *Jus eccleſiaſtic. proteſtant. Quinta editio. Halæ Magdeburg.* 1756. *tom. iv. lib. v. tit. viii. De Schiſmaticis.* Hoc arctiſſimo et ſanctiſſimo nexu inter ſe uniti erant chriſtiani, omni politico et civili reſpectu ceſſante, qui cum apoſtolico ſpiritu pugnabat prorſus. Fraterno more inter ſe agebant, ſemet invicem fratres appellantes.... Hæc interna unio facile producebat externam... quam catholicam dixere... Unio hic omnis in fide vivida et veritate divina, non etiam in ſubjectione quadam politica quæritur, quam curia Romana, quam epiſcopalis genius, quam denique hierarchia quævis intendit.

AUGUSTINI *Epiſt. lxxxvii.* EMERITO *Donatiſtæ.* Neque enim vobis objicimus, niſi ſchiſmatis crimen, quam etiam hæreſin male perſeverando feciſtis.... Inveteratum ſchiſma eſt hæreſis.

Præ reliquis Auguſtinus in operibus ſuis hoc *crimen* quod vocant, ejuſque turpitudinem atro carbone notat.

Chriſt, and a perfect harmony of affection. When congregations multiplied ſo that they became too numerous to aſſemble in one place they parted into ſeparate companies, and ſo again and again, but there was no ſchiſm; on the contrary all held a common union, and a member of one company was a member of all. If any perſon removed from one place to reſide at another, he received a letter of atteſtation, which was given and taken as proof, and this cuſtom very prudently precluded the intruſion of impoſtors. In this manner was framed a catholick or univerſal church. One company never pretended to inſpect the affairs of another, nor was there any dominion or any ſhadow of dominion over the conſciences of any individuals. Overt acts were the only objects of cenſure, and cenſure was nothing but voting a man out of the community.

Spanheim found out ten reaſons for the defection of chriſtians from this primitive ſimplicity: but profeſſor Boehmer, with a clearneſs of thought, and a ſimplifying preciſion peculiar to ſuperiour geniuſſes, found two ſufficient to produce all the bad effects that followed: the one was the introduction of jewiſh and pagan ceremonies: the other the corruption of their own morals: and the firſt was the parent of the laſt (7). Ceremonies, as he obſerves, have a natural tendency to catch and fix and ſatiate the eye, and ſo to divert the attention from that ſpirituality in which the purity of divine worſhip conſiſts. Ceremonies require regulations, regulations are laws, laws are nothing without ſanctions, penal ſanctions inflicted and ſuffered diſturb men's tempers, the temper of the uppermoſt is that of a tyrant, the temper of the underling is that of a free rebel or a ſlave. Hence confuſion and every evil work.

It is almoſt impoſſible, ſays the excellent writer juſt mentioned, to form clear notions of proteſtant eccleſiaſtical diſcipline without inquiring into the reaſons on which it was founded, and theſe are not to be underſtood without recurring to the hiſtory of the times in which the ſeveral parts of eccleſiaſtical law were framed. For this purpoſe he divides ancient church hiſtory into three periods, and aſſigns to each a different ſyſtem (8). In the firſt period which includes three centuries, chriſtians were united as was juſt now mentioned. It was an union of compact tacit or expreſſed, and the diſcipline was a confederate equality. Nobody was compelled to join a church, each was admitted ſingly at his own requeſt by the conſent of the whole ſociety. Affairs were debated and tranſacted by all. Whoever were excluded were excommunicated by joint conſent, and if they repented and requeſted readmiſſion, they were readmitted in the ſame manner. Church officers were voluntarily elected for the ſake of order. No ſociety had any controul over another, advice might be given, but civil coercion was unknown. The whole was a ſtate of perfect popular freedom. This was a fraternal ſyſtem of order.

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(7) BOEHMERI *Diſſertat. de jure liturgico. tom. i.* Quemadmodum Deus eſt ſpiritus, ita quoque homo facile intelligit, non humano modo primario, ſed imprimis interna animi et ſpiritus veneratione eum eſſe colendum.... Quamvis vera colendi Deum ratio in interna animi ad Deum directa diſpoſitione conſiſtat, facile tamen externis actibus, geſtibus et moribus ſeſe exſerere ſolet, quemadmodum cordis intima deſideria externis actionibus variis modis homines edere ſueverunt.... Cultus externus in primitiva eccleſia fuit ſimpliciſſimus, deſtitutus multiplici rituum et ceremoniarum pompa, in quam poſtea prolabi cœpit.... In hac ſimplicitate haud diu ſubſtiterunt primitivæ eccleſiæ membra.... Hujus rei cauſas decem adfert F. Spanhemius... Eas omnino duas fuiſſe arbitror.... Sunt homines a natura ad ſuperſtitionem proclives, et quo magis natura corrupta abhorret a vero cultu divino, eo facilius poteſt capi externis rerum ſacrarum ſchematibus.

(8) *Juſ. Eccles. tom. v. Præloq. de var. Syſtemate univerſ. jur. canon. Eccles.*

In the third century jewiſh theology drew off the attention of chriſtians from the ſimplicity of Jeſus and the goſpel, and fixed it on an hierarchy, particularly in the great corrupt and wealthy churches of Rome, Antioch, Alexandria and Carthage. This introduced by degrees a ſecond period, and a ſecond ſyſtem of eccleſiaſtical management, named by this authour, the epiſcopal ſyſtem of church law. This period extends from the latter end of the third century to the time of Charlemagne. This ſyſtem got rid of the trouble of conſulting the people; introduced ſacerdotal authority; ſet up as many principalities as biſhopricks; acknowledged the biſhop of Rome as firſt in order of weſtern biſhops, but no more; was ſometimes controuled by emperours and princes, and at other times acquired civil independence; but at all times conſidered the people as *ſheep* to be led, and fed, and driven, and defended, and cured by figurative ſhepherds, and not as men to be conſulted about their own affairs. If a judgment may be formed of the countenance of this great lawyer by his manner of printing his ſentiments, it ſhould ſeem, when he ſcratched ſheep to be printed in italicks, he ſmiled at the fancy of figurative canon law. What a bleſſing to a country is a judge, who hath the patience to undreſs a caſe till he reduces an eloquent brief to a ſimple matter of fact! Who are *ſheep?* Did chriſtians in the middle ages go upon all fours!

The third ſyſtem called papal took place when the biſhop of Rome roſe above law himſelf, and gave law both ſecular and eccleſiaſtical to all others. Like death, he put all things, even biſhops under his feet. To this a fourth ſyſtem of canon law was added in the ſame period, compounded of the epiſcopal and the papal, and properly called the monaſtical ſyſtem. A diſtinction of theſe ſyſtems, and of the periods which gave riſe to them, is eſſential to a clear notion of the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of the weſt. By the ſame rule, too, it may be determined with the moſt exact preciſion in what degree any church is reformed, for all proteſtant churches preached ſomething derived from each ſyſtem. A perfect popular union of fraternal freedom, in a ſimplicity pure as the light, is at one extreme. The papal ſyſtem of canon law is at the other. Between the two are innumerable lines: the neareſt to one extreme are the moſt pure, the neareſt to the other are the moſt depraved.

It was in the third century, when the firſt ſyſtem of diſcipline was going a great pace over from the people into the ſecond, the ſacerdotal ſyſtem, that a great ſeparation took place at Rome, and multitudes bore a noble teſtimony againſt the prevailing corruption. At Rome theſe diſſenters were called Novatians,

vatians, from Novatus, one of the chief managers of the affair. They called themſelves Puritans, or, as the Greeks tranſlated the word, Cathari; and they intended by the name to ſignify the fact, that they ſeparated from the reſt becauſe their morals were impure. It was preciſely ſuch a caſe as that of the Donatiſts in Africa. There was no diſpute about doctrines: but the whole was ſummed up in one word, virtue. It is very remarkable, that, though both ſides allowed they agreed in doctrine, and the great party allowed the Novatians were chriſtians, yet the Novatians thought the want of virtue had unchurched thoſe who called themſelves catholick, and therefore they diſowned their competency to adminiſter chriſtian inſtitutes, and if any went from the catholicks to join them, as great numbers did, they rebaptized every one. It is a ſhame for proteſtants to put theſe people into liſts of hereticks, and troublers of the church (9). Moſheim ſays, "This ſect cannot be charged with having corrupted the doctrine of chriſtianity by their opinions. They conſidered the chriſtian church as a ſociety where virtue and innocence reigned univerſally, and none of whoſe members, from their entrance into it, had defiled themſelves with any enormous crime; and of conſequence, they looked upon every ſociety, which readmitted heinous offenders to communion, as unworthy of the title of a true chriſtian church. It was from hence alſo that they aſſumed the title of Cathari, i. e. the pure, and what ſhewed a ſtill more extravagant degree of arrogance, they obliged ſuch as came over to them from the general body of chriſtians, to be baptized a ſecond time, as a neceſſary preparation for entering into their ſociety." A people ſound in doctrine, virtuous in their manners, ſo ſound and ſo virtuous that their moſt implacable enemies allow both: for what crime then have ſo many pens blackened them over, and held them up to the world as ſchiſmaticks to be execrated by all good men? Moſheim ſays, "Their crime was, that by the unreaſonable ſeverity of their diſcipline, they gave occaſion to the moſt deplorable diviſions, and made an unhappy rent in the church." It is ſurprizing to ſee to what lengths a party ſpirit hath been carrried, and what adepts ſome men are in the ſcience of hereſiography. One doctor of the Lutheran church hath given a comment on hereſy and ſchiſm, and hath inſerted catalogue-wiſe no leſs than ſix hundred and thirty-two ſorts of hereticks, hereſiarchs, and ſchiſmaticks, diverſified as the birds of heaven, and agreeing in only one ſingle point: the crime of not continuing in what is called the church (1). If it be inquired, What was the ſtate of this church, which it was a crime to quit? The ſame Moſheim ſays, "The moſt reſpectable writers of that age have put it out of the power of an hiſtorian to ſpread a veil over the enormities of eccleſiaſtical rulers. By a train of vices they were ſunk in luxury and voluptuouſneſs, puffed up with vanity, arrogance, and ambition, poſſeſſed with a ſpirit of contention and diſcord, and addicted to many other vices. The biſhop aſſumed a princely authority, was exalted above his equals, and had a throne ſurrounded with miniſters. Preſbyters followed their example, neglected their duties, and abandoned themſelves to the indolence and delicacy of an effeminate and luxurious life. Deacons imitated their ſuperiours, and the effects of a corrupt ambition were ſpread through every rank of the ſacred order." This is the church, which, it is ſaid, the Novatians troubled in the third century.

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(9) HENCKEL *de hæreſi Novatiana*.... ITTIGIUS *de hæreſibus*.... MOSHEIM'S *Eccl. Hiſt. cent. iii. chap. v. Diviſions and hereſies.*

(1) M. PAULI STOCKMANNI *Elucidarius hæres. Schiſmatum. cum epiſt.* ALBERTI *in commendationem opuſculi. Lipſiæ.* 1693.

The hiſtory of Novatian is long, and, like that of all others in his condition, beclouded with fables and ſlander. The character of the man ought no more to be taken from Cyprian, than his ought from the pagans, who, by punning on his name called him Coprian, or the ſcavenger (2). The caſe in brief was this (3). Novatian was an elder in the church at Rome. He was a man of extenſive learning, and held the ſame doctrine as the church did, and publiſhed ſeveral treatiſes in defence of what he believed. His addreſs was eloquent and inſinuating, and his morals were irreproachable. He ſaw with extreme pain the intolerable depravity of the church. Chriſtians within the ſpace of a very few years were careſſed by one emperour, and perſecuted by another. In ſeaſons of proſperity many ruſhed into the church for baſe purpoſes. In times of adverſity they denied the faith, and ran back to idolatry again. When the ſquall was over away they came again to the church with all their vices to deprave others by their examples. The biſhops, fond of proſelytes, encouraged all this, and transferred the attention of chriſtians from the old confederacy for virtue to vain ſhows at Eaſter, and other jewiſh ceremonies, adulterated too with paganiſm. On the death of biſhop Fabian, Cornelius, a brother elder, and a vehement partizan for taking in the multitude, was put in nomination. Novatian oppoſed him: but as Cornelius carried his election, and he ſaw no proſpect of reformation, but on the contrary a tide of immorality pouring into the church, he withdrew, and a great many with him. Cornelius, irritated by Cyprian, who was juſt in the ſame condition through the remonſtrances of virtuous men at Carthage, and who was exaſperated beyond meaſure with one of his elders, named Novatus, who had quitted Carthage, and had gone to Rome to eſpouſe the cauſe of Novatian, called a council, and got a ſentence of excommunication paſſed againſt Novatian. In the end, Novatian formed a church, and was elected biſhop. Great numbers followed his example, and all over the empire puritan churches were conſtituted, and flouriſhed through the ſucceeding two hundred years. Afterward, when penal laws obliged them to lurk in corners, and worſhip God in private, they were diſtinguiſhed by a variety of names, and a ſucceſſion of them continued till the reformation.

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(2) LABBEI *Concil.* SEVER. BINII *notæ in vit.* FABIANI *Papæ.* Cyprianus rhetor ab ethnicis per contemptum Coprianus, id eſt, ſtercorarius, nominatus.

(3) CYPRIANI *Epiſt. xlix, &c.* . . . . CORNELII *papæ vita.* . . . . *Ejuſdem epiſt.* . . . *Concil. Carthag. in cauſa lapſorum. An.* 254. . . . *Epiſt. Synod. Afric. De lapſis.* . . . . EPIPHANII *Hæres. lix. Cathari.* . . . PHILASTRII *De hæres. cap. xxxiv.* . . . EUSEB. *Hiſt. Eccles. lib. vi. cap.* 43.

It is almoſt impoſſible to avoid being miſled in hiſtories of hereticks. They are all written by intereſted eccleſiaſticks, who conſider hereſy as the chief, if not the only crime, in the world, and always ſpeak of it in the moſt bitter terms that malice can invent. Though a diſpaſſionate reader cannot help ſeeing they are mad with intolerance, and though he knows it was one of their avowed maxims to ſpeak falſehood for the cauſe, yet he is apt to yield ſome degree of aſſent to their bold affirmations, not recollecting that juſtice requires the judge to be council to the forlorn priſoner at the bar. Orthodox hiſtory would perſuade readers that the Roman emperours did little elſe but cut throats, and roaſt chriſtians: and yet under theſe very emperours they held councils, had publick places of worſhip, adminiſtered ordinances in veſſels of pure gold, abounded in wealth and luxury, and even at Rome in the time of Novatian had near fifty congregations (4). They boaſt of a vaſt number of martyrs, all dying for the faith in the odour of ſanctity: and yet every body knows Decius perſecuted them for their attachment to the family of Philip. If chriſtians will ruſh into politicks, they muſt run political hazards, and if they loſe their lives in ſupporting a good political cauſe, they die patriots not ſaints. They ſay, Novatian was the firſt antipope: and yet there was at that time no pope, in the modern ſenſe of the word. They call Novatian the author of the hereſy of puritaniſm: and yet they know, Tertullian had quitted the church near fifty years before for the ſame reaſon, and Privatus, who was an old man in the time of Novatian, had, with ſeveral more, repeatedly remonſtrated againſt the alterations taking place, and, as they could get no redreſs, had diſſented, and formed ſeparate congregations. They tax Novatian with being parent of an innumerable multitude of congregations of Puritans all over the empire: and yet he had no other influence over any than what his good example gave him. People ſaw every where the ſame cauſe of complaint, and groaned for relief, and when one man made a ſtand for virtue, the criſis had arrived, people ſaw the propriety of the cure, and applied the ſame means to their own relief. They blame this man and all theſe churches for the ſeverity of their diſcipline: yet this ſevere moral diſcipline was the only coercion of the primitive churches, and it was the exerciſe of this that rendered civil coercion unneceſſary. Some exclaimed: It is a barbarous diſcipline to refuſe to readmit people into chriſtian communion becauſe they have lapſed into idolatry or vice. Others, finding the inconvenience of ſuch a lax diſcipline, required a repentance of five, ten, or fifteen years: but the Novatians ſaid, If you be a virtuous believer, and will accede to our confederacy againſt ſin, you may be admitted among us by baptiſm, or if any catholick has baptized you before, by rebaptiſm: but, mark this, if you violate the contract by lapſing into idolatry or vice, we ſhall ſeparate you from our community, and, do what you will, we ſhall never readmit you. God forbid we ſhould injure either your perſon, your property, or your character, or even judge of the truth of your repentance, and your future ſtate: but you can never be readmitted to our community without our giving up the beſt and only coercive guardian we have of the purity of our morals. Whether theſe people reaſoned juſtly or not, as virtue was their object, they challenge reſpect, and he muſt be a weak man indeed who is frighted out of it becauſe Saint Cyprian, the moſt intolerant of all ſaints, ſays, they were the children of the devil.

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(4) PIORUM VIRORUM *in urbe Magdeburgica Hiſt. Eccles. cent. iii. De hæreſibus.* Epiphan. et Ambroſ. ſocios præter Novatianum perditiſſimum et flagitioſiſſimum illum habuiſſe. .. FERDINANDI DE MENDOZA *De concil, Illiberritan. lib. iii. cap.* 22.

Numerous as the Novatians were, they were only a ſmall part of thoſe in the empire, who were not in communion with the domineering party. There were, ſays Euſebius quoting Hegeſippus, Simonians, Cleobians, Doſitheans, Gortheans, Maſbotheans, Menandrians, Marcionites, Carpocratians, Valentinians, Baſilidians, Saturnians, every one of whom ſeparately introduced his own private opinion (5). Out of theſe proceeded falſe Chriſts, falſe prophets, and falſe apoſtles, who rent the unity of the church by teaching perverſe doctrines againſt God and Chriſt. This Hegeſippus was the firſt man, who, after Luke, wrote a hiſtory of the church, and he, and not Luke, ſeems to have been the model, whom moſt eccleſiaſticks have imitated in writing church hiſtories to this day. Hegeſippus was by birth a Jew, and by profeſſion a chriſtian. He lived at the cloſe of the ſecond century. He was a traveller, as many of his countrymen have been ſince. Having ſeen the world, that is the biſhop of the church at Corinth and the biſhops at Rome, he thought himſelf qualified to write a church hiſtory. Happy for poſterity nobody thought it worth preſerving, and except a few quotations in Euſebius nothing of it remains. The firſt of theſe is a fable, the ſecond is a falſehood, the third is cant about the virginity of the church, and the time when hereticks committed a rape, the fourth proves the time when the author lived, and the fifth is a direct contradiction of one of the former. He ſays, Thebulis was the firſt man who corrupted the virgin church, and he derived his doctrine from ſeven claſſes of hereticks, who had corrupted her before. Such groſs and indelicate writers ought never to be quoted; it is painful to ſee ſuch men as Du Pin, and numbers more, employ their fine talents in expounding ſuch paſſages, and proving againſt hereticks, that the church had always been, and yet continued to be an undefiled virgin. Let the reader pardon this ungracious quotation. It is mentioned for the ſake of obſerving, that diſputes of this kind are nothing but ſophiſtry wrapped in allegory. There was a book, that went about in the world a long while for the hiſtory written by Hegeſippus. At length antiquaries, and among the reſt the learned Mabillon, found manuſcript copies intitled Joſippi. It was ſuſpected ſome copyiſt had made a miſtake and written Iſegippi, that the next had mended it by writing Egeſippi, and the next had put the aſpirate, and converted it into Hegeſippus. On re-examining this hiſtory of the chriſtian church by Hegeſippus, it was found to be a compendium of the hiſtory of the Jews extracted from Joſephus, and not the work of this man. To quote ſuch writers as oracles of the higheſt erudition and authority, without even knowing who and what they are, is certainly, to ſay no worſe, extremely hazardous. If this father of church hiſtory were not a pedlar, he was, as all allow, a fabuliſt (6).

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(5) EUSEBII *Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. iv. cap.* 21. Eccleſiam illam virginem vocabant. Nondum enim fuerat vanis doctrinis corrupta. Thebulis vero, quoniam non fuerat conſtitutus epiſcopus, corrumpere illam cœpit, cum eſſet et ipſe ex ſeptem illis hæreſibus in populo, e quibus eſt Simon, unde Simoniani: et Cleobius unde Cleobianis, &c... VALESII *notæ*..... DU PIN *Bibliot. cent. ii.* HEGESIPPE.

It would be endleſs to enumerate ſuch as were out of the pale of the church. There was at Rome a Theodotus, a tanner, a man of eminent learning, who had a great number of followers, who were called after him Theodotians, and there were many more ſuch parties: but there was one man, who gave the church more uneaſineſs than the reſt; S. Polycarp named him the devil's eldeſt ſon: and S. Irenæus called him the devil's mouth (7). His true name, however, was Marcion. His enemies wrote his hiſtory; and how much of it is true cannot be determined. He was the ſon of a Greek biſhop in Pontus, and was born before the death of the apoſtle John. In his youth he had an unfortunate affair with a young lady, for which he was very penitent. His father carried his reſentment ſo far that he was reduced to miſery, covered with infamy, and driven to deſpair. He quitted his country and travelled to Rome: but found to his great mortification that his father's letters had arrived there before him, and the biſhop and the church ſlighted him. Abandoned thus he ſeemed miſerable in the extreme. There was at that time at Rome a Syrian named Cerdo, whom the church had ſometimes applauded, and ſometimes cenſured for ſowing hereſy, and at length had excommunicated. Thunderſtorms drive poor animals together for ſhelter. Cerdo attached himſelf to

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(6) *Eccles. Hiſt. Magdeburg. cent. ii. cap. x. De Hegiſippo.* Dolendum ſane eſt, antiquos rei eccleſiaſticæ ſcriptores tam fuiſſe negligentes, ut quod virorum ſummæ eruditionis et autoritatis, quorumque teſtimonia oraculi vice allegant, etiam loca atque habitationes vel obiter ſaltem non attigerint.

(7) EPIPHANII *Hæres. lib. ii. liv. Theodotiani.* Surrexit Theodotus ex prædicta Alogorum ſecta, quæ Joannis Evangelium, et Deum verbum, quo derat in principio, et in illo evangelio habetur, negant, itemque ejus Apocalypſim. Hic Theodotus a Byzantio originem duxit, coriarius quidem arte, verum multæ eruditionis ac doctrinæ. Romam profectus, illic vitam tranſegit.

Hiſt. Magdeburg. cent. ii. cap. v. Marcion ob excellentem blaſphemiam os diaboli vocat Irenæus Narrat. Polycarpum Marcionem in via ſibi obviam factum appellaſſe primogenitum diaboli. . . . Commune ſtudium omnibus hiſce hæreticis fuit, ut doctrinam de trinitate vel prorſus everterent, vel corrumperent, vel obſcurarent, et veram Dei notitiam in omnium animis abolerent. . . . vid. THEOD. . . . IREN. . . . EPIPH. . . . TERTUL. . . . EUSEB. . . . . PHILAST. &c.

Marcion, Marcion to Cerdo, and the two made up ſuch a ſtring of hereſies as it was wonderful to behold: and, ſays Dr. Moſheim, Marcion propagated his impious doctrines with an aſtoniſhing ſucceſs throughout the world. Marcionite churches were formed every where, and Lucan, Severus, Blaſtes, Apelles, and others ſucceeded him, and became heads of great parties themſelves. Marcion before he was an heretick had diſpleaſed his father for being too lax in his morals: but after he became one all hiſtorians cenſured him and all his followers for holding a morality too rigid. He was become too good, and his morals were too ſevere: that is, he was guilty of impiety, as if a moral could be an impious man! Piety was quietiſm in the church. They ſay, it was the common ſtudy of all hereticks to obſcure, corrupt, or ſubvert the doctrine of the trinity: but the Marcionites were objects of peculiar abhorrence, for beſide denying the old teſtament, and embracing many philoſophical errours, they allowed women to baptize. This was an article of great conſequence at a time when the teachers were transforming themſelves into prieſts, and trying to engroſs to themſelves the ſole adminiſtration of ordinances (8).

So much hath been ſaid in other places concerning baptiſm, that it ſeems needleſs to add much here. Not one natural infant of any deſcription appears in this church during the firſt three centuries, and immerſion was the only method of baptizing. Profeſſor Boehmer with his uſual accuracy makes a juſt diſtinction in regard to the place of baptiſm. The place of adminiſtring baptiſm, ſays he, was, not the church but a river, in which people were dipped in the preſence of witneſſes (9). At Rome Peter firſt baptized in the Tiber: but afterward, when chriſtians were perſecuted they baptized in lavers in the baths: and it is doubtful whether they had any baptiſteries, properly ſo called, before the fourth century. Bede's hiſtory of the firſt baptiſms in England is an exact counterpart of the hiſtories of moſt places of note in Italy: there, as here, the firſt teachers adminiſtred this ordinance in rivers, or in the ſea (1).

As there is in the new teſtament no command for the baptiſm of natural infants, nor any precedent in the hiſtory of the church till that inſignificant one in Africa in the middle of the third century, ſome gentlemen have demurred on the caſe of a paterfamilias, father, maſter, or houſholder, and have ſuppoſed that baptiſm might be adminiſtered to natural infants on the ground of a right to diſpoſe of the children veſted in the head of the family. That no ſuch right was exerciſed by chriſtians while the government of the empire was pagan is very credible, for it would have made a caſe in law, and would have been decided in courts, probably againſt chriſtians, but certainly ſo as to have afforded a record of ſome kind: but there is no ſuch record either pagan or chriſtian. The caſe of the Jews is totally different. Judea had been a kingdom, governed by a code of laws of its own, of which circumciſion was one canon. When the Romans ſubdued a nation, and converted an independent kingdom into a province of the empire, they allowed their new ſubjects to retain their own religious rites: but chriſtians being natives of various provinces, having been of different religions, never having been in poſſeſſion of any territory, having no alliances, no legiſlation, no exiſtence as a corporate body in law, were naturally and neceſſarily left under the full influence of all the laws in being to regulate other citizens. The power of the paterfamilias was a civil affair, and it would have been extremely imprudent, not to ſay unjuſt, for primitive chriſtians to have agitated ſuch a dangerous queſtion with their governours, or to have multiplied their churches by civil and ſecular means. That well known ſentence of Tertullian, we are made but not born chriſtians, expreſſes the ſenſe of the whole primitive church (2). The corporation was founded on the reaſon and convictions of individuals: and it could not be ſupported on any other baſe.

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(8) EPIPH. Et legem rejicit, et prophetas omnes.... Dat etiam permiſſionem mulieribus ut baptiſmum dent.

GABRIELIS ALBASPIN. *De vet. Eccles. ritibus obſervat. Lut. Paris.* 1624. *obſ. xix. De fraternitate chriſtianorum.*

(9) J. H. BOEHMERI *Jus Eccles. tom. iii. lib. iii. tit. xlii.* 24. Locus conferendi baptiſmum non erat eccleſia, ſed flumen, in quo præſentibus quibuſdam immergebantur, et lavacro facto demum loti deducebantur ad eum locum, quo fratres congregati erant, unde dici nequit, præſente tota eccleſia immerſionem fuiſſe factam, ut non nemo exiſtimat. Tempeſtates perſecutionum publicæ tandem effecere, ut non amplius chriſtianis integrum fuerit, in fluminibus publicis baptizandos immergere. Inde Romæ in thermis et balneis, ad baptiſmum maxime accommodatis, hic peractus eſt, quippe quæ nihil aliud quam lavacra erant; utrum vero certa baptiſteria ibidem extructa fuerint, certis et indubiis probari nequit teſtimoniis.

(1) UGHELLI *Ital. Sac....* MURATORII *Scriptor Ital.*

The ſecond period of this hiſtory includes about one hundred and ſeventy years from the beginning of the reign of Conſtantine in three hundred and ſix to the ſetting up of the kingdom of Italy in four hundred and ſeventy five.

This curious and intereſting part of eccleſiaſtical hiſtory exhibits ſuch a collection of heterogeneous ſubjects conglutinated into one mighty maſs, that if it were examined at all in detail with the preciſion which ſuch a ſubject demands, it would fill volumes. The empire was a ſpace of vaſt extent; the tranſactions were innumerable and exceedingly diverſified; oſtenſible reaſons were deceptive in a degree as great as the objects in purſuit were important; true motives, and real ſprings of action lay deep, and dark, and under cover of pyramids of hieroglyphical volumes, which have been examined too after taking a ſolemn oath not to contradict them. Nothing but curioſity or ſuperſtition can render ſuch a toil neceſſary, for a modern chriſtian is no more obliged to think and act in religion as the imperialiſts did than he is to ſpeak their language, or to conform to their dreſs or their diet.

Out of this huge maſs four articles are ſelected, firſt for the ſake of obtaining clear ideas of that revolution which religion underwent in this period, and next for the connection of this ſketch with the general deſign of this hiſtory. The firſt regards variety of ſentiment, which produced innumerable parties in religion:

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(2) *Apol. xiii.* Hæc et nos riſimus aliquando. De veſtris fuimus. Fiunt non naſcuntur chriſtiani.

religion: the ſecond reſpects the independence of religion on ſecular government, which brought forth on the one hand an hierarchy, and on the other a large body of diſſenters: the third remarks the injuſtice and inconvenience of this condition of affairs to all parties: and the laſt reſpects baptiſm.

To begin with the firſt: variety of ſentiment. When the conſtruction of man and the ſubjects propoſed to his conſideration in the goſpel are contraſted, it is eaſy to foreſee, if the man and the ſubjects meet, various modes of thinking muſt neceſſarily be produced. The ſupreme being ſpeaking to the world by his ſon, the nature and duration of man, the immortality of the ſoul, the reſurrection of the dead, a future judgment, a ſtate of eternal rewards and puniſhments, the offices of piety, juſtice and mercy, were ſubjects, which in the preſent frame of things could not poſſibly be propoſed to men, women and children of all countries and all conditions without producing variety of ſentiment. Moreover, the goodneſs of God in giving the world a revelation ſo conſtructed as to produce ſuch a variety is apparent by the innumerable advantages which naturally flow from it; of which the refinement of the mind, the accompliſhing of the heart, and the embelliſhment of ſocial life, are none of the leaſt. A ſet of dead decided points would have given the world a torpid inſipidity, but no exerciſe. Yet the exerciſe of man is the ſource of his felicity. Separate the idea of guilt from that of variety of ſentiment, and an aſſembly of intelligent beings unfolding their minds to the truths of religion is a lovely landſcape full of charms.

The hiſtory of the firſt preaching of the goſpel converts this theory into facts. No man can read the epiſtles of the new teſtament and not ſee that the firſt churches, conſiſting of Jews and Gentiles, entertained ſentiments very different from one another, and, that their bonds of union were liberty and love. They did not ſeparate on this account. Some circumciſed, others did not. Some obſerved the old ritual concerning meats, others laid it aſide (3). Some kept the paſſover, others omitted it: and they who kept it regulated the time by different rules. Some ſat and read the ſcriptures in their aſſemblies, others ſtood. In ſome churches they ſung hymns, in others they devoted themſelves chiefly to prayer. Some churches had ſeven deacons, others an uncertain number. In ſome places any body was allowed to preach, in others only the biſhop, or overſeer did ſo. In ſome places one man ſuperintended many little ſocieties, in others there was one ſtated biſhop in each town, and in others again there were ſeveral in one village. At Rome there was no preaching at all, the brethren met, read the ſcriptures, conferred, meditated and prayed. There are many letters, but not one ſermon, of any biſhop of Rome remaining from the firſt preaching of chriſtianity to the time of Leo i. that is for the ſpace of four hundred and forty years. In ſome aſſemblies they read books and letters and interpretations of prophecy. In general preaching was occaſional and not ſtated; and the modern mode was brought in, leſs to interpret ſcripture than to prove points, which were invented in diſputes by Origen, Athanaſius and Auguſtine. The firſt aſſemblies of chriſtians were very ſmall, often held in the night; and always in retired places. Peter and Paul were both at Rome, and it is the opinion of ſome learned men, that the one inſtructed an aſſembly of Jews, and the other a congregation of Romans, and that there were ſeveral independent congregations in the city (4). The ſaying, that as there was but one God in the world ſo there ought to be but one biſhop in a city, was a compliment bordering on blaſphemy, which no biſhop thought to pay himſelf till the fourth century. Never had there been a greater diverſity of ſentiments and practices than there was at the commencement of the period now under conſideration.

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(3) SOZOM. *Hiſt. lib. vii. cap. xix. De conſuetudinibus apud diverſas nationes et eccleſias uſitatis.* Frivolum, et quidem merito, judicarunt, conſuetudinis gratia a ſe mutuo ſegregari eos, qui in præcipuis religionis capitibus conſentirent. Neque enim eaſdem traditiones per omnia ſimiles, in omnibus eccleſiis, quamvis inter ſe conſentiant, reperiri poſſis. Etenim per Scythiam cum ſint civitates multæ, unum duntaxat hæ omnes epiſcopum habent: apud alias vero nationes reperias, ubi et in pagis epiſcopi ordinantur, ſicut apud Arabes ac Cyprios ego comperi, et apud Novatianos ac Montaniſtas eos qui degunt in Phrygia. Diaconi apud Romanos hactenus non plures ſunt, quam ſeptem, apud alios vero numerus horum promiſcuus eſt. Rurſus autem ſingulis annis duntaxat ſemel Romæ Alleluia canunt. . . . Adhuc neque epiſcopus, neque alius quiſquam hic in eccleſia docet: apud Alexandrinos vero ſolus civitatis epiſcopus. &c.

S. JUSTINI *Mart. Apol. ii. p.* 28. Commentaria apoſtolorum, et ſcripta prophetarum, quoad tempus fert, leguntur.

Secondly. That chriſtians of all claſſes had always thought religion independent on ſecular government is clear to a demonſtration by their conduct. Paganiſm was the religion of the ſtate, and pontiff was a title annexed to that of emperour: but chriſtians all diſowned by their practice the office of high-prieſt, while they allowed and obeyed that of imperator. Theſe chriſtians ought to be divided into two general claſſes. They had all ſet out with order: but ſome had degenerated into government, which was a very diſtinct diſcipline, and is the true and real ſeed of every kind of hierarchy. Originally, placed by Jeſus in a condition of perfect equality, they felt their freedom when they met and ſo formed a mutual confederacy againſt ſin, having ſeparately no authority at all, and collectively only that of declaring on due inveſtigation that an individual had committed a known crime, which by violating the contract diſcharged them from their obligations to continue in ſociety with him. If any of the number were choſen to officiate for the reſt, the offices did not lift them out of the ſtate of brethren into that of rulers (5). The deacon ordered, or arranged the money matters entruſted to his care; the elder ordered or regulated his viſits to the ſick or impriſoned; the catechiſt put in order his leſſons for the children; the reader digeſted his lections ſo as to ſuit time, place, and perſons; the teacher arranged and ordered his texts and arguments, and ſo on. The whole aſſembly judged whether their officers conducted their affairs properly, and there was perfect order and liberty, but no government. Into ſome of theſe congregations came that wrong-headed ſort of men, who were half Jews, and who thought chriſtianity would be mightily improved by inſerting the jewiſh ritual into chriſtian practice. Of this ſort were all the ſaints, and Jerom expreſsly ſays, what Moſes and Aaron, and the Levites were among the Jews that teachers and church officers ought to be in the chriſtian church (7). Theſe, to ſpeak ſtrictly, were diſciples of Moſes, not of Jeſus, and they were more properly reformed Jews, than chriſtians born again. To attempt to prove this would be holding a torch to the ſun.

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(4) Jacques Basnage *Hiſt. Eccl. liv. i. cap. iv. &c.* L'eſtabliſſement des eveques dans les petites villes. . . . Pluralité d'eveques a Rome. . . . Pluralité a Philippes et a Epheſe. . . . Nombre des paroiſſes a Rome. . . . Perſonne ne prechoit a Rome. &c.

(5) Boehmeri *Jus Antiq. eccles. paſſim.* Fraternitatis nomen indicium æqualitatis eccleſiaſticæ. . . . et unionis . . . tollebatur excommunicatione. . . . recuperabatur per pænitentiam publicam. . . . et ab initio per baptiſmum.

The papal hierarchy is conſidered as the great apoſtacy, the conſummation of defection from original principles: but this had a cauſe, and when it is affirmed, the depravity of chriſtians was the cauſe, it may with great truth be added, that their depravity had a cauſe, and originated in ſomething that had not the appearance of wickedneſs, but religion. Never was a ſubject ſet in a clearer light than this by Paul in the eleventh chapter of the ſecond epiſtle to the Corinthians. Jealous over the chriſtians at Corinth with a godly jealouſy, leſt their minds ſhould be corrupted from the ſimplicity of chriſtianity, he deſcribes the men, whoſe notions of religion all tended to corrupt it, as fools, whom the churches tolerated becauſe they transformed themſelves into apoſtles of Chriſt: but who were really deceitful workers, preaching another Jeſus, another goſpel, another ſpirit, and like the ſerpent of paradiſe poiſoning innocence at its fountain head. If it be inquired, who are they? The anſwer is, They are Hebrews: ſo am I. They are Iſraelites: ſo am I. They are the ſons of Abraham: ſo am I. They are miniſters or ſervants of Chriſt: but I am more, for they are only ſuch in appearance, but I am ſo in reality. I preached to you freely, and did you ſervice: but theſe make a gain of you, and bring you into bondage to devour you. This ſubject runs through all the writings of the apoſtle of the Gentiles, and in one he informs the Galatians, that he withſtood Peter to the face, and blamed him becauſe he compelled by his own example the Gentiles to live as the Jews did; this, adds he, this is to build again the things we deſtroyed.

What is all church hiſtory but an account of people, who under the name of chriſtians lived as the Jews lived? Had the Jews a prieſthood? So had they. Had the Jews a prieſt of prieſts, an high prieſt? They had one in proſpect, and each aimed to be the man. Did the Jews keep the paſſover, and worſhip God by rituals? So did they. Had the Jews eccleſiaſtical courts? So had they. Were the Jews governed by traditions of elders? So were they. Had the Jews a temple, and an altar, and a ſacrifice? So had they. Did the Jews place religion in the performance of ceremonies and not in the practice of virtue? So did they. Have the Jews monopolized God, and hated all mankind except themſelves? So have they (8). There is no occaſion to ſearch for any other cauſe. This is equal to all the effects. Draw the attention of the mind from the ſeat of virtue within, and fix it on the ſhow without: no matter what it is, piety is interrupted, the exerciſe of virtue is ſuſpended, the mind is under a preparation to ſin, and the next ſtep is the actual commiſſion of it.

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(7) Hieronymi *Epiſt. lxxxv.* Evagrio. Et ut ſciamus traditiones apoſtolicas ſumptas de veteri teſtamento, quod Aaron et filii ejus, atque Levitæ, in templo fuerunt, hoc ſibi epiſcopi, et preſbyteri, et diaconi vindicent in eccleſia.

By ſlow degrees this jewiſh theology depraved the church, and ſubverted the primitive order by loſing the old idea of confederacy againſt vice, and by elevating the ſervants of the church into inſpectors, and watchmen, and guides, and maſters, and monarchs, who as they roſe ſunk the people in due proportion, firſt into careleſsneſs through confidence, next into inability through ignorance, and laſtly into the moſt abject ſlavery, when tyranny was played off for virtue, and to ſtamp the people into duſt and aſhes was the only method of acquiring diſtinction and wealth, honour, eaſe, and everlaſting reputation (9). On theſe piteous ruins roſe the ſaintſhip of Auſtin, and Cyprian, and Becket, and the theology converted theſe dregs of the world into oracles of God. It ſhould ſeem, the Africans, who never varied a tint from the old Carthaginian family likeneſs, were the firſt who imagined a chriſtian Aaron, an univerſal biſhop (1). Victor, biſhop of Rome, was an African, and he was the firſt biſhop, who preſumed to ſend an order to all the churches of Aſia to keep the paſſover when he did, for he kept it, forſooth, when Peter did. Polycrates biſhop of Epheſus ſent him word in the name of all the Aarons of Aſia, that they would not alter their cuſtom, for they kept the paſſover when

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(8) BOEHMERI *Juſ Eccles. tom. i. De Jure liturgico. cap. i.* . . . *Hiſt. du Droit public eccleſiaſtique Francois. tom i.* . . . JOANNIS SELDENI *De Synedriis. lib. i. cap.* 1. . . . GABRIELIS ALBASPINÆI *de veter. Eccles. ritibus obſervationes.* . . . MELCHIORIS GOLDASTI *Monarchia. Hanoviæ.* 1611.

(9) BOEHMER. *De Jure Liturg. tom. i. cap. i. ſ.* 11.

CHRYSOSTOMUS *Homil. xxxvii. ad Corinth. i.* Nihil æque ædificat, ut ordo rectus, ut pax, ut caritas, ſicut etiam contraria diruunt. Non ſolum autem in ſpiritualibus, ſed in omni re ſimiliter id videris. Nam ſive in choro, ſive in navigio, ſive in curru, ſive in caſtris ordinem confundas, majoribus ſuo loco emotis minora in eorum ordinem poſueris, omnia corrumpis, et ſic quæ ſunt ſupra fiunt infra.

(1) ANASTASII *de vitis Rom. pontif. cum notis Caroli Annibali Fabroti. Pariſiis.* 1649. *xv.* S. VICTOR. Victor, natione Afer, conſtituit ut S. Paſcha die dominico celebraretur. &c.

EUSEB. *Hiſt. lib. v. cap. xxii.* Et Joannes, qui ad pectus domini recubuit, et laminam ſacerdotalem geſtavit. &c.

John kept it, and John had not only laid his head on the boſom of the Lord, but alſo he was a prieſt, and had worn a ſacerdotal breaſt-plate. Victor with true African rage got together a few neighbouring Levites, held a meeting, which he named a council, and excommunicated all the biſhops of the eaſt. Cyprian, that other Carthaginian zealot, excommunicated Stephen biſhop of Rome, becauſe, truly, he would not rebaptize hereticks as the African ordered him (2). Stephen returned the compliment, and in this manner they curſed and combated till the Roman biſhop obtained the victory (3). If modern writers, who tax theſe men with rending and diſmembering the empire, would condeſcend to review the caſe, they would exonerate chriſtianity from the blame, and place their ſeditions to the account of ignorance caballing for dominion. Theſe men were not chriſtians, but proſelytes to judaiſm; not the peaceable followers of Jeſus, but the diſciples of Moſes, gone mad with enthuſiaſm for the honour and the power of Aaron. Let them ceaſe to diſgrace the religion of Jeſus. He was no prieſt, but was of another tribe. To characterize theſe petty tyrants truly, and to make a ſacrifice of them to the honour of the chriſtian religion, ought not to be conſidered as an inſult on modern popes, who deſerve to be reſpected for their rank as ſecular princes, for their birth as deſcending from the firſt families, or for their perſonal merit, as men of learning, taſte, juſtice, moderation, and ſo on. Theſe princes have a title to pontifical dominion riſing out of the conſtitution of the country, which they govern. What hath their condition to do with that of Cyprian and Victor, two obſcure provincials, having no ſecular authority, no learning, no genius for any thing except quibbling with God, and execrating their fellow creatures? The independence of the church on the ſtate is a very different ſubject in the mouths of theſe men from what it is in the mouths of chriſtians of the primitive ſort. The primitives only claimed a right to bind themſelves to abſtain from ſin: but theſe proſelytes claimed a right to commit all ſorts of crimes, under pretence of practiſing government.

John the baptiſt had come preaching virtue to make ready a people for the Lord: but theſe jewiſh chriſtians had been preaching up judaiſm to make the people ready for ſecular dominion. They had incorporated the whole of the old œconomy into their ſyſtem, which wanted nothing to complete it, except a David to fight the battles of the Lord. They had laid down a principle, the very worſt in the world, that the majority was always in the right, and on this, as on the ſand, they erected their hierarchy, denominated it THE CHURCH, and when the emperour Conſtantine eſpouſed the party, they ſet him on the top like a gilded ſtatue leſs to govern than to grace the building. They never loſt ſight of the primitive maxim, that civil government ought not to be exerciſed over the church: but they converted it into a monſtrous ſophiſm teeming with ten thouſand ills, one of which was the ſubverſion of the empire itſelf (4).

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(2) CYPRIANI *Epiſt.* . . . STEPHANI *Epiſt.*

(3) JACQUES BASNAGE Hiſt du patriarchat d'Alexandrie. . . . d' Antioche. . . . du dioceſe d'Afrique. . . . du dioceſe des Gaules. . . . de l'egliſe de Conſtantinople. . . . des dioceſes d'Italie.

It is to the honour of all the hereticks and ſchiſmaticks of the empire, that they bore a practical teſtimony againſt this eccleſiaſtical tyranny. By profeſſing themſelves chriſtians they diſowned the pontifical power of paganiſm: and by ſeparating from the great party of chriſtians they practically denied the pontifical dominion of judaiſm. This, it ſhould ſeem, is the true ground of all the ſlanders caſt upon them for denying the old teſtament, for execrating the god of the old œconomy, and for a thouſand other things of the ſame kind: all which, it is highly probable, meant no more than that they diſtinguiſhed order from government, approved of the firſt becauſe it provided for liberty of conſcience and the practice of virtue; and reſiſted the laſt becauſe it oppreſſed both merely to make room for enthuſiaſm, ſervitude, and prieſthood. Theſe parties exactly anſwer the definition, which the learned Boehmer gives of chriſtian churches (5). They were a ſort of colleges, an union of colleagues, having order, but no government, and aiming at none, and whoſe end in aſſociating was fully anſwered without any, and to whom had the emperour joined himſelf he would have been a chriſtian brother but nothing more. In the world he would have been adorned with the pomp of his civil office, and would have exerciſed the power intruſted to him by the ſtate; and in the church he would have taſted the pleaſures of devotion and friendſhip. He would have been an emperour in the world, and a chriſtian in the church: but not that motley character a chriſtian-emperour every where. It was the aſſumption of this character that generated ſo many misfortunes.

Theſe reflections lead to the third obſervation on the injuſtice and inconvenience of that condition, into which the jewiſh theology put the whole empire. The people of all deſcriptions, jews, pagans, catholicks, hereticks, all ſunk into a condition of ſervitude in all matters of religion and conſcience. Biſhops became the legiſlative power, and each biſhop of a city church exerciſed this authority in three diſtinct characters. At home in his own cathedral aſſiſted by a ſeſſion of clergy, whom he created and ſupported, he gave law to his church. In a provincial ſynod aſſiſted by other biſhops living within a diſtrict of ſecular diviſion he gave laws to all the province. In general councils he was one of a body that made laws for the whole empire. Over all in this period was the emperour, who preſided as high prieſt, or, as the emperour Conſtantine uſed to call himſelf, biſhop or ſuperintendent of the external affairs of the church, that is of this jewiſh party. In virtue of this office, old in name, and new in practice, the emperour defended the church, not the ſtate, ſuppreſſed enemies of the church, not thoſe of the empire, called councils, enforced the canons, placed and diſplaced prieſts, and became the executive power, not for the benefit of a free commonwealth but for the ſupport of a dangerous monopoly. Thouſands of volumes, ancient and modern, have been written to aſſort and conciliate this kind of government: but it can never be exonerated of the charge of inconvenience to two parties, and injuſtice to a third, whoſe intereſts are unnaturally ſeparated from thoſe of the other two (6).

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(4) PRIERATIS.... POLI.... SANDERI.... PICHII.... ALVAREZI.... VARGASII.... BELLARMINI.... BARONII.... BOZII.... PESANTII.... STAPLETONI.... GRETSERI.... COQUÆI.... *et ſimilium libros vide*.... Hoc ponit effatum BELLARM. Barclaius poteſtatem ſummi pontificis in temporalibus univerſe negat: ego quoque poteſtatem univerſe aſtruam, non multum laborans, ſi ea poteſtas ſit abſoluta, vel in ordine tantum ad ſpiritualia ſe extendat.

(5) BOEHMER. *Jus pub. univerſ. &c. Hal. Mag.* 1726. *lib. ii. cap. iv. v.*

The inconvenience of the condition, into which the two contracting parties, church and ſtate, or, more ſtrictly ſpeaking, emperours and biſhops had put themſelves by this alliance, is evident. Before this time emperours were not under any obligation to think of religion as they were ordered, and their reaſon and conſcience were free, and an emperour might chooſe his god and his ritual: but now it was underſtood that he was to obey the church in all matters of religion (7). This was extremely difficult, for the church was divided into two great factions, arian and trinitarian, that perſecuted each other with a mortal hatred: and it was curious enough to require the emperour to believe a point under examination, and which neither ſide had ſkill to determine. On the other hand the church was to obey the emperour in ſecular things: but this was a very difficult undertaking, for cathedrals and honours, and privileges, and endowments, and a thouſand other ſecular things were ſo cloſely connected with this kind of church, and ſo eſſential to its very exiſtence, that one abſolute emperour might ruin in an inſtant what another had cheriſhed for half

(6) CONSTANT. *mag. Imp. dictum ad patres concil. Nicæn.* A vobis habeo judicari.

VALENTINIANI *Imp. ad Suffragan. Eccles. Mediolan.* Talem in pontificali ſede (*in epiſcopatu Mediolanenſi*) conſtituere procuretis, cui et nos, qui gubernamus imperium, ſincere noſtra capita ſubmittamus, et ejus monita (cum tanquam homines deliquerimus) ſuſcipiamus neceſſario, velut medicamenta curantis.

ISIDOR. *Hiſpal.* Principes non ſunt ſupra eccleſiam, ſed intra.

Sic viciſſim papa imperatori tenetur ſubeſſe in rebus eccleſiæ exterioribus.

SYMMACHUS *papa ad* ANASTASIUM *imp.* Defer Deo in nobis: nos deferemus Deo in te.

PELAGIUS *papa ad* CHILDEBERTUM. *Reg. Franc.* Regibus nos ſubditos eſſe ſacræ ſcripturæ præcipiunt.

GREG. *Nazianz.* Simus ſubjecti et Deo, et invicem alter alteri, et terrenis principibus: Deo, propter omnia: alter alteri, propter dilectionem fraternam: principibus, propter ordinis recti conſervationem.

(7) *Hiſtor. Byzant. paſſim.* . . . *Hiſt. Auguſt. Imperator Roman. a* JUL. CÆSARE *uſque ad* JOSEPHUM *ex* JOAN. PET. LOTICHII *tetraſt.* . . . *et* JOAN. HOFMANNI *tetraſt. cum additamentis* HENRIC. CHRISTIAN. HENNINII. *Amſtel.* 1707. . . . CONSTANTINI M. *vita.* Conſtantinus magnus, licet a multis pæne in cœlum extollatur laudibus, fecit tamen, ſi verum ſine fuco amamus, multa, quæ boni principis famam deturbant. Lege obſerv. ſelectas, Halenſium ad rem literar. ſpectant. *tom. i. obſ. xxii.* Fides ſcriptorum vitæ Conſtant. M. *obſ. xxiii.* Fabulæ de parentibus Conſtant. M. *obſ. xxiv.* Fabulæ de Conſtant. M. et potiſſimum de ejus Chriſtianiſmo, &c.

JULIANI *Imp. vit.* Multæ fabulæ pia fraude ejus vitæ attextæ ſunt per imprudentes Chriſtianos ſæpe nimios ejus oſores. *vide* AMMIANI MARCELLINI *Hiſt.* . . . VALENTIS. . . . THEODOSII M. *vitas.*

a century (8). There is not an evil, that can blaſt ſociety, which is not contained in this fatal coalition. Out of theſe two abſolute powers in one kingdom riſe new crimes, new claims, new diſputes, a new order of men to inveſtigate them, new canons of law, new officers, new courts, new taxes, new puniſhments, a new world all in arms, animated with a fury that never ſlept, and never cooled till one party ſubdued the other into ſilence. There was no peace in any kingdom where this ſyſtem was adopted till either the prince diſarmed the prieſt, or the prieſt dethroned the prince. Really, to go through this period of hiſtory is to travel a moſt mortifying road, called the road to heaven too, all beſet with poignards and poiſons, all the way ſtained with the blood, and hung with the mangled limbs of the dead; for whoſe hard fate the traveller is forbid to ſhed a tear, becauſe they all periſhed for believing what ſome body ſaid was not true. It was an odd taſte that theſe people had. When one emperour fined, impriſoned, baniſhed, and butchered arians, the arians complained, but the orthodox bleſſed him for a ſaint. When another emperour fined, impriſoned, butchered, and burnt trinitarians, the orthodox mourned, but the arians opened rivers of eloquence in his praiſe. But when the juſt and gentle Julian came, and exhibited in his government every virtue, when he thought for himſelf and left the whole world to do ſo too, when he was adorned with every perſonal accompliſhment, when he quitted life without having given any one perſon cauſe to mourn except that he quitted it ſo ſoon, becauſe he headed neither party, and put off the purple unſtained with the blood of hereticks, both ſides agreed to execrate him as a diabolical apoſtate.

How wonderfully wiſe is the conſtruction of this world! How inſtructive the hiſtory of the riſe and the ruin of great empires! Many are the opinions of learned men on the origin of civil ſociety (9). If this ſubject be inveſtigated, as it ought to be, in true hiſtorical facts, it will appear very probable, that it originated with bad men, who being ſtrong ſubdued the weak for the ſake of living idly on the plunder. Cain, ſtained with his brother's blood, was the firſt who built a city. The mighty men before the flood were tyrants, oppreſſors, thieves, and robbers, who filled the earth with violence. Nimrod, as his name implies, was an inſolent captain of a band of robbers, and moſt nations make their firſt appearance as a banditti ſallying out under a leader to pillage and deſtroy. Abraham and the patriarchs affected no empire, but were ſtrangers in a ſtrange land, confederating with one another for purpoſes of piety, and with their neighbours for their own defence. The Roman empire began like others, and when it had arrived at its meridian love of dominion ſparkled in every eye and pervaded every breaſt, and even the vulgar Jews deſpiſed every idea of a Meſſiah, who could not conquer the Romans (9). When jewiſh chriſtians invented the farce of chriſtening Aaron, they hit on the only practicable method of obtaining power, and as the fable grew old it acquired reſpect, and brought forward firſt a partner, then a competitor, and laſtly a a tyrant over that mighty monarch, the Roman emperour himſelf. What would Julius Cæſar have ſaid, had he ſeen Ambroſe of Milan in the weſt put on a ſurplice, place himſelf at the door of a temple, forbid the emperour Theodoſius to enter, and oblige him to go home, and ſay his prayers, and cry, and be deſpiſed for eight months, and then reſtore him to favour by an incantation, by way of expiating the guilt of having ſuppreſſed a ſedition at Theſſalonica in the eaſt (1)? How would Cicero have felt had he heard the glorious eloquence of Cyprian (2)? How would Livy have read Euſebius, Epiphanius, and Irenæus? What would Pliny have thought of Jerom's epiſtles: or Brutus or Caſſius of the council of Nice, and the Juſtinian code of law? It was not religion alone, that felt the inconvenience of this miſerable polity: every art, every ſcience, every thing great and noble was neglected or oppoſed to make room for the levitical rites of Moſes and the principal prerogatives of Aaron, now metamorphoſed into the laws of the whole empire of Rome.

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(8) ANASTASII.... PLATINÆ..... LE COINTE. *Vitæ pontif. Roman.*... JORNANDIS *de regnorum ſucceſſione. xcix.* Hæ ſunt cauſæ Romanæ reipublicæ. Quæ ſi quis ſcire cupit, annales revolvat, et reperiet dignam noſtri temporis reipublicæ tragœdiam.

JACQUES BASNAGE *Hiſt. de l'egliſe. tom. i. liv. vii. chap. 2. L'egliſe Romaine s'eſt formée ſur l'idée de l'empire.*

(9) BOEHMERI *Jus pub. Partis Specialis, cap. i. De origine imperiorum civilium, ſ.* 11. Origines rerum ad res facti et hiſtoriam ſimul ſpectant, adeoque exinde primario origo civitatum fuiſſet petenda.

xiii. Teſte ſcriptura ſacra, Cainitæ improbi primi civitatum conditores fuerunt, &c.

xxii. Concludo, i. imperia ab initio non fuiſſe conſtituta ex *bono conſilio*, ſed ut vel eo tutius facinoroſi latrocinia exercere, vel libidini ſuæ imperandi ſatis facere poſſent.... ii. originem imperiorum deberi impiis et ejuſmodi hominibus, qui magis ab initio nocuerunt generi humano per ſuas reſpublicas quam profuere. Certe piis adſcribi origo imperiorum nequit. iii. ab initio quidem reſpublicas fuiſſe rudes et inordinatas, neque adeo amplas, ſuo tamen conſtitiſſe imperio: ſed ſucceſſu temporis per novas prædas accepiſſe incrementa, &c.

By this revolution a great many ſprings of injuſtice were opened, and, although they did not immediately flow down to all claſſes, yet after a while they overwhelmed jews and pagans, catholicks and hereticks in one wide-ſpreading inundation of iniquity. On this article three objects deſerve attention: the law itſelf; the application of it; and the whimſical ſprings, from which the whole miſchief proceeded.

To go at once to the fountain of all law, there are only two original rules of action, the law of nature, and that of revelation. The firſt is univerſal, eternal, and immutable, riſing out of the nature of things, which, becauſe they are, are under natural and neceſſary obligations. The laws of revelation are poſitive, and are to be obeyed preciſely as they are enjoined: thoſe given to individuals, by individuals, and by nobody elſe: thoſe given occaſionally, on thoſe occaſions, and on no other in the world: thoſe given to the Jews, by the Jews, and by no other people under heaven: thoſe given for a time, for that period, and for no other: thoſe given to the apoſtles, by the apoſtles, who have no ſucceſſors: and thoſe given to all chriſtians, by all chriſtians, and for the reaſons aſſigned by the lawgiver, and for no other in the world.

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(9) Si per omnia iveris ſæcula regnorum præcipuorum ortus et incrementa perluſtrans, vim et latrocinia potentiæ initia fuiſſe apparebit.... Ambitio nihil magis appetit quam imperandi occaſionem. Themiſtocles ex inſana ſuperbia ſe ad imperandum natum prædicabat. Jaſon ſuam vicem deplorabat, quod non regnaret. Cæſaris dictum fuit: ſi violandum eſt jus, imperii gratia violandum: aliis rebus pietatem colas. Unde tot prælia, et bella, quam ex libidine imperandi nata leguntur? Neque aliunde bellorum civilium in republica romana cauſam quærere licet.

(1) AMBROSII *Serm. De exceſſu Theod.*... DU FRESNE *Hiſt. Famil. Byzant.*

(2) HIERON. *Catal. Script. Eccles.* Cyprianus Afer primum glorioſe rhetoricam docuit.... Hujus ingenii ſuperfluum eſt indicem texere, cum ſole clariora ſint ejus opera.

In ſurveying the rule of action in the Roman empire, the whole maſs is to be divided into the two parts of civil, and canon law. Roman civil law was a collection of ſix kinds of laws into one body. The firſt were the conſtitutions of the ancient kings of Rome. The ſecond were the twelve tables of the decemviri. The third were the ſtatutes enacted by the ſenate or the people. The fourth were the edicts of the prætors. The fifth the reſponſa prudentum, or the opinions of learned lawyers: and the ſixth the conſtitutions of ſucceſſive emperours. To all theſe ought to be added the laws of ſome of the provinces, which had originated with themſelves, and by which after they became provinces of the empire the Romans allowed them to be governed. All theſe laws together made one body of amazing bulk, and the inconvenience was ſo great, that the emperour Theodoſius, in the year four hundred and thirty-eight, ordered one methodical code to be compiled, and received in all the weſtern empire as the only authentic civil law then in force. About an hundred years after, 533, the emperour Juſtinian, who governed the eaſtern branch of the empire, ordered Tribonian and proper aſſiſtants to compile the preſent body of civil law, called the Juſtinian code. This conſiſts of four parts. The firſt is named inſtitutes, becauſe it contains the elements or firſt principles of the Roman law, in four books. The ſecond part conſiſts of fifty books, called digeſts or pandects, in other words, opinions of eminent lawyers. The third is a collection of imperial conſtitutions in a new code, as that of Theodoſius had become obſolete. The laſt part is denominated novels, that is, new decrees and conſtitutions of ſucceſſive emperours on new queſtions. Reſcripts in theſe laws are anſwers given by emperours to doubtful queſtions on the ſenſe of a law, which ſometimes the obſcurity of that, and at other times ſelf intereſt and hope of the rewards of flattery urged court lawyers to propoſe. Theſe ſcraps given in haſte with a pencil had the force of perpetual law, and a little knowledge of imperial courts tempts obſervers to ſuppoſe, that the leaſt capable emperours were moſt applied to for opinions in reſcripts on difficult queſtions in law.

Roman canon law conſiſts of five claſſes of eccleſiaſtical conſtitutions. Before the council of Nice, which was held in the fourth century, there was, ſtrictly ſpeaking, no ſuch thing as canon law in the church. Church officers, indeed, had aſſembled together, and debated points, and determined rules. They had called the aſſemblies councils, and the rules canons, and ſeveral haughty churches had reſolved to hold no common union with ſuch as ſhould refuſe to regulate their religion by theſe canons: but as the civil power did not interfere none of theſe had any force of law. The utmoſt they could effect was only a local inconvenience, which is at an infinite diſtance from a legal diſability. Canons are not law till government makes them ſo. Thoſe of the firſt ages had not even the force of what are now called by laws, for chriſtians as a corporation had no political exiſtence at all, and conſequently could do nothing.

The firſt code of Roman canon law is called the decrees of Gratian. Gratian was an Italian monk, who, about the year eleven hundred and fifty-one, compiled in three books a body of eccleſiaſtical conſtitutions, conſiſting of the opinions of the ancient latin fathers, the decrees of general councils, and the decretal epiſtles and bulls of the popes, down to the time of Alexander III. Papal epiſtles and bulls are preciſely the ſame as the reſcripts of the emperours, and like them have the force of perpetual law. About one hundred years after came the ſecond claſs in five books, called the decretals of Gregory. Theſe were compiled under the direction of pope Gregory IX. and conſiſt of the decrees of popes from Alexander III. to the then preſent time. About ſixty years after Boniface VIII. added another book to the five laſt mentioned, it is therefore called the ſixth decretal, and makes a third claſs of laws. The next contains the decrees of pope Clement V. and are called the Clementine conſtitutions: and the laſt are called the extravagants of John XXII. and his ſucceſſors, anſwering to the novels of the civil law. To all theſe are to be added provincial conſtitutions made by archbiſhops for the regulation of their own provinces: and legatine conſtitutions enacted in national ſynods held under cardinal legates, or ſpiritual ambaſſadors of the pope. The ſix firſt form the body of the Roman canon law; the two laſt are a ſort of by laws; the whole is a ſyſtem of ignorance, injuſtice, and cruelty: a body of high treaſon againſt the conſciences and rights of mankind.

This impious code of canon law ſapped government, undermined civil law, and in the end roſe to ſuch a degree of arrogance as openly to declare that emperours and kings ceaſed to be lawful governours, when they refuſed to ſubmit to canon law, and might and ought to be excommunicated, dethroned and deſtroyed (3). The moment an emperour was excommunicated all obligations

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(3) Gilberti Genebrandi *de juſta reip. Chriſt. in reges impios et hæret. poteſtate Tract.* .... Antonii Ricciulli. *De jure perſonar. extra gremium eccles. conſtitut. lib. iv.*

Gregorii VII. *c. xv. q.* 6. Nos ſanctorum prædeceſſorum noſtrorum ſtatuta tenentes, eos, qui excommunicatis fidelitate aut ſacramento conſtricti ſunt, Apoſtolica autoritate, a ſacramento abſolvimus: et ne eis fidelitatem obſervent, omnibus modis prohibemus, quouſque ipſi ad ſatisfactionem veniant.

Urbani II. *c. v.* Juratos milites Hugoni comiti, ne ipſi, quamdiu excommunicatus eſt, ſerviant, tions to him were null and void. There is in the royal library at Berlin a beautiful manuſcript copy of Gratian's book, written in the thirteenth century, and illuminated (4). The firſt letter of the book is H. In the upper compartment a pope is depicted. His right hand is lifted up, and the two fore fingers are ſtretched out as they are when a prelate gives his benediction. In his left hand he holds a label hanging down to the lower compartment. In that, the lower part of the letter, an emperour is repreſented holding in his right hand a ſword, and with his left laying hold of the label which the pope lets down. On this curious ſcroll are theſe words ſuppoſed to be ſpoken by him above to him below.

I am king of kings. My law is the ſupreme law.
I make you a king. See that you reſpect this juſt law.

The meaning of all this is: you are a king as long as you ſubmit to canon law, that is, ſays an expoſitor, to the orders of the clergy. The principal author of all this horrible ſyſtem was that bleſſed African ſaint, Auguſtine (5). Had Hannibal been a prophet, he would have enjoyed the proſpect.

Both theſe codes of law, civil and canon, however highly they have been extolled, are founded, in regard to religion on falſe principles, manifeſtly unjuſt (6). The civil law pretends to regulate religion, on the ground of poſſeſſing the ſoil: and the canon law under pretence that Jeſus gave prieſts what they call the keys, or power of binding and looſing (7). Nothing can be leſs true, for none were baptized by the apoſtles into the profeſſion of the chriſtian religion, except ſuch as freely received the word (8). Both codes are oppreſſive

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ſerviant, prohibeto. Qui ſi ſacramenta prætenderint, moneantur, oportere Deo magis ſervire, quam hominibus. Fidelitatem enim, quam chriſtiano principi jurarunt, Deo ejuſque ſanctis adverſanti, et eorum præcepta calcanti, nulla cohibentur autoritate perſolvere.

(4) J. H. Boehmeri *Jus publicum.* Talis eſt prima litera codicis decretorum Gratiani in membrana, manu elegante, cum gloſſis Bartholomæi Brixienſis. Ipſe codex eſt ſeculi xiii.

Rex ego ſum regum. Lex eſt mea maxima legum.
Te facio regem. Tu rectam dilige legem.

Oſtenditur, reges tam diu reges eſſe, quamdiu *rectam* diligant *legem*: h. e. cleri romani placita.

(5) Ejusdem. *Jus Eccles. tom. v. lib. v. tit. xxxix. ſ. xxi.*

(6) Ibid. *tom. ii. diſſert. prælim.*

(7) Cujus eſt regio, ejus eſt religio.

Augustinus *apud* Gratianum. *c. vi. c. xxiv. q.* 1. Petrus quando claves accepit, eccleſiam ſanctam ſignificavit.

(8) Boehm. *ut ſup.* Hanc doctrinam libertatis conſcientiæ ſcripturæ ſacræ conformem eſſe, tum praxis Chriſti et apoſtolica, tum ipſa doctrina in ſacris propoſita aperte docet. Non alii baptizabantur, quam qui *ασμενως*, *libenter*, verbum Chriſti accipiebant. Act. ii. 41. Chriſtus ipſe doctrina, quæ omnem coactionem reſpuit, Judeos convincebat, non implorabat brachium ſæculare, nec obtorto collo eos ad veram fidem rapiebat, ſed manſuete, placide, et ſumma cum humanitate agebat.

in an extreme, and the crime called hereſy, which is a differing from the domineering party, was puniſhed with an excluſion from all civil rights. Hereticks could make no wills: nor acquire any thing by the teſtaments of others. They could not be admitted to any dignities, offices or communities. They could not avail themſelves of any courts, or derive any benefit from laws. Their friends could not obtain decent burial for them. They were expoſed to popular contempt and hatred; in ſome caſes to baniſhment, in others to impriſonment, confiſcation of property, and ignominious deaths. Could any man conceive that proteſtants ſhould plead for this ſyſtem of compulſion to be practiſed in reformed churches? It is too true, ſome have done ſo (9).

The application of this theory to actual practice forms of itſelf a voluminous hiſtory (1). There was no order of men, except prieſts, on whom the heavy ſtrokes of this juriſprudence did not fall. Arcadius emperour of the eaſt, Theodoſius emperour of the weſt, ſucceeding emperours of Germany, kings of England and France, and all others were brought to ſubmiſſion by theſe means. Civil wars that deluged the world with blood were excited in the ſacred names of God and Chriſt. It was impoſſible hereticks ſhould eſcape, for the canoniſts expounded every law ſo as to include men of every deſcription. Gratian found ſixty-nine in one law (2). At firſt Donatiſts, Novatians and others were allowed churches, chapels, oratories and houſes, in which they met and worſhipped God: the emperour Valentinian took no ſide (3). Julian, who had no objection againſt virtue, though he had ſtrong objections againſt luxury and tyranny, encouraged the Puritans, while he checked the career of the catholicks (4). Conſtantine had made exorbitant grants from the crown to the church. Julian very wiſely reſumed them; and humourouſly told the clergy, that he only did ſo to relieve them from incumbrances needleſs and even dangerous to gentlemen who were all bound for heaven. In proceſs of time all places of worſhip were taken from hereticks, and they puniſhed for holding conventicles, though they held them in foreſts and dens and caves of the earth. The ruling party declared themſelves the only chriſtians, for they believed the trinity, and all the reſt were hereticks bound over to preſent and eternal perdition (5). In ſpite of all this, thouſands ſet all penalties at defiance, and lived and died, as their own underſtandings and conſciences commanded them, in the practice of hereſy and ſchiſm. At firſt ſight it muſt appear very ſtrange that both ſides ſhould affirm, they acted under the direction of ſcripture; for could the ſame book order prieſts to command, and people not to obey? On a nearer view nothing in the world is more eaſily accounted for. One party took the jewiſh ſcriptures for a rule of life, a code of law: the other acted according to the new teſtament, which informed them that the jewiſh œconomy had anſwered its end and was aboliſhed as a rule of living to chriſtians. When the domineering party found this out, they took away the book, declared the laity, however learned, could not underſtand it, and, as hereſies always proceeded from debating about the ſenſe of ſcripture, a law was made to puniſh all, who durſt diſpute on ſuch ſubjects. What a cluſter of bleſſings was ordination to prieſthood: it elevated a wretch or a beggar to the rank of a prince, and the reputation of a ſaint.

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(9) Joannis Fechtii *de excom. eccles. ſ. vii.*... Beza *de excommunicatione.*... Calvini *de hæret. puniendis.*

(1) S. Chrysostomi *vita.*... S. Amarosii *vita.*... Jacques Basnage *hiſt. de l'egliſe. Excommunication des princes.*... Henrici Whartonii *Anglia ſacra.*... Hume's *hiſt. of Eng.*

(2) *C. xxxix. q. 3.*... *Cod. Theodos. Manichæi.*... Boehmeri *Jus eccles. tom. iv. lib. v. tit. vii. de hæreticis.*

(3) *Cod. lib. i. tit. v. De hæret. Lex. iii.* Cuncti hæretici procul dubio noverint omnia ſibi loca adimenda eſſe: ſive ſub eccleſiarum nomine teneantur, ſive diaconica appellentur, vel etiam decanica, ſive in privatis ædibus, vel locis hujuſmodi coetibus copiam præbere videantur, &c. &c.

(4) Ammianus Marcellinus.

(5) Annibalis Fabroti Βασιλικων. *Cod. lib. i. tit. i. De ſumma trinitate, et fide catholica, et ut neme de ea publice contendere audeat.*

Impp.

Theſe fantaſtical laws, fitter for deriſion than refutation, which made the mightieſt monarchs bow, ſeem to contain the very eſſence of malice: and yet many of them originated in whim (6).

There is a tale, relative to this ſubject, very likely to be true (7). It is told

as

Impp. Gratianus, Valentinianus, *et* **Theodosius. A. A. A.** *ad populum.*

Volumus---Cunctos populos, quos clementiæ noſtræ regit imperium in tali religione verſari, quam divinum Petrum Apoſtolum Romanis tradidiſſe religio uſque adhuc ab ipſo inſinuata prædicat: quam Pontifex Damaſus ejuſdem ſucceſſor ſequitur, et Petrus Alexandriæ epiſcopus, vir apoſtolicæ ſanctitatis: hoc eſt, ut ſecundum apoſtolicam traditionem, evangelicamque doctrinam patris, et filii, et ſpiritus ſancti unam deitatem ſub pari Eſſentia et indiviſa trinitate credamus.

Jubemus.----Hanc legem ſequentes, chriſtianorum catholicorum nomen amplecti. Reliquos vero dementes, veſanoſque judicantes hæreticorum dogmatum infamiam ſuſtinere, divina primum vindicta, poſt etiam motus noſtri, quem ex cœleſti arbitrio ſumpſerimus, ultione plectendos.

Lex ii. Nullus hæreticis myſteriorum [*miniſteriorum*] locus, nulla ad exercendam illiciti eorum conventus dementiam pateat occaſio. Sciant autem omnes, etiamſi quis ex hujuſmodi hominum genere principali reſcripto per fraudem elicito conveniendi licentiam impetraverit, non valere: unius et ſummi Dei nomen ubique celebretur. Nicena fides dudum a majoribus tradita, et divino ac religioſo teſtimonio, atque divina ſanctione firmata, obſervantia ſemper manſura teneat.... Qui vero iiſdem non inſerviunt, deſinant doloſa affectatione alienum veræ religionis nomen aſſumere, et ſuis apertius criminibus denotentur, et ab omni eccleſiæ limine ſubmoti penitus arceantur, una cum omnibus hæreticis, illicitas vero congregationes intra urbem agere vetamus: ac ſi quis tumultum excitare tentaverit, ab ipſis etiam urbis mœnibus hunc exitiali furore propelli jubemus, ut cunctis orthodoxis epiſcopis, qui Nicænam fidem tenent, eccleſia catholica toto orbe reddatur.

F. Pinsonii *notæ*. Hæc lex promulgata eſt anno Chriſti 382. de qua et vide **Theod.** *lib. iv. cap. viii.* Filia eſt primogenita, aiunt, et ab omnibus interpretibus dotata.

(6) **Boehmeri** *Jus Eccles. tom. v. lib. v. tit. xxxix. ſ. xli.* Tædet alia addere. Ipſa argumenta et exempla tam inania ſunt, ut ad Lydium lapidem revocata per ſe ſine ullo negotio corruant, irriſione quam refutatione digniora. Et tamen his ſimilibuſque inermibus fulcris fundata fuit poteſtas excommunicandi ſummos imperatores.

(7) **Theodor.** *Hiſt. eccles. lib. iv. cap. xv. De* **Amphilochio** *Epiſcopo Iconii*...**Sozomeni**

Hiſt.

as uſual very differently: but the ſubſtance is this. Hereticks abounded in the reign of Theodoſius, and particularly Arians were very numerous. The emperour could not be prevailed on by his ſpiritual counſellors to ſuppreſs them by law. One day the biſhops went to court to pay their reſpects to his imperial majeſty. His ſon Arcadius ſat by him. There went among the reſt a ſimple rude old biſhop, named Amphilochius. He was not remarkable for any kind of knowledge except that of the trinity, in which he was deeply verſed: nor for any feelings except thoſe of zeal for orthodoxy. When he was admitted into the emperour's preſence, he ſaluted his majeſty as his brethren had ſet him an example, but he either took no notice of the prince, or behaved rudely to him. Theodoſius was offended, and ordered him to be turned out. What! exclaimed the old man, are you affronted, Cæſar, becauſe I did not honour the ſon as I honoured the father! Aſſure yourſelf, almighty God abhors ſuch blaſphemers as do not honour his only begotten ſon as they honour him. Theodoſius was ſo ſtruck with this wonderful diſcovery that he applauded Amphilochius, iſſued an edict to ſuppreſs the Arians, and all the orthodox boaſted of their colleague, and gave God the glory.

The ſtyle in which theſe righteous men carried on their traffick in human blood is whimſical and capricious. Nothing is more common with eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians than to laviſh praiſe on the eloquence, the glorious eloquence of the fathers (8). Saint Cyprian was a man of the moſt eminent abilities and flowing eloquence. The ſtyle of Saint Ambroſe was not deſtitute of elegance. Saint Jerom was a man of illuſtrious merit, and his name will be handed down with honour to the lateſt poſterity. The fame of Saint Auguſtine filled the whole chriſtian world. A ſublime genius diſtinguiſhed this illuſtrious man. And how many centuries more are mankind to be inſulted with ſuch intolerable bombaſt! It is a very ſuperficial recompenſe to add, as the ſame writers do, that Saint Auguſtine was paſſionate and often unintelligible, and Saint Jerom was powerfully foulmouthed. The greek fathers were really great men, and with all their foibles diſcovered both talents and virtue: but the latin fathers are below contempt, and it is a cruel abuſe of language to hold ſuch men up for patterns of either piety or eloquence. Their piety was an inſatiable luſt for dominion, attended with a cool barbarity: and their pretended eloquence is an hyperbolical abuſe of all the figures, and a violation of all the rules of good compoſition. They are remarkably defective in the two chief qualities of eloquence, truth and per-

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Hiſt. Eccles. lib. vii. cap. vi. De libertate S. AMPHILOCHII. Delectatus hoc dicto imperator, ſenem revocat: et veniam precatus, vere illum locutum eſſe confitetur. Firmior itaque factus, eos qui ab hoc diverſum ſentirent non admiſit: contentiones etiam et conventiones in foro habere vetuit: et ut de eſſentia ac natura Dei ſolito more diſputare tutum deinceps non eſſet, effecit, lata in eam rem lege, et conſtituta pœna.

(8) MOSHEIM'S *Eccles. Hiſt. vol. i.* . . . DU PIN *Bibliot. cent. iii. iv.* . . . *Vitæ* AUG. . . . AMB. . . . CYP. . . . HIERON. &c.

ſpicuity. Almoſt all the language, in which the cruel codes of law now in view were conceived and defended, was taken from theſe maſters of ſtyle.

The moſt unwiſe thing that ever was done with ſpiritual eloquence was to make law of it. When it affected the lives and properties of citizens it neceſſarily went into briefs and pleadings, and while eccleſiaſtical courts confined it within their own juriſdiction all told very plauſibly, and thouſands were ruined becauſe Saint Auguſtine was an orator.

But the injuſtice and inconvenience was felt in all governments, where it was admitted, and in England the inhabitants diſcovered as much fear of prieſthood as they did of hereſy. In times very remote the lords of manors annexed to lands of villenage-tenure among others this condition, that the tenants ſhould not filios coronare, make their ſons prieſts, on which occaſion their crowns were ſhaved, without the lord's conſent (9). Before the reformation, when the juſtices and the lords of manors were obliged through the influence of the church to aid in detecting hereſy, they took care at the ſame time to watch againſt the increaſe of clerical tyranny. In the beginning of the ſixteenth century the firſt charge of a juſtice of the peace was: "Ye ſhall enquyre of heretykes and lollardes, and ſuche as kepe erronyous opynyons, teche and preche the ſame, contrarye to the fayth and lawes of the chyrche, or kepe ony ſcolers therof in hurte and prejudyce of the fayth, ye ſhal do us to wete of theyr names (1)." Yet another charge was "Ye ſhal enquyre of all extorcyons done by ordynares, and yf he drawe the kynges people in to the ſpyrytual courtes for cauſe that ſholde be determined in the kynges courtes." In like manner in courts baron the ſteward was directed to ſay to the jury: "Ye good men that ben ſworne ye ſhall enquyre, and truly preſent of all lollardes, yf there be ony amonge you, and of there ſcoles, ye ſhall do us to wete. . . Alſo yf there be ony bondemen of blode that putteth his ſone unto the ſcole to make hym a preeſt wythout leve, ye ſhall do us to wete." No government is free where the people are conſidered as property: but in all ſtates where the Roman law was admitted they neceſſarily became diſputed property. Diſputed rights produced laws, courts, officers, violence to oppoſe violence, fraud and force now in oppoſition, then in union, and the hiſtories of all ſuch kingdoms exhibit innumerable evils flowing from the claims, like rivulets from ſprings, till uniting in one great maſs they roll along a rapid and irreſiſtible tyranny ſpreading on all ſides deſolation and tempting powerful adjacent plunderers to avail themſelves of the diſtreſſes, and bring all under ſubjection.

The reformation may be more properly ſaid to have expoſed the evil than to have cured it, for it was out of this maſs of inſignificance, abſurdity and cruelty, called civil and canon law, that many proteſtants derived their maxims of church government. In all ſuch churches there is a ſtandard of ſpeculative theology called orthodoxy, and of courſe a crime called hereſy, and even ſuſpected hereſy (2). Merit and demerit are affixed to modes of thinking, and virtue alone and unconnected with them is not a title either to reward or eſteem. Unhappily for the credit of this ſyſtem, the beſt chriſtians lived before it was formed, and it hath been proved by the wiſeſt of men to create the crimes, which it pretends to prevent, and in all good modern governments it hath been found neceſſary to let it ſink into diſuſe.

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(9) Tho. Blount's *Antient tenures of lands, and jocular cuſtoms of ſome manors.* London 1679. *page* 20. *Brayles. in com. Warwic. temp.* Edw. i.

(1) *The Boke of Juſtyces of peas. The charge with all the proceſſe of the Ceſſyons. . . . Enprynted at London in Fleteſtreete at the ſygne of the Roſe garlande by Robert coplande In the yere of our lorde mccccc et xv.*

Without going to the bottom, and laying a ſubſtantial ground of true and real juſtice, there is no durable ſafety. Relief obtained by accidents is certainly better than uniform oppreſſion, but there is as much difference between conſtitutional freedom and liberty by accident as there is between a ſtate of uniform health riſing out of a firm conſtitution, and the condition of a man in a high fever, of whom it can only be ſaid his fever intermits. While any thing is hereſy, a ſet of orators will deſcribe it, and with many deſcription is confounded with argument, and declamation, figurative declamation too, goes for proof. That divine man, profeſſor Boehmer, inveſtigates the ſubject with ſingular accuracy, and, ſuperiour to every improper emotion, ſeaſons the moſt ſevere reaſoning with incomparable point and humour (3). " The atrociouſneſs of hereſy, ſays he, is proved by various deſcriptions of the crime. By orthodoxy is to be underſtood whatever the ruling party pleaſe to ſay: and by hereſy a differing from it. The chief point is, that the biſhop of Rome, who is the center of unity, is infallible. The church hath declared this an article of faith. This is very prudent, for if this be granted the reſt follows of courſe. To doubt this is hereſy: and hereticks are monſters. They may very properly be called traitors to God. They are Antichriſt, the apocalyptical beaſt, who come up to attack the ſaints. Who would think it: The jewiſh church was a type of the catholick church of Chriſt: and Tyre and Sidon, and all the enemies of the Jews mentioned by Joel and Zechariah and Jeremiah, and all other prophets were types of hereticks. Hereticks were prefigured by Samſon's three hundred foxes, which is exactly the number of hereticks. The qualities of both are the ſame: the fox is fair and fraudful, ſo are hereticks; the fox deceives with his tail, hereticks do the ſame with their tongues; the fox loves poultry, and chickens are in imminent danger when they wander from the hen, as laymen are when they wander from their mother the church. Hereticks are Gog and Magog; the number of them is as the ſand of the ſea, they go out by the inſtigation of the devil to deceive the nations in the four quarters of the earth, and gather together to battle againſt the camp of the ſaints. What need many words? Hereticks and ſchiſmaticks are worſe than pagans and jews and the ſoldiers that killed Chriſt: all which is clear to a demonſtration from the words of Solomon, the wiſeſt of men, who denominates heathens dogs, and hereticks lions, and ſays, a living dog is better than a dead lion." This proving by deſcribing, this is the eloquence, the flowing eloquence of the pulpit; eloquence that wakes the dead, and makes Beelzebub run raving mad, but, ſo extremely are ſome men depraved by Adam's fall, it affects lawyers no more than the gabbling of a gooſe, becauſe, they pretend, hereſy is an undefined and an undefinable crime, and they ſay in a virtuous government it is no crime at all.

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(2) *Jus Eccles. tom. iv. lib. v. tit. vii. De hæreticis. ſ. iii. Atrocitas hujus criminis ex ſententiæ juris canonici, et variis locis ſcripturæ S. repræſentata.*

BALSAMON.... ARNULPHUS.... Monſtra.

M. A. DONATUS.... proditores Dei.

HUMBERTUS CARD....Vulpes Simſonis. Eccleſia recte gallinæ æquiparetur.

ALII... Gog... Magog... pejor et execrabilior hæreticus vel ſchiſmaticus paganis, Judæis, militibus. &c. Quid quæris? Ne hoc ſine ratione dictum credas, en in promptu teſtimonium Salomonis, melior eſt canis vivus leone mortuo, canem vivum apellant gentilem, et leonem mortuum hæreticum, ut ait Hugo Floriacenſis... Audiamus ergo: Quid ſit hæreſis?

(3) ANSELMI DANDINI *de ſuſpectis de hæreſi. lib. i. Romæ.*

JOAN. CALVINI *de hæreticis, a civili magiſtratu puniendis. tractat.*

LUTHERI, *et* BRENTII, ALIORUMQUE *multorum tum veterum tum recentiorum ſententiæ de hæreticis, an ſint perſequendi, et omnino quomodo ſit cum eis agendum. Magdeburgi.* 1554.

THEOD. BEZÆ *De excommunicatione tract... ejuſd. epiſt.* DUDITHIO.

BOEHMERI *de hæretificatione tom. iv. pag.* 806. 816.... *De ſchiſmaticis. p.* 1074.

A few remarks on baptiſm conclude this period. The revolution in government affected this ordinance, and out of new circumſtances roſe new modes of acting, which repetition converted into cuſtoms, and which time confirmed, till at length the whole acquired a ſettled form, which in after ages was eſtabliſhed by law. It was in this period that baptiſm was houſed. Before, it had generally been adminiſtered in rivers and ponds, or occaſionally in baths, but now baptiſteries were erected (4). The baptiſteries of this period were octagon buildings with ponds in the middle, into which they deſcended by ſteps. The octagon was a favourite form of building with the ancient Gauls, and father Montfaucon hath deſcribed ſeven ſuch temples, the moſt perfect of which is that at Montmorillon in Poictou (5). This learned antiquary conjectured

that

(4) Boehmeri *Jus Eccles. tom. iii. lib iii. tit. xlii. ſect. xxiv. xxxi.* Locus conferendi baptiſmum non erat eccleſia, ſed flumen, in quo præſentibus quibuſdam immergebantur. . . Sæculo iii. in fluminibus, lacu, vel aliis aquis publicis mergerentur chriſtiani, et ſtatim ad eum locum, quo erant congregati fratres, adducerentur. . . . Baptiſteria ſæculo demum iv. exſtructa erant et in majoribus eccleſiis introducta.

(5) B. de Montfaucon *Supplem. au liv de l'Antiquite. tom. xii. A Paris.* 1724. *lib. viii. Les Temples des Gaulois. chap. ii. Les temples octogones.* Verſus qui Mediolani ad fontem S. Theclæ legebantur.

Octachorum ſanctos templum ſurrexit in uſus;
  Octagonus fons eſt munere dignus eo.
Hoc numero decuit ſacri baptiſmatis aulam
  Surgere, quo populis vera ſalus rediit.

Libenter

that the octagon baptiſtery of S. Thecla at Milan had been a temple of the Ciſalpine Gauls before it was converted into a baptiſtery: but, however that might be, it is certain, there was in thoſe times an octagon baptiſtery at Milan, and Milan was then the reſidence of the biſhop of Italy, and moſt likely gave all Italy a taſte for octagon baptiſteries. The form is preſerved in little pariſh church fonts to this day.

This ſimple circumſtance, probably without any intention, altered the whole affair of baptiſm. The houſe and the pond were property, the owner of the property became inſenſibly maſter of the ordinance. It was no longer adminiſtered promiſcuouſly as it had been by any body: but by the ſuperintendent, the biſhop (6). Witneſſes were no longer neceſſary to atteſt the fact to the church; for the whole church now having a comfortable building to aſſemble in, and no fear of perſecution, could attend at the adminiſtration. Now aſſiſtants attended for new reaſons, and as the old name of ſponſors remained, a ſort of ſponſion was imagined and affixed to the aſſiſtants. Now white garments for decency, and garlands for feſtivity, and milk, and unguents, and preſents, and many other articles for refreſhment, came in. Now the time became ſtated to Eaſter and Whitſuntide, and of conſequence the preparation by catechiſing, praying, preaching, croſſing, exorciſing, and ſo on. It ought to be remembered, that none of theſe alterations affected hereticks, who were not included in the church. It hath been elſewhere obſerved that all the modern rites of infant baptiſm are nothing but the cuſtoms of adult baptiſm in peculiar circumſtances applied to infants.

It doth not appear, that any alteration was made by any perſon in this period in the mode of baptizing. All continued to dip, and moſt practiſed trine immerſion. Some gentlemen have ſuſpected that Eunomius wetted partially, becauſe Epiphanius relates a tale of a covert baptiſm in a laver; but he is not a ſafe guide, and lavers were houſe bathing tubs. Better hiſtorians ſay, the Eunomians adminiſtered baptiſm by immerſion; and this is highly credible, for the Greeks never did adminiſter baptiſm any other way than by dipping (7).

Libenter crederem hic de templo octogono agi, quod forte a Ciſalpinis Gallis olim ſtructum fuerit; quodque ab illo deinceps ævo in eccleſiam converſum ſit. . . . Illud vero certum eſt, hoc baptiſterium octogonum fuiſſe, ſic forte conſtructum ad normam templi veteris gallici. Baptiſterium quoque Ravennæ octangulum eſt, octangula etiam piſcina in medio ejus poſita. Octogonum etiam eſt baptiſterium Conſtantini Romæ.

(6) BOEHMERI. *Jus. eccles. Diſſert. x. ad Plin. ii. et Tertull. De jure dandi baptiſmum. Vide plura in ejuſdem Jur. eccleſ. tom. iii. lib iii. tit. xlii. De baptiſmo, et ejus effectu.*

(7) ANASTASII *Bibliothecar. hiſt. Eccles. cum notis* ANNIBALIS FABROTI. *Pariſiis* 1649. *An.* 366. impius Eunomius præſumpſit in una merſione baptiſma celebrare, non in trinitate, ſed in morte Chriſti oportere baptizare dicens, et eos qui in trinitate baptizati erant, rebaptizabat.

CONCIL. CONSTANT. *i. Cant. vii.* Atqui Eunomianos, qui in unam demerſionem Εις μιαν Καλαδυσιν baptizantur . . . ut Græcos admittimus . . . Eos catechizamus, et tunc baptizamus.

The principal alteration was made by Auguſtine in Africa, and Innocent the firſt at Rome, who adminiſtered baptiſm to new-born infants. Auguſtine procured a provincial canon to enjoin this kind of baptiſm in a part of Africa in the autumn of the year four hundred and ſixteen, ſome ſay eighteen. In the ſpring of the next year Innocent wrote a letter to Auguſtine to ſignify his approbation of what was done (8). The ſame Innocent very conſiſtently introduced infant-communion. This grew out of infant baptiſm, as that did out of original ſin: and if there be ſuch a thing as original ſin in the ſenſe of theſe innovators; and if water can waſh it away; it was certainly a great amendment, and one that Jeſus with all his wiſdom and compaſſion did not think to appoint.

On the twenty-third of Auguſt in the year four hundred and ſeventy-ſix a period was put to the weſtern empire of Rome, and the kingdom of Italy began in the perſon of Odoacer king of the Heruli, or as ſome call him king of the Turcilingi, or as others, king of the Goths (1). A ſpace of about three hundred years follows, at the expiration of which the emperour Charlemagne put an end to the kingdom of Italy by ſubduing the Lombards. A ſlight ſurvey of four ſubjects ſeems ſufficient. Firſt, the general ſtate of the empire. Next the particular circumſtances of Rome. Then the condition of free thinkers: and finally the ſtate of baptiſm.

Firſt, what had been till now the weſtern empire reſembled the eſtate of a great man, who had died inteſtate, and without iſſue, with this difference, the one conteſt would be ſettled by law, the other claimants acknowledging no ſuperiour ſettled their claims themſelves. Claims juſt and unjuſt, pretenſions ſerious and frivolous roſe in ſwarms from all parts, and the diſputants ſtepped into poſſeſſion and maintained their claims by all kinds of methods, every mean being indifferent and the end all in all. The principal actors in this buſy ſcene were the Germans: but it is not conceivable, that the natives forgot themſelves.

That vaſt tract of land, called by the Romans Germany, extended one way from the north ſea to the banks of the Danube, and the other from Gaul to

(8) INNOCENTII *Papæ i. Epiſt. xxv.*

ANASTASII *Innoc. Vita.* Pelagium et Cœleſtinum hæreticos damnabat. Et hoc conſtituit, ut qui natus fuerit de chriſtiana, denuo per baptiſmum renaſci debeat, hoc eſt baptizari, quod Pelagius damnabat.

HOFMANNI, ARCADII *et* HONORII *Vitæ.* Pelagius Brito, Monachus, peſtilentiſſimam hæreſin orſus eſt, ann. 400. Romæ, Syricium, Anaſtaſius, et hunc poſt triennium Innocentius i. excepit, qui infantibns Euchariſtiam dedit. BINII *not. in* INNOC. *Epiſt.*

(1) PAULI *Diaconi. lib. xvi. cap. xii.* Dejecto Auguſtulo urbem Odoacer ingreſſus totius Italiæ adeptus eſt regnum, quod an. xiv. nullo inquietante tenuit.

POMPONII LÆTI *Compend. Hiſt. Rom. lib. ii.* FL. VAL. LEON. I. Oreſtem Odoacer Gothorum rex ſuperavit. . . . Scribunt alii, Auguſtulum, ne caperetur a Gothis, ſponte imperium reliquiſſe.

JORNANDIS. *De regnor. ſucceſs. cap. lxxxv.* Odovacer, genere Rugus, Thurcilingorum, Scirorum, Herulorumque turbis munitus Italiam invaſit.

the Mæotick lake. This immenſe tract of foreſts and mountains, rivers, marſhes, and plains, the limits of which cannot be exactly defined, was inhabited by a great number of different tribes, having a general likeneſs but divided into ſeveral nations in different degrees of civilization, and diſtinguiſhed by different names (2). The general name by which they were all known was that of German, and, of all the etymologies of this word, the moſt probable is, that it is of Celtick origin, and ſignified a war-man, that is, a ſoldier: or, as they called it a guerre man. The name deſcribed the fact, for they were frequently at war with one another; in ſome ages they ſallied out in companies, and made war on the empire; in others they were taken into pay by the emperours, and numbered with the imperial forces; and in the end they ſet up for themſelves, formed ſeparate kingdoms in different parts of the empire, and in their own governments ſunk and loſt the name of the empire of Rome. Some of theſe nations were pagans, others profeſſed chriſtianity in the arian form, and all their armies were a mixture: but it doth not appear that any of them perſecuted, till eſtabliſhed cuſtoms of their new ſettlements, and imperial laws which they found in force, led them into it; and ſome never did perſecute at all (3). It is, however, impoſſible, that ſuch revolutions ſhould be effected without a great number of inconveniencies to all parties.

The Germans are deſcribed as of large ſtature, fair complexion, blue eyes, and red hair (4). In early ages they had a ſimple ſort of patriarchal worſhip (5). In later times they had ſung the praiſes of their heroes till they elevated them into a ſort of deities (6). In ages yet nearer they received the chriſtian religion, and at all times, they had ſent out immenſe multitudes on all ſides to obtain ſettlements (7). The Celts, who inhabited Gaul, went out in very early times and ſettled; and, to omit others, it is ſaid, that, an hundred years before the chriſtian æra, the Cimbri, the Ambrones, and the

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(2) PHIL. CLUVERI *Geog. lib. iii. cap. i. De veteri Germania*. . . . J. JAC. MASCOVII. *hiſt. German. lib. i. cap. i.*

(3) BARONII *Annal. an.* 476. Summam vero rerum conſecutus Odoacer rex Erulorum, cum extinctis adverſariis Italiæ libere dominaretur, modeſte tamen tanta uſus eſt felicitate etenim (ut Caſſiodorus teſtatur in Chronico) a purpura, regalibus indumentis, atque a nomine imperatoris abſtinuit. . . . Illud plane memoria dignum eſt, nullum factum ab eo negotium rebus ſacris, quantumlibet Arianus eſſet.

(4) TACITI *de Morib. Germ. iv.* Truces et cœrulei oculi, rutilæ comæ, magna corpora, et tantum ad impetum valida.

(5) IBID. *ix.* Cæterum, nec cohibere parietibus Deos, neque in ullam humani oris ſpeciem adſimilare, ex magnitudine cœleſtium arbitrantur.

(6) IBID. *ii.* Celebrant carminibus antiquis (quod unum apud illos memoriæ et annalium genus eſt) Tuiſtonem Deum, terra editum, et filium Mannum, originem gentis conditoreſque. Manno tres filios aſſignant.

(7) GEO. HICKESII *theſaur. tom. i. Præf. Gram. Anglo Sax.* Germanos doctrinam chriſtianam ante Irenæi tempora amplexos eſſe conſtat ex ejus verbis, *lib. i. cap. iii.* Και ουτε αι εν Γερμανιαις ιδρυμεναι εκκλησιαι αλλως πεπιστευκασι. . . . Irenæus floruit. An. 200.

Teutoni,

Teutones, which laſt was a name common to all Germans, in number more than three hundred thouſand, beſide women and children emigrated into Italy, and parts adjacent (8). At different times, while emperours governed Rome, Germany ſent out many colonies into the provinces of the empire: as the Alani, who came from the banks of the lake Mæotis in Muſcovy: the Suevi, who ſome of them poſſeſſed that part of Germany between the Rhine and the Elb, others the banks of the Danube, and who at laſt obtained a ſettlement in Spain (9). One tribe of the Suevi were called Marcomanni, they ſettled in Bohemia and Moravia. The Heruli firſt inhabited that vaſt northern peninſula called Scandinavia, now Schonen, belonging to Denmark, and part of Sweden, Norway and Lapland: then they ſettled in Lower Saxony, towards the Baltick, in the country now called Mechlenburgh. The Hunns inhabited Scythia, and the marſhes of the Mæotis, and ſettled finally in Pannonia, from them called Hungary. The Gepidæ dwelt about the mouth of the Viſtula, now called the Weichſel, that famous river of Poland, which riſes in the Carpathian mountains in upper Sileſia, and falls into the Baltick in three mouths near Dantzick. The Sequani, the Hædui, and the Burgundians inhabited upper and lower Burgundy. The Alemanni, by which name the French call all the Germans, conſiſted of a mixture of all ſorts, who aſſociated with ſuch of the Suevi as did not emigrate, and who with the Suevi inhabited the country between the Mayn, the Rhine and the Danube. The Vandals lived on the coaſts of the Baltick, and emigrated firſt into Spain, where the place of their ſettlement obtained the name of Vandalitia, now Andaluſia: thence they went into Africa, and erected a kingdom at Carthage. The Goths inhabited Scythia, properly Crim Tartary, and generally divided into Aſiatick Scythia on either ſide of mount Imaus: and European Scythia about the Euxine ſea and the Mæotick lake. They are generally divided into Oſtro, that is eaſtern, Goths, and Wiſi, or Viſi, that is, weſtern, Goths. The ſouth part of the kingdom of Sweden called Gothia is ſaid to be the country of that nation of the Goths, which contributed ſo much to the downfall of the weſtern Roman empire. The Angles inhabited the coaſts of the Baltick, whence they were driven by the Danes. Joining with the Saxons they came and ſettled in the ſouth of Britain. The Jutes, or natives of Jutland, Goet or Gothland peopled the iſle of Wight and Kent. The Franks dwelt in the Netherlands, and about the Rhine: thence they emigrated into Gaul, now called from them France. It would be endleſs to enumerate the German tribes, they are the fathers of all Europe; for from this immenſe tract as from a hive they ſwarmed, and colonized, and overſpread half the world.

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(8) Muratorii *Antiq. Italicæ medii ævi. tom. i. Mediolani.* 1738. *diſſ. i. De exteris gentibus, quæ poſt declinationem Romani imperii Italiam afflixerunt.* Cimbros, Teutones, Ambrones indicare juvat, qui ab extremis Germaniæ finibus ſupra trecentorum millium numerum, ſi veteribus fides, ne fœminis quidem puerïſque computatis, uſque in Gallias et Italiam penetrarunt.

(9) Mascov. *Hiſt. Germ.* . . . Val. Franckii *Origines nationum. Helm.* 1697. . . . Mich. Geddes *Miſcell. vol. iii.* . . . Nic. Petrii *Cimbror. et Gothor. Origines. Lipſ.* 1695. . . . Grotii *Gothicæ hiſt. ſcriptores. Amſtel.* 1654. . . . . Jac. Car. Speneri *Notitia German. antiq. Halæ.* 1717.

The Romans called all theſe nations Barbarians: but the learned Grotius hath drawn a compariſon greatly to the advantage of the Germans (1). The Romans exceeded them in learning and arts and ſciences, and refinements of politeneſs: but the Germans excelled the Romans in the more ſubſtantial qualities of juſtice and univerſal benevolence. Nurſed in the lap of nature, they enjoyed in their ſequeſtered groves a liberty unknown to Rome, and undamaged by the arts of luxury. When they went into Spain, Mariana expreſsly ſays, the Spaniards found it more eligible to live under them than under the Romans (2). Even the polite Lucan thought, they enjoyed a liberty far preferable to that of the Imperialiſts (3). They had at home no written laws; but their cuſtoms were the eſſence of juſtice directed by ſound and manly ſenſe (4). In the middle ages they were written, and formed into a ſyſtem. They were parted into little independent ſtates, having no maſters, except when they went out on any expedition, when one was elected by all as a temporary leader, more for order than government. The adminiſtrators of their affairs were choſen by all the people. War was the higheſt profeſſion: and the loweſt of the inhabitants were in no worſe ſtate than that of modern farmers in free countries. From their juſt notions of civil ſociety proceeded all that is good in all the ſtates of Europe, and the beſt civil conſtitution of the whole world, that of Britain, derives every particle of its excellence from the Anglo-Saxons. There is no penetrating into the deſigns of providence, and it ill becomes mortals to complain: but it ſeems a great misfortune to this country that Roman civil and canon law ever polluted theſe pure ſtreams of original natural juſtice. What ſome affirm is very likely to be true, that they were in a very early age of the world driven out of Aſia by a Belus, or Bel, or Baal, ſome original tyrant, whom they were too weak to depoſe: and, certain it is, in the time of Tacitus, their notions of the Deity were ſimple, and their worſhip patriarchal. They had no temples, and no idols, becauſe they ſaid, no image could be faſhioned great enough to expreſs the firſt great cauſe (5). If they ever did worſhip idols, which perhaps may admit of a doubt, they learned to do ſo of Greeks and and Romans.

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(1) GROTII *Prolegom. ad hiſt. Gothor. pag.* 32.

(2) JO. MARIANÆ *hiſt. Hiſpan. lib. v. cap. i.*

(3) LUCANI *lib. vii. l.* 243.... Libertas ultra Tanain Rhenumque receſſit,
Et toties nobis jugulo quæſita negatur,
Germanum Scythiumque bonum.

(4) GEORGE ST. AMAND. *Hiſtorical Eſſay on the legiſlative power of England, chap. i. Of the ſtate of Europe, and particularly of the form of government in old Germany;.... the original of all the European monarchies, parliaments and feudal laws.*

FREDERICI LINDENBROGII *Codex legum antiquar. Francofurti.* 1613.

JO. LOCCENII *Antiquitat. Sueco-Gothicæ. Franckf.* 1676.

CAROLI LUNDII *Prolegom. ad leg. W. Gothic. in Suionia.* Leges has. B. L. eſſe V. Gothorum adeo vetuſtas, ut ad tempora primæ in Thraciam atque Græciam migrationis *ex parte* referri poſſint debeantque, nemo fere paullo humanior ignorare poteſt, et ipſæ ſeſe oſtendentes tituli de ſucceſſionibus ab inteſtato capite potiſſimum xii. diſertis verbis inculcare videntur.

It was not through a ſpirit of dominion, or to avoid ſlavery that the Germans emigrated. Population, the uſual reward of temperance, induſtry and chaſtity, every where abounded, and as vaſt tracts were covered with impenetrable foreſts, and the outfalls of great rivers were choaked ſo that immenſe marſhes and bogs were formed, the inhabitants multiplied beyond what the dry champain could ſupport (6). Men pent up like waters muſt burſt their bounds. They did ſo, and forth they iſſued not to exerciſe cruelty, but to ſatisfy hunger, and obtain a ſettlement. When they ſubdued a people, as in Italy, they regulated affairs on principles of juſtice and humanity. They divided a country into lots, reſerving to themſelves two ſhares, and allowing the natives a third (7). To have appropriated more to themſelves would have been tyrannical: to have taken leſs would have been imprudent, for they would not have maintained that ſuperiority on which their ſafety depended. They governed themſelves by their own laws and cuſtoms: and they permitted the natives to govern themſelves by theirs, exacting only a tribute, which they made no difficulty of remitting when petitions were preſented for that purpoſe (8). They took off exorbitant taxes, which had been impoſed by former princes, they encouraged their new ſubjects to aſk for any thing, and they did all that wiſe and prudent governments have always done to make revolutions ſit eaſy. Even writers, who held them in execration becauſe they were not acquainted with orthodoxy the idol of eccleſiaſticks, allow, they did conduct themſelves in this manner to the orthodox, as well as to the reſt. Cardinal Baronius ſays: The barbarian Odoacer excelled the Roman emperours in clemency, and in all other virtues, except in that of catholick faith.

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(5) Boehmeri *De Orig. Parochiar. ſect. ii. cap. ii.* 8. Germani, qui Romanis barbari dicuntur, de Deo longe puriorem conceptum habebant, nec tam infinitis Diis erat immerſa eorum religio. Diu imaginibus eos abſtinuiſſe certum eſt. Cultus eorum erat ſimpliciſſimus, et a templis prorſus abſtinebant: ita enim Tacitus. Arbitrantur quod nulla imago reperiri poſſit, ſub qua magnitudo cœleſtis numinis repræſentari queat.

(6) Erici Olai *Hiſt. Suecorum Gothorumque. edit.* J. Loccenii. *Holmiæ.* 1654. *pag.* 7. Creverunt Gothi, et quaſi germinantes multiplicati ſunt ac roborati nimis, impleveruntque terram, nec poterat eos capere terra ut habitarent ſimul.

Pauli Warnefridi. *De Geſt. Longobard. cap. i.* . . . Murator. *ubi ſup.*

Salviani *de gubernat. Dei. lib. vii.* 222. Offenduntur barbari ipſi impuritatibus noſtris. Eſſe inter Gothos non licet ſcortatorem Gothum; ſoli inter eos præjudicio nationis ac nominis permittuntur impuri eſſe Romani. Impudicitiam nos diligimus, Gothi execrantur.

(7) Murator. *ubi ſup.* Non ſublata prorſus ex Longobardorum regno Romana lex; clementi quippe ſimulque prudenti conſilio uſi, liberum fecere antiquis Italiæ indigenis, hoc eſt Romani populi reliquiis, ſibi mixtis atque ſubjectis, Romanis legibus adhuc uti in contractibus, aliiſque actionibus fori cum civilibus tum criminalibus. En ergo duas diverſas leges in Italia iis temporibus conſtabilitas.

(8) Eugippii *Vita* S. Severini. *cap. xxxii.* Iiſdem temporibus Odobagar rex S. Severino familiares literas dirigens, ſi qua ſperanda duceret dabat ſuppliciter optionem. . . . Tantis itaque Sanctus alloquiis invitatus, Ambroſium quendam exulantem rogat abſolvi. Cujus Odobagar gratulabundus paruit imperatis.

Baronii *Annal.* 476. Multa petentibus epiſcopis orthodoxis Odoacrem indulſiſſe teſtatur Ennodius. De Epiphanio epiſcopo ait, petiiſſe ab Odoacre pro ſuis civibus quinquennium indulgentiæ tributorum, quæ Oreſtes tyrannica impoſuerat poteſtate, obtinuiſſeque ipſum quæ ab eodem Odoacre petierat. . . . Odoacer Arianus, ſi non fide catholica, præſtaret certe clementia, aliiſque virtutibus Romanos emergentes novos tyrannos antecelleret.

All the primitive laws of theſe people breathe the pureſt ſpirit of equal and univerſal liberty (9). It is indifferent what code is examined, for the ſame firſt principles are the baſes of all, and the fatal influence of orthodoxy on liberty appears more conſpicuous in theſe laws than in any other branch of eccleſiaſtical hiſtory. They come out of the German foreſts in the hearts of the emigrants pure as waters collected in ſprings. They break out and run in a few well-choſen written ſtatutes like a river clear, profitable, and pleaſant. They collect in time a little tinct from the unfriendly ſoil where they run, and become diſcoloured, but when the maxims of the catholick church fall in, they are filthy and poiſonous, and form a lake in which, except by miracle, no benevolent ſoul can live. Different nations fell into the catholick church at different times: ſuch times are the æras of the corruption of their laws. King Rotharis was the firſt who put in writing the laws of the Lombards (1). This was done in the year ſix hundred and thirty-eight. His ſucceſſors, Grimoald, Liutprand, Rachis and Aiſtulph added to the number. The firſt are pure, the laſt are diſcoloured, becauſe the princes had become catholicks: but when the emperour Charlemagne and the Franks appeared, all converts to Rome, orthodoxy like a flood of poiſon turned the whole into death. The Lombards made their laws themſelves: the king, the chiefs, the judges, the nobles, the people: the imperial ſtatutes were made by Charles the great, the pontiff of Rome, and the ſynodical council of biſhops, abbots, and illuſtrious men. The Lombard laws were the reſult of mutual conſultations: the Caroline were according to the will of God by order of the emperour for convenient cauſes. The Lombard laws were profeſſedly agreed on in the preſence of Almighty God: moſt imperial edicts run in the names of Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt. The Lombards propoſed nothing by their laws but to obtain for all the people a quiet and peaceable life: but the imperial ends were the glory of the holy and undivided trinity, and proſperity of the holy catholick and apoſtolick church. The Lombard laws began with guarding the life of the king: the imperial with an injunction to all ſuffragan biſhops to yield canonical obedience to their metropolitans. The Lombard laws provided that all perſons ſhould declare under what law they choſe to live, that of the Romans, or that of the Lombards; and ſhould be obliged to ſubmit to the deciſion of ſuch judges as they choſe: the Caroline commanded all who would not be ruled by canon law to be put to death. Let it not appear illiberal to lay aſide for a moment orthodoxy and hereſy, and inquire which of theſe three, the pontiff, the emperour, or the barbarian, was neighbour unto him, that fell among the thieves?

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(9) Grotii *Prolegom. ad ſcript. hiſt. Goth. p.* 63..... Wilkin's *Leges Saxonicæ*..... Gul. Nicolsoni *Diſſert. De Jure feudali veterum Saxonum.*

(1) Muratorii *Rer. Ital. Scriptor. tom. i. par.* 2.

People.... Liutprandi *Leg. Prolog.* Ego Liutprand... una cum omnibus judicibus... cum reliquis fidelibus meis Longobardis, et *cuncto populo* aſſiſtente... hæc placuerunt.

Caroli Magni... *Leges.* Carolus Magnus cum pontifice Romano, et Synodali concilio... Congregatis Synodali concilio Epiſcopis, Abbatibus, viriſque illuſtribus; una cum piiſſimo Domino noſtro Carolo.

Consultation... Liut. Dum ſingula, quæ in anterioribus titulis hujus edicti leguntur ſtudioſe, ac ſubtiliter ſcrutavimus, adſiſtente omni populo, quam ſequens ſermo monſtraverit, addere et lucidare, ſive ſtatuere prævidimus legem.

Carol...Capitula in lege ſcribi juſſimus.. Secundum voluntatem Dei pro cauſis opportunis.

God.... Roth. Ego in Dei nomine Rothar. Rex.

Carol... In nomine patris, et filii, et ſpiritus ſancti. Imperator Cæſar Karolus rex Francorum invictiſſimus.

Publck Safety... Roth. In unum providimus volumen, complectendam, quatenus liceat *unicuique*, ſalva lege et juſtitia, quiete vivere.... Liut. Pro gentis noſtræ ſalvatione.

Carol.... Propter utilitatem ſanctæ Dei *Eccleſiæ*, &c.

The laſt law of the code of Rotharis is as if it was taken from the ſaying of Jeſus, I was a ſtranger, and ye took me in (2). It runs thus. "All Gargangs, who come from foreign parts to reſide in our territories, and to put themſelves under our protection, ought to live according to the laws of the Lombards, unleſs they merit of us the liberty of living under their own laws. If ſuch perſons have any legitimate children, they ſhall inherit in all caſes as the legitimate children of the Lombards do. If they have no legitimate children, it ſhall not be in their power, without the leave of the king, to alienate their property to any perſon by any method or under any pretence whatſoever." Gargangs, or Wargangs, were exiles, or emigrants, perſons who quitted their own country, and went to reſide in the kingdom of the Lombards. By an adminiſtration of juſtice, therefore, and not by a mere exerciſe of power did theſe ſons of freedom regulate their governments. It is ſaid the Lombards were Arians: but nobody knows by reading their firſt laws of what religion they were. They ſeem to have underſtood nothing of religion except to do juſtly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with God. Perhaps alſo they thought this was all that God himſelf required of them. It was nobly ſaid by Theodorick king of the Oſtrogoths in Italy by way of perſuading ſome in Pannonia to lay aſide the practice of deciding diſputes by combat, and to content themſelves with deciſions in a regular courſe of juſtice by law:

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(2) Rotharis *leges. l. cccxc.* Omnes Gargangi, &c. Ambros. cod. habet, omnes Warengang. Teutonicum w, ab Italis reddi ſolet gu. Quare ſcribendum Guargangi. Wargi autem, Waringi, Warganei, quod idem erat ac Wargangi, fuerunt profugi, exules, et ut nunc vocamus banniti e patria ſua. Memorantur in lege Salica, et in Ripuaria, &c.

"Of what uſe to man is his tongue, if all his affairs are to be determined ſword in hand? Where is peace to be ſought if not in civilized ſtates? Imitate our Goths, who are brave in arms in the field of battle, but live at home in habits of modeſty with their fellow citizens (3). We wiſh to ſee you live like children of our family, flouriſhing under the bleſſing of God." It was a day much to be lamented, when theſe nations were converted from all this barbariſm and hereſy to the holy catholick and apoſtolick faith!

The irruptions of the Germans into the empire produced effects on all communities ſimilar to thoſe which the unmooring of ſhips produces in a fleet. By taking up the anchors they are looſened from land; then they float and part company; and after various fortunes get into different harbours. Such Italians as had a genius for commerce aſſembled on ſome iſland on the coaſt of the Adriatick ſea, and formed the noble republick of Venice. Manufacturers repaired to Genoa, merchants to Florence, and ſaints to Rome. Various circumſtances and connections produced various revolutions, which in proceſs of time terminated in ſettling all Italy in its preſent form. At Venice the ariſtocratical government hath ſtood from the fifth century to this day. At Florence the family of Medici, originally merchants, roſe by commerce into exuberant wealth, attended with all its conſequences, one of which was alliance with emperours and popes, by which the republick loſt its liberty. In Genoa, and many other ſtates, in time two violent parties roſe, called Rampini and Maſcarati, the ſame as the Guelfs and Gibelines in Germany, the one attached to the pope, and the other to the emperour, and both the cauſes of infinite calamities to their country, and the entire loſs of liberty to the people. The hiſtories of the republicks of Venice, Genoa, and Lucca; the dukedoms of Savoy, Tuſcany, Mantua, Modena, Parma, and Viterbo; the kingdoms of Sardinia, Sicily, and all others in this part of the world exhibit noble ſtruggles for liberty, and may ſerve to inform all the lovers of freedom and religion, virtue and proſperity, of the fatal cauſe of ſlavery (4). Before that unnatural dominion over conſcience was ſet up in the world under the names of orthodoxy in the eaſt, and unity in the weſt, mankind had only one ſecular tyrant to oppoſe: but when thouſands in every ſtate formed themſelves into governments, and put themſelves under one abſolute infallible tyrant, the people had two deſpots to contend with, each of whom kept armies in pay with the peoples money to enſlave them. Had this pretended church followed the advice of Jeſus, and taken the ſide of piety and virtue, they would have gone directly into the popular ſcale; they would have been jointly more than a weight of freedom againſt any efforts of tyranny in a ſecular ruler, and no tyrant durſt have attacked liberty. But between the two pretenders to dominion, the people had no chance, except when the deſpots fell out, and then they had only the choice of a maſter, and the hazard of truſting to gratitude for freedom: a vain hope fixed on blaſted ſoils where gratitude never grew. The alliance of the two was the utter deſtruction even of hope, the laſt emotion that departs from the boſoms of the wretched. This alliance was not perfectly formed till the conqueſt of Italy by Charlemagne, ſo that for about three hundred years ſome ſtates enjoyed perfect, others precarious, and the worſt a tolerable ſhare of liberty. Providence brings good out of evil, and hiſtorians of this period, inſtead of writing a book of lamentations about the obſtinate infidelity of pagans, and the avarice of Jews who abounded every where, and minded nothing but uſury, ſhould leave Almighty God to diſpoſe of them in a future ſtate as he thinks fit, and allow that every Jew was a good citizen at Ravenna or Milan becauſe he was neceſſarily a friend to freedom. Who can tell? Perhaps even uſurers contributed unawares to the publick good? Rome, Ravenna, Florence, Genoa and other cities of Italy have allowed publick honours to be done to money-brokers, and though uſurers are a ſort of heretick-bankers, yet there are inſtances in church hiſtory where they have procured peace for the perſecuted by lending the godly money (5). The Lombard merchants, goldſmiths and bankers were famous all over Europe, and the name will never be forgotten in London.

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(3) MASCOV. *Hiſt. Germ. Annot. xiv.* Quid opus eſt homini lingua, &c.

(4) MURATORII *Antiq. Ital. . . . Scriptor. Ital.*
F. LEANDRI ALBERTI *Deſcript. totius Italiæ. edit.* GULIELM. KYRIANDRI. *Coloniæ.* 1567.
MURAT. *Antiq. Ital. tom i. Diſſ. i. De exteris gentibus quæ Ital. ſubjecerunt. . . . ii. De regno Italiæ. . . . iii. De imp. ac Reg. Italic. electione. . . . v. De Ducibus ac princip. antiq. Ital. . . . x. De Judicibus, Scabinis, Sculdaſciis, Caſtaldiis, Decanis, Silvanis, &c. . . . De Liberis. . . . Servis . . . . Feudis. . . . Miniſtris antiq. . . . De republica, et an civium communitates, uti nunc, ita ut vetuſtis ſæculis fuerunt in civitatibus Italicis? tom. iv. Libertas, quo tempore cœpta eſt arripi a civitatibus Italicis.*

While all parts of Italy were thus availing themſelves of the disjointed ſtate of the empire, the biſhop of Rome was not inattentive to the intereſt of his party, and, as the principles of his jewiſh chriſtianity naturally led him to the Aaronical ſyſtem, he ſaw faſt enough, that to be Aaron was to be every thing. It is laughable to ſee a pope of Rome quoted as a friend of freedom for reproving an eaſtern patriarch for pretending to be an univerſal biſhop. Had his holineſs told all, (but that would have betrayed his want of prudence), he would have ſaid: Your claim is intolerable, for I pretend to the honour myſelf. When one of theſe gentlemen ſpeaks of himſelf, he calls himſelf ſervant of ſervants: they are his officers, civilians and canoniſts, and dependents, who publiſh his titles to dominion. They underſtand one another without explanations in form. One gives a benefice, another takes it: who is ſo void of underſtanding as not to know all the reſt! The hiſtory of this church is an hiſtory of the ſpiritual ſenſe of things. Three ſorts of objects attract the eye in this period: the biſhops of Rome, their aims, and the means of ſucceſs.

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(5) Ibid. *tom. i. Diſs. xvi. De Fœneratoribus, Judæis, Societatibus militum prædonum, Leproſis. &c.* Qui Trapezitæ antiquis fuere, ſive argentarii, ſæculis poſterioribus dicti ſunt Campſores. Inde etiam emerſit Cambiotorum nomen. Hos nunc Banchieri nos apellamus. Galli changeurs. . . . Pro illis etiam Romana curia intercedebat, non quod eorum uſuras palparet, ſed quod per eorum manus reciperet quid cenſuum et redituum curia ipſa ex univerſis chriſtianorum provinciis colligebat. . . . Sub Lombardorum nomine Itali, Galli ſub Caorcinorum veniebant. Sed quod principes ſuis legibus evertere velle videbantur, improba illa gens aut tuebatur, aut brevi reſtaurabat oblatione munerum, ita ut perpetuo quidem improbaretur, et ſemper nihilominus retineretur.

There were in this period of three hundred years about fifty biſhops of Rome, who may be divided into three claſſes: the firſt ſaints, the ſecond ſinners, the third neutrals (6). The church has thought fit to canonize above twenty; to give up others as reprobates; and to record of the third ſort nothing more than that they were born of ſome parents, and lived in ſome places, and died in due order of ſucceſſion biſhops of Rome. Of the ſinners it may truly be affirmed, they were ſinners of ſize, for it would be difficult to mention a crime, which they did not commit. To obtain the papal dignity by bribery, and to loſe it by being poiſoned to make room for a ſucceſſor, to be ſo wicked in a wicked community as to be diſtinguiſhed for multiplicity or enormity of criminal actions, are the articles that compoſe the hiſtory of the lives of theſe very bad men.

That miſtaken polity, which had ariſen out of judaiſm applied to chirſtianity, had rendered the biſhoprick of Rome inacceſſible to innocence, and untenable to virtue. During the reigns of Roman emperours theſe aſpiring prelates had only one maſter at a time to circumvent in order to make room for the exerciſe of their own dominion: but after the diviſion of the empire, they were obliged to keep meaſures with ſeveral competitors. The emperours of the eaſt, the kings of the Huns, the Goths, and the Lombards, the conſuls, the people, the prelates, all conſidered Rome as an object worth contending for, and various fortunes the city underwent. The biſhop of Rome had domeſtick intereſts as a citizen of high rank, and foreign intereſts as one of the chiefs of a confederacy for power, called the catholick church, dangerous to the government of every ſtate, and the dominion of every ſecular prince. Hence the biſhop of Rome became an object himſelf, ſometimes to be bribed and elevated, at other times to be curbed or puniſhed, and at all times marked out for vengeance by ſomebody. Happy for all parties had they addreſſed themſelves to civil government, and left religion, where Jeſus left it, all alone to provide for itſelf in the unawed underſtandings and conſciences of mankind!

In the beginning of the ſixth century, the two maſters of the world, Juſtin in the eaſt, and Theodorick in the weſt, could neither of them write his name (7). Juſtin had been brought up to tend cattle, but going into the army he raiſed himſelf to rank. On the death of the emperour Anaſtaſius, the eunuch Amantius, who had been his ſteward, employed Juſtin to bribe the army to elect Theocretian a creature of his own, emperour, and for this purpoſe intruſted him with a great ſum of money. Juſtin diſcharged his truſt with every accompliſhment except that of fidelity, for lo! when the day came, and the army ſhould have ſhouted Theocretian, they and the ſenate and the church and all Conſtantinople exclaimed, Long live the emperour Juſtin! Juſtin was a very good man, and believed the trinity, and iſſued decrees to ſuppreſs all arians. Theodorick, king of Italy, was an arian, and he ſent Juſtin word, that if he did not recall the edict he would put all the trinitarian prieſts in Italy to death. As Juſtin conſidered the arian prieſthood in the eaſt a faction in favour of a foreign prince, ſo Theodorick conſidered trinitarians in the weſt: and both judged rightly, for neither party was content with its own creed unleſs the other was ſubdued into a profeſſion of obedience to it. Pope John I. could not poſſibly be neuter in this caſe (8). He ſent circular letters about Italy, and declared for the trinity, that is, for Juſtin. Theodorick to prevent ſedition committed him to priſon, and he died in jail. The church ſtruck the laſt blow, for as Theodorick was an heretick John was declared a ſaint, and a martyr. The firſt ſaints who allied the church to the ſtate had not foreſeen this: a full proof that ſaintſhip doth not always imply prudence!

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(6) Anastasii *vitæ Pontif.*... Platinæ *vit. pontif.*... Baronii *Annal. paſſim.*... Joannis Ciampini *examen vitar. Anaſtaſii*... Baluzii *vitæ paparum Avenionenſium*... Johan. Stellæ *de vitis Sum. Pontitificum Opus.*... *Hiſtoire des conclaves.* &c.

(7) *Hiſt. Imp. Romanor. lvii.*... Jornand. *De regn. Succeſs. lib. i. cap. cx.*... Procop. *hiſt. arcan.*... Henric. Valesii *excerpta de imperatoribus. cum not.* Hadriani Valesii. *vii.* 48. Rex Theodoricus inliteratus erat, &c.

Vigilius was a pope of the ſecond claſs. The emperour Juſtin having no iſſue adopted his ſiſter's ſon, Juſtinian, and he ſucceeded him in the empire. Juſtinian was a trinitarian, as his uncle had been: but being ſafer in the throne than he, all hereticks were puniſhed with a barbarity, which Juſtin had not dared to exerciſe. With the ſpoils of theſe unfortunate ſufferers, with taxes unjuſtly laid, and infamouſly collected, and with literary ſtipends formerly granted, the pious Juſtinian built churches and monaſteries, to the honour of Michael the archangel and the mother of God, and enriched the orthodox (9). Unluckily, he married a player, named Theodora, who was an heretick, and the moſt beautiful, the moſt laſcivious, and the moſt barbarous fury in the empire (1). Some ſenſeleſs quibbles in the writings of Origen had been adopted as articles of faith by one large violent party of biſhops, prieſts and monks: and rejected by an oppoſite faction, as numerous, as wiſe, and as fierce as themſelves. The leaders of factious and numerous parties, ſuch as popes, patriarchs and archbiſhops had become ſo very troubleſome to princes, that the ſafety of their own thrones rendered it abſolutely neceſſary for them to interfere in the election of them, otherwiſe each would ſoon have had in his dominions a ſubject greater than himſelf. Theodatus king of the Oſtrogoths got one Sylverius elected pope. The empreſs of the eaſt, by means of Vigilius, and Antonina the lady of general Beliſarius, took him off, and furniſhed Vigilius with money to carry his own election by bribery, on condition he would promiſe after his election to reſtore her favourites to their preferments, and excommunicate the oppoſite party (2). Vigilius agreed, and became pope: but he could not keep his word, for the party at Rome was ſo ſtrong that they obliged him to excommunicate the favourites of the empreſs as hereticks. This enraged her to ſuch a degree that ſhe ſent to fetch him to Conſtantinople, and ſwore by the eternal God, if the meſſenger did not bring him ſhe would flay him alive. Vigilius was ſeized, and as he was carried out of Rome the mob pelted him, and loaded him with curſes, not for hereſy but for murder and avarice, and his manifold crimes. When he arrived at Conſtantinople, he was treated very ſcurvily; ſome ſtruck him, others reproached him as a murderer; he was led through the ſtreets with a rope about his neck, and had he not fled into a church, he would have loſt his life. When he was ſent to priſon he comforted himſelf, or rather threatened his enemies, by ſaying, "They could not impriſon St. Peter (3)." St. Peter's repreſentative, however, was forced to comply, for the arguments of Theodora were irreſiſtible. By an odd caprice, common among the orthodox, Vigilius to pleaſe all parties ſhifted ſides four times, and died in his ſins, and yet they ſay he was infallible: a murderer, and yet holy: led about like a dog, and yet an univerſal governour. Juſtinian committed crimes and murders innumerable to ſuppreſs hereſy: and yet in his old age he became an heretick himſelf. The church holds him in the higheſt eſtimation, and makes his apology by affirming he was ſuperannuated when he believed hereſy. Theodora was a fiend: and yet ſhe is leſs branded for vice than hereſy. From the wickedneſs of Vigilius the catholicks prove that the church of Rome, which they call St. Peter's little ſhip, was and is ſupported by immediate divine influence becauſe even ſuch a wretch as Vigilius, who ſteered among rocks, could not ſhipwreck her. The experiment hath been often tried by ſuch ſteerſmen, the proof, if proof, is demonſtrative, and the greateſt criminals as much as the greateſt ſaints diſplay the divinity of the cauſe. The good men forget, that S. Peter's little ſhip was neither a man of war, nor a pirate, but a fiſhing ſmack, employed by an honeſt man to get his bread.

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(8) Joannis i. *vita*.... Baron. *An*.... Procop. *Hiſt. Gothor. et alii.*

(9) Procopii *De Ædificiis DN. Juſtiniani. libri ſex. edit.* Claud. Maltret. *Pariſiis* 1663. Hennini *not. in vit. Juſtinian.* Nimiam ædificationum et profuſionum, ſub ſpecie liberalitatis Auguſtæ, cupidinem, qua infinitis egens pecuniis, multos facultatibus ſpoliavit, et ſtipendia liberalium diſciplinarum magiſtris olim conſtituta, in omnibus urbibus ſuſtulit, quas proinde vacantibus literarum ludis, ruſticitas barbarieſque implevit.

(1) Procopii *Anecdota*.... Baron. *An. tom. vii.*

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(2) BARON. *An.* 538.... ANASTASII *Vita Vigil.* Auguſta miſit Anthemium Scribonem cum juſſionibus ſuis, et cum virtute majore Romam, dicens: excepto in baſilica Sancti Petri parce. Nam ſi in Lateranmis, atque in palatio, aut in qualibet eccleſia inveneris Vigilium, mox impoſito in navi, perdue eum uſque ad nos. Nam ſi non feceris, per viventem in ſæcula, excoriari te faciam.

(3) GREGOR. *Epiſt. lib. ii. ep. xxxvi.*.... NICEPHORI *Hiſt. l. xvii. c. xxvi.*... THEOPHANIS *Chron. An.* 547. 548.... BARON. *ut ſup.*

The ſame miſtake, that rendered the office of a Roman biſhop infectious to the man, who was ſo unfortunate as to be elected into it, diverted the aims and ends of the incumbent from the proper object of a diſciple of Jeſus. This miſtake lay in applying a jewiſh ſenſe to a chriſtian truth. Jeſus ordered his diſciples to preach the goſpel to every creature in all the world. Paul preached to make all men ſee, and aimed at no leſs than to bring every thought into captivity to Chriſt. This aim was ſupported by prophecy and promiſe that to Jeſus every knee ſhould bow. All ſuch paſſages mean nothing more than that all good men ſhould recommend the chriſtian religion to all bad men by reaſonings and examples of holineſs. This is the ſlow but ſure way of introducing the kingdom of God among men. Judaizing chriſtians by ſetting up the levitical ſyſtem on this principle utterly ſunk it, and interpreted the converſion of the world to be a ſubmiſſion to a prieſthood. As ſeveral pretended prieſts ſtarted for the place of pontiff, it became neceſſary for him at Rome to acquire the ſuperiority over all others. All prieſts ſubdued the people for their own ſakes, and the biſhop of Rome had nothing to do but to ſubdue them. This then was the aim of every pope. As a man he had private ends, ſuch as the acquiſition of eaſe, honour, power, and wealth: but as one man at the head of a large corporation he had a publick political end, which was, to be the only abſolute ruler of all the prieſthood, and through them of all mankind. As Jeſus laid down this principle, it was an holy emulation for the good of ſociety, including the freedom, the virtue, and the felicity of all: but as the pretended church perverted it, it ceaſed to be good, and was nothing in the world but an horrible conſpiracy againſt the rights of every intelligent being, for the ſake of ſetting one like death to reign over the ruins of a blaſted ſhattered globe. While the conſpiracy was hatching the conſpirators held their peace, but after the plot ſucceeded they publiſhed it on the houſe tops, and proved to a demonſtration that abſolute dominion was the ſole aim of the biſhops of Rome.

That excellent good man, John Fox, took the pains at the reformation to compile from various parts of the papal laws, and the gloſſes of canoniſts, a ſyſtem of this church government. It is a valuable, becauſe it is a faithful compilation (4).

The next article to be obſerved is the condition of free-thinkers in this period. All hereticks and ſchiſmaticks of every deſcription are included in this claſs. It is very remarkable, that in the eaſtern empire, and at Rome, and in general councils, which were compoſed of catholick prelates of both the eaſtern and weſtern world, there is a perpetual outcry about hereticks, and hereſy, and ſanguinary ſtatutes made to puniſh troublers of the church: but in the kingdoms of the Goths, and Lombards, and other German emigrants, there are no hereticks, becauſe there are no laws againſt hereſy (5). In the laws of theſe nations men are deſcribed by their deſcent, as Lombards, Goths, Romans; by their conditions, as nobles, freemen, ſervants, infants; by their offices, as kings, judges, guardians, and ſo on: but not by their ſpeculations, as orthodox or hereticks (6). The firſt is juſt and natural: the laſt is an abominable perverſion of all juſtice. Who ever heard of hereſy in England before the coming of Auſtin the monk? Where there is no law for conſcience variety of ſentiment is no crime. In ſuch a ſtate, let a man think what he will, if he commits a murder or a theft, he becomes a criminal. The thoughts of a citizen hurt nobody and benefit nobody till they become actions: but where guilt is affixed to modes of thinking, where theſe modes are ſet up as objects of puniſhment in a ſtate, the eye of the legiſlature will be attracted to theſe, and in curbing and controuling them, the magiſtrate will become (ſaving his worſhip) a thief and a murderer himſelf.

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(4) *Actes and monumentes of matters moſt ſpecial and memorable happening in the church*, p. 719.

While Franks and Goths, and other German nations were pagans, they never thought of perſecuting men for their ſpeculations. The Goths and Lombards and Vandals, who embraced chriſtianity in the arian form, both before and after they ſettled in the empire, allowed thoſe tyrannical people, who called themſelves catholicks, to enjoy their religious ſentiments and ceremonies in peace: but they did not allow the Roman laws of religion any force over themſelves (7). It was impoſſible they ſhould admit a code, which condemned

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(5) COD. JUSTIN. *De* FIDE. De ſumma trinitate et fide catholica, ut nemo de ea publice contendere audeat. *tit. i.*.... De Sacroſanctis eccleſiis, et de rebus et privilegiis earum. ii..... De epiſcopis et clericis.... et de privilegiis eorum. iii.... De epiſcopali audientia, et de diverſis capitulis, quæ ad jus, curamque et reverentiam pertinent pontificalem. iv... De hæreticis, et Manichæis, et Samaritis. v.... De apoſtatis. vii. ... De Judæis. ix.... Ne chriſtianum mancipium hæreticus vel paganus, vel Judæus habeat, aut poſſideat, aut circuncidat. x...... De paganis ſacrificiis et templis. xi. &c.

LABBEI *Concilia ab an.* 476. *uſque ad* 774.

(6) *Gothorum, et Longobardor. leg. ut ſupra.*.... ST. AMAND. *ut ſup.*

(7) PHILOSTORGII *Eccles. Hiſt. edit.* JAC. GOTHOFREDI. *Genevæ.* 1643.

SOZOMEN. *Hiſt. Eccl. lib. vii. cap.* 17. *Quomodo Arianorum ſecta in diverſas factiones diſtracta ſit.* In duas partes plebs diviſa fuit, et cum Dorotheo una cum ſectatoribus ſuis, in iis templis quæ tenebat, perſiſteret: Marinus exſtructis aliis ſeparatim conventus agebat. Cognominabantur autem iſti tum Pſathyriani tum Gothici.

CONCIL. *Nicæn. Subſcript.* De Gothis. Theophilus Boſphoritanus.

S. BASIL. *Epiſt. cccxxxviii. cccxxxix.*... EPIPHAN. *adv. Hæres. lib. iii. cap. xiv. xv.*..... JORNAND. *cap. xxv.*

ISIDORI *Hiſpalens. De Gothis, Wandalis, et Suevis. Chronic. reg. Wiſigothor.* Hucuſque Romani, qui in regno Gothorum conſiſtunt, adeo eos amplectuntur, ut melius ſit illis cum Gothis pauperes vivere, quam inter Romanos potentes eſſe, et grave jugum tributi portare.

PAULI WARNEFRIDI *De Geſt. Longobardor. lib. iv. cap. xliv.* Fuit autem Rotharis viribus fortis, et juſtitiæ tramitem ſequens, ſed tamen fidei chriſtianæ non rectam lineam tenens, arrianæ hæreſeos perfidia maculatus eſt.... Hujus temporibus pene per omnes civitates regni ejus duo epiſcopi erant, unus catholicus, alter arrianus. In civitate quoque Ticinenſi uſque nunc oſtenditur, ubi arrianus epiſcopus, apud baſilicam Sancti Euſebii reſidens, baptiſterium habuit, cum tamen eccleſiæ catholicæ alius epiſcopus præſideret,

Leges

condemned them as hereticks to various puniſhments. If pretenders to orthodoxy were puniſhed, it was for faction and ſedition, under the guiſe of church-government. In proceſs of time the catholicks did to theſe nations what they had formerly done to the Roman empire, they debauched their morals by winning their kings over to their party, by flattering them with ſacred titles, by alluring them to defend the church, by introducing the Roman laws, either as an amendment of the old ſtatutes, or as a body of canons to ſubvert them, and ſo in the end, in the ſacred name of God, and all ſtained with innocent blood, they erected a kingdom within a kingdom, to which ſubjects and monarchs were alike forced to yield obedience (8). No man contributed more to this than pope Gregory. He ſays, many took him for a fool. Probably they ſaw only his face. In ſpite of his title of Saint Gregory the great, the blood of more than two thouſand Britiſh chriſtians, whom he a foreigner had the impudence to condemn and the brutality to cauſe to be butchered, cries to heaven for juſtice againſt him, and his accomplice Auſtin the monk. In what a deplorable condition was the world when foreigners durſt perpetrate ſuch crimes, and cleanſe away all their guilt by quoting Moſes. Thou ſhalt not revile the gods, that is, ſays Gregory, the prieſts (9).

The ſtate of baptiſm in this period is to be conſidered in two different views: the one among the catholicks; the other among the anticatholicks. The catholicks continued till the cloſe of the ſixth century to dip three times, as both eccleſiaſticks and lawyers have obſerved. It was neceſſary for lawyers to determine this, becauſe there were penal ſtatutes in force againſt rebaptizing, and conſequently it was in their province to declare what baptiſm was (1). It hath been properly obſerved by modern canoniſts, that the courts were determined by the practice of their biſhops, and that their biſhops defined bap-

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Leges VISI-GOTHOR. *lib. ii. tit. i.* 9. Alienæ gentis legibus ad exercitium utilitatis imbui et permittimus et optamus: ad negotiorum vere diſcuſſionem et reſultamus et prohibemus. Quamvis enim eloquiis polleant, tamen difficultatibus hærent: adeo cum ſufficiat ad juſtitiæ plenitudinem, et præſcrutatio rationum, et competentium ordo verborum, quæ codicis hujus ſeries agnoſcitur continere, nolumus ſive Romanis legibus, ſive alienis inſtitutionibus, a modo amplius convexari.

(8) ANT. OLIBANI *De jure fiſci. Barcelon.* 1600. *cap. i. n.* 8. Leges Gothicæ, uſque ad tempora Berengarii in judiciis et curiis receptæ, non poterant in omnibus cauſis commode obſervari, et quod plura occurrerent negotia, quæ non erant in legibus Gothicis deciſa.

(9) S. GREGOR. M. *Epiſt. lib. iv. ep. xxxi.* . . . MAURICIO *Auguſto.* Fatuus appellor. . . . . . Scriptum eſt, diis non detrahes: ſcilicet ſacerdotibus. . . . *Exod. xxii.* 28.

(1) *Codicis i. tit. vi. Ne Sanctum Baptiſma iteretur.*

ANTON. MORNACII *Obſervat. in quatuor priores libros Codices, ad uſum fori Gallici. pag.* 72.

MOS *eccleſiæ.* D. Chryſoſt. docet, homil. in Johan. xxiv. cur. ex myſterio baptiſmatis trina immerſio fieret. . . . In aqua enim ait tanquam in ſepulchro, &c.

FORMULA *eccles.* Sic Salvianus. lib. vi. de gubernat. Quomodo, O Chriſtiane, ſpectacula poſt baptiſmum ſequeris, quæ opus eſſe diaboli confiteris? Abrenuntio, enim, inquis, diabolo, pompis, ſpectaculis, et operibus ejus. Et quid poſtea? Credo, inquis, in Deum patrem omnipotentem, &c.

NE ITERETUR. Tertul. de bapt. Semel baptiſmum inimus, quia iterari non oportet.

RATIO. D. Auguſt. ait, &c.

tiſm dipping three times in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt. Pope Gregory firſt approved of ſingle immerſion. It was at the cloſe of this period, as hath been elſewhere obſerved, that pope Stephen allowed pouring to be valid baptiſm. Now began to prevail the faſhion of baptizing infants at Eaſter and Whitſuntide along with adults: but, it ſhould ſeem by the Roman rituals, which were compoſed after this time, that in general children were not baptized till they could pronounce the renunciation, and that new-born infants were baptized only in caſe of ſuppoſed danger of death.

Anticatholicks were of two claſſes: the firſt were ſuch as the catholicks called hereticks, and who lived among them. Theſe were very numerous, and the penal ſtatutes ſay, the Donatiſts and the Manicheans were the worſt (2). This is a great preſumption in favour of theſe two claſſes. The civil and the canon laws of thoſe times mention ſeventy or eighty ſorts of hereticks. Conſidering the whole as one large body of free thinkers unſubdued by authority, out of the pale of the pretended church, and holding ſeparate aſſemblies, there are two remarks worth making. Firſt, it is impoſſible to prove that theſe nonconformiſts did baptize their children: on the contrary it is abſolutely certain that ſome of them did not. For example, The ſingular caſe of that ſpark, who was baptized at the ſailing of the fleet of Beliſarius, proves that the Eunomians did not. Secondly, it is undeniable, that many, and it is probable that all, diſapproved of catholick baptiſm, and always rebaptized. The laws againſt rebaptizing, and the hiſtories of the Donatiſts and the puritans are deciſive on this article.

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(2) *Cod. lib. i. tit. v. De hæreticis.* Hæreticus eſt omnis non orthodoxus. . . . Manichæi ad imam uſque ſcelerum nequitiam pervenerunt. . . . Manichæos ſeu Manichæas, *vel* Donatiſtas, meritiſſima ſeveritate perſequimur. Huic itaque hominum generi nihil ex moribus, nihil ex legibus commune ſit cum cæteris.

Ariani.
Macedoniani.
Pneumatomachi.
Apollinariani.
Novatiani, ſeu Sebatiani.
Eunomiani.
Tetraditæ, ſeu Teſſares cædecatitæ.
Valentiniani.
Pauliani.
Papianiſtæ.
Montaniſtæ, ſeu Priſcillianiſtæ, vel Phryges, vel Pepuzitæ.
Marcioniſtæ.
Borboritæ.
Meſſaliani.

Euchitæ, ſive Enthouſiaſtæ.
Donatiſtæ.
Audiani.
Hydroparaſtatæ.
Taſcodrogitæ.
Batrachitæ.
Hermogeniani.
Photiniani.
Pauliniani.
Marcelliani.
Ophitæ.
Encratiſtæ.
Carpocratitæ.
Saccophori.
Manichæi.

Nuſquam in Romanum locum conveniendi, morandique habeant facultatem, &c.

Concil. ab 476. *ad* 776.

Hæretici.
Acephali.
Sabelliani.
Eutychiani, &c. &c.

The other claſs of Anticatholicks were ſuch as reſided in all other kingdoms, and were not in communion with the catholick church. Theſe were infinitely more numerous than the firſt claſs, for at the beginning of the ſixth century, there was only one catholick king in the world (3). This was Clovis, king of the Franks; all the reſt were anticatholicks, and moſt of them Arians. Accuracy, however, requires a diviſion of Arians into two claſſes. Such as reſided in the empire make one claſs; and theſe again are to be ſubdivided, for a part was a faction for power in the church: and another part deſiring nothing but liberty of conſcience diſſented. It ſhould ſeem, theſe latter, when the former got into power, united with them for mutual ſafety againſt their common enemy, the catholicks; but foreign Arians abounded in their own ſenſe of ſcripture, and not only tolerated one another, but perſecuted nobody (4). When catholick hiſtorians repreſent the Goths, and the Suevi, the Lombards, the Burgundians, and the Franks, the Saxons and all other German nations as barbarians and perſecutors, they not only offer a cruel inſult to the memory of a brave and generous people; but they contradict all, even catholick hiſtorians, who lived among them at the time, and who while they execrate their faith as heartily as the moſt bitter perſecutor can wiſh, ſpeak in the higheſt terms of their juſtice and clemency (5). It is very probable from their principles, their laws, and their hiſtory, that they practiſed the baptiſm of minors: but that they knew nothing of the baptiſm of infants till the catholicks taught them that, and the trinity, and intolerance: three congenial friends, which ſeldom part company.

In the beginning of the eighth century the whole catholick world was as wretched and as wicked as can well be imagined. The miſerable miſmanagement of applying jewiſh ſcience to the artleſs religion of Jeſus had taken government off its natural baſe, and all kingdoms tumbled into one mighty maſs of ruins. Wherever the hierarchical ſyſtem of eccleſiaſtical polity came, civil governours ſoon found, that the pretended ſuperintendents of mankind ought to be ſuperintended themſelves, and they were obliged to ſet up ſome new claims over their ſubjects to counterbalance clerical influence. Moſt princes allied themſelves to theſe dangerous invaders; but ſacred deſpotiſm was ſtrengthened by foreign alliances tending to univerſal dominion, and which conſequently overbalanced ſeparate ſtates. This is the chriſtianity that ruined the Roman empire.

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(3) C. Christoph. Sandii *Nucleus Hiſt. Eccles. exhibitus in hiſt. Arianorum. Coloniæ.* 1676. *Sæc. vi.* Initio hujus ſæculi ſolum Ludovicum Regem inter omnes ſuæ ætatis principes catholicum fuiſſe vult et orthodoxum Hadrian Valeſius Hiſtor. Franc. lib. vi. Quippe, ait, eo tum ſtatu res chriſtiana erat, ut hæreſi ubique dominante, imperium Orientis princeps Eutychianus obtineret, et reges barbarorum, nimirum Suevorum in Gallætia, Burgundiorum in Gallia, Veſegotthorum in Aquitania, et in Narbonenſi ſecunda, ac parte maxima Hiſpaniæ, Vandalorum et Alanorum in Africa, Oſtrogotthorum in Italia, et in parte majore Illyrici, occidentalis præterea Gipidum et Langobardorum trans Danubium incolentium Arii ſectam ſequerentur.

(4) Sozom. *Hiſt. Eccles. lib. vii. cap.* 17. Inter Arianos Conſtantinopolim incolenties eſt exorta quæſtio: utrumne, antequam filius eſſet, potuerit appellari pater Deus? Dorotheus, qui præerat huic ſectæ, quia nomen patrium relativum eſſet, antequam Filius exiſteret, patrem non appellari Deum pronunciavit. Marinus contrarium affirmabat. Ex hac igitur cauſa in duas partes plebs diviſa fuit. . . . Hoc modo Ariani ab initio ſegregati ſunt: atque etiam nunc, in quibus civitatibus ſunt, ſeparatim congregantur, eos vero, qui Conſtantinopoli degebant, triginta jam tum et quinque annis inter ſeſe rixatos, in concordiam poſtmodum redegit ipſorum ſectator Plinthas, vir conſularis, tum equeſtris tum pedeſtris exercitus præfectus, qui tum in aula imperatoris potentiſſimus erat. Atque illi quidem, cum in unum conveniſſent, decreverunt, hanc queſtionem deinceps in controverſiam nunquam eſſe vocandam.

(5) Sandius. *ubi ſup.* . . . Salvian. *de Gubern. lib. iii.* Non ſunt principes pagani, non tyranni perſecutores, non ſanguis ſanctorum funditur. &c.

Leo the Iſaurian, who had riſen to be emperour of the eaſt by his merit in the army, had been acquainted in his youth with ſome Jews, who had convinced him of the impropriety, if not idolatry of placing images in buildings ſet apart for the worſhip of Almighty God. Leo, after he became emperour took the advice of the ſenate and the prelates on the queſtion of removing pictures and ſtatues from places of worſhip, and iſſued an edict for cleanſing the churches of them(6). Ravenna in Italy, which had formerly been the ſeat of the weſtern emperours in the decline of the empire, and ſince of the kings of the Wiſigoths, was at this time a part of the eaſtern empire, and was governed in the emperour's name by a viceroy, called an exarch. Rome was a dutchy dependent on the exarchate, and the exarch was the ſuperintendent of the pope, who was therefore a ſubject of the emperour of the eaſt. When Leo's order to remove images arrived at Rome, the pope treated it with more than contempt. He ſent circular letters eaſtward and weſtward full of the moſt inſolent abuſe, exhorted all to diſobey the edict, declared Leo an heretick, and to inſult him the more ordered ſix new pictures to be put up in a church where only one had been before. Germanus the patriarch of Conſtantinople, and a prodigious number more eſpouſed the cauſe of this holy rebel, and pronounced the emperour a Manichean, an heretick, a forerunner of antichriſt, a man guilty of all manner of crimes, a Saracen, an atheiſt, and a damned apoſtate, doomed to ſuffer the worm that never dies, and the fire that is never quenched. If it be inquired, what hath his imperial majeſty done? The anſwer is: he hath removed the images of all the ſaints in paradiſe out of the churches, he hath coined money with a repreſentation only of Jeſus, and with theſe words, "He is king of kings and lord of lords," and he hath even taken away the image of the lady mother of God, and theſe crimes prove him an atheiſt, fit only to be dethroned and deſtroyed, and caſt into the loweſt hell. Harſh as this language may ſound, it is ſoft in compariſon with that of the raving hiſtorians from whom it is taken. It is incredible what confuſion this affair cauſed, what crimes it occaſioned, what revolutions it produced. Round went the juggling box of councils, and traditions, and miracles, and viſions, and excommunications; and the good emperour himſelf was laid under a curſe. The pope's party was called Iconlatræ, worſhippers of images: and the emperour's was named Iconomachi, or deſtroyers of images.

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(6) LEONIS III. *vit.* . . . ZONARÆ *An. t. ii. lib. xv.* . . . CEDRENI *hiſt. Comp.* . . . PAULI WARNEFRID. . . . . . . JACQUES BASNAGE *hiſt. de l'egliſe. tom. ii. liv. xxiii. chap. ii. Hiſt. du regne de Leon l'Iſaurien.*

God, who ſeeth not as a prieſt ſeeth, bleſſed the emperour with a ſon, whom he ordered to be baptized by the name of Conſtantine. Such was the low inſolence of the prieſts, that from a little natural circumſtance, they nicknamed the innocent child Copronymus, and what was worſe pretended to propheſy from the accident that he would be if it were poſſible a worſe devil than his father (7). This filthy name ought never to be engliſhed, unleſs it were literally deſcriptive of a naſty diſagreeable fellow, for which reaſon, perhaps, the Roman provincials in Africa called the greateſt ſaint in the hierarchy not Cyprianus but Coprianus. This African was the firſt projector of infant baptiſm, and nothing is more likely than that he was nicknamed Coprian for bringing naſtineſs into a publick aſſembly. What often happened, while children were dipped naked, fell out at the baptiſm of Conſtantine. He defiled the water. The prieſt foretold he would be an Antichriſt to the church. This came to paſs, for he ſucceeded his father in the empire, he ſtrengthened the laws againſt images, and added more, he ordered his ſubjects to worſhip only God, he declared, as Jeſus had taught, that there was none holy but God, and commanded that no one ſhould be called a ſaint, no relicks ſhould be adored, no departed ſpirits ſhould be invoked, no, not the virgin Mary herſelf, who after the birth of Jeſus was no more than other women (8). For theſe high crimes and miſdemeanors he was moſt devoutly curſed by all his catholick ſubjects, his lieutenant at Ravenna was aſſaſſinated, the exarchate was ſeized by the Lombards, who had been ſome time converted to the catholick faith, and his moſt humble ſervant the pope ſet up for a ſucceſſor of the Cæſars himſelf. With this view Stephen turned his eye to France, hoping if he could get rid of his new maſter Aſtolphus, the king of the Lombards, he might become a ſecular power himſelf.

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(7) CONSTANTINI COPRONYMI *vita*. . . . Quod ſacrum fontem ventris onere, cum infantulus baptizaretur, fœdaverit, ſic cognominatus: ut ex Caballinarum æſtimatione ſordium Caballinus.

JO. BAPT. EGNATII. *Rom. princ. lib. ii.* CONST. COPRONYMOS. Impio patri ſceleſtiſſima ſucceſſit proles Conſtantinus cognomento Copronymi, quod infans baptiſmi lavacro admotus, mediis ſacris alimoniæ excrementis aquam polluerat. Is non ſolum patris *impietatem* in abolendis divorum imaginibus reddidit, verum etiam *graviore ſcelere* reliquias eorum aut contempſit aut combuſſit.

(8) HENNINI *addit. ad vit.* LEONIS IV. *Porphyrogeniti.* Hoc fatum habuere omnes principes Iconomachi, ut ab Iconolatris hiſtoricis depingerentur nigerrimo carbone, quamvis fulſerint ſuis virtutibus: e contrario autem Iconoduli et Xylolatræ principes, licet omnibus vitiis cooperti et infames, ſummis in cœlum laudibus conſecrentur. Hinc iſta Cerberi infernali ſpuma pronus in mendacia Græculus Iconolatra Suidas, cum ſociis ſuis deſpuit et allatrat Leonis iv. patrem Conſtantinum ut verſutam pardalim, de ſerpentino ſemine aſpidem atrocem et ſerpentem volaticum, eximium organum præceptoris diaboli, veneris cultorem, humanarum hoſtiarum immolatorem, magum, Dæmonum invocatorem, Antichriſtum, blaſphemum, hæreſium omnium patronum, Atheum, Monſtrum, Neronem: nam Copronymi et Cabbalini, calumnias ut minores omitto. Cur autem hæc ex Styge ſputa eum petiverunt? Suidas ait, quia lege ſanciverat: 1. ne quis Sanctus diceretur. 2. ne eorum reliquiæ colerentur. 3. ne Sanctorum interceſſio peteretur, utpote inanis: 4. ne quidem Mariæ: 5. quæ poſt partum cæteris mulieribus eſſet æqualis. O gemmæ veræ fidei! vivat memoria optimi Imp. qui ob hanc patitur! putreſcat memoria Iconolatrarum calumniatorum!

DU FRESNE *famil. Byzant. Leo. Iſaur.* . . . MAIMB. *Hiſt. des Iconocl.* . . . *Vita* STEPHANI *junioris, qui martyrium ſubiit ſub impio iconocauſta imp.* CONST. COPRON. *apud Analect Græc. p. p.* BENEDICT.

A little before this time Charles Martel had been prime miniſter to Childeric the third of France, called the Witleſs. Charles had a ſon named Pepin or the Short, becauſe he was nearly a dwarf. The father and the ſon had circumvented the witleſs Monarch, converted him into a monk, and Pepin had been proclaimed king. The condition of the popes at this time was very precarious. Their doctrine had created many tyrants, who were competitors with them, becauſe they all pretended to govern the religion and conſciences of mankind. Emperours, empreſſes, exarchs, generals of imperial forces, eaſtern councils, foreign patriarchs, the ſenate of Rome, archbiſhops of Italy, monks headed by rich cunning and powerful abbots, kings and queens of the Lombards, the great families of Rome caballing for the pontificate, popular inſurrections, all had conſpired to inform the papal cabinet that, unleſs a weſtern ally could be found to bring a balance of power into the church, the ſecular dominion of the Roman pontiff could not be eſtabliſhed, and without that ſpiritual authority could not be ſupported. Pepin was an uſurper, but that did not ſignify, he was a dreadful fighting little man, and had already led an army to ſubdue the pagan Saxons to the faith of Chriſt, that is he had murdered ſome, forced the reſt to be baptized, and impoſed on theſe new converts an annual tribute of three hundred horſes (9). This was a man after the pope's own heart. Two had applied to France for aid, but an event fell out now, which induced Stephen the preſent pope to pay Pepin a viſit.

When Stephen and Pepin met, a thouſand falſe lights were hung out to amuſe and perplex ſpectators, and to conceal the true ſtate of the caſe. Stephen pretended to have viſions, and Pepin received a letter from heaven, written by S. Peter: but it is not imaginable they did any thing but laugh at ſuch tales in private (1). The fact was, they were both uſurpers, and each had it in his power to injure and to ſerve the other. Had Stephen excommunicated Pepin, the Franks would have dethroned him. If Pepin ſhould lead his troops to aſſiſt Stephen the attention of the Franks would be drawn off from his title, or ſhould any diſpute it, he would have a plauſible reaſon for keeping up at the head of an army to decide the dangerous queſtion. Whether they had confidence enough in one another the truth cannot be known: but Stephen's caſe was this. The diſpute between his predeceſſors and the emperour Leo had cauſed the people of Rome, Campania, Ravenna and Pentapolis to revolt. The people abſolved from their allegiance, and forbidden to pay tribute by the papal bulls and letters of excommunication, had killed the exarch Paul at Ravenna. Peter the duke of Rome had become blind and was neglected. Exhileratus Duke of Campania, and his ſon Hadrian had been murdered by the Romans under pretence that they excited the people againſt the pope. Eutychius a new exarch had exaſperated the Romans for attempting to puniſh the pope, the ringleader of all the ills of the empire, and his faction at Rome, and they had thrown off obedience to the Greek emperour, and taken an oath to preſerve the ſtate. Thus Rome with its dutchy had become an independent ſtate, and a ſenate had been formed to govern civil affairs, while the government of the church was committed to the pope. The Lombard kings had long been won over to the church by the artifices of pope Gregory i. and the influence of queen Theodelinda. Under pretence of aſſiſting the Romans in their revolt, the Lombard king had taken Ravenna, and now he conſidered himſelf as ſucceeding to the imperial rights appendent to the exarchate, one of which was the inſpection and direction of affairs at Rome. Stephen knowing he ſhould always have far more partizans in the deſpotic empire of the eaſt than he could ever hope to obtain in a kingdom framed like that of the Lombards, had paid a viſit to the king, and had tried to flatter him into a reſignation of the exarchate to the emperour. This had not ſucceeded. Now he laid his caſe before Pepin, and perſuaded him to take the exarchate and Pentapolis from the Lombards, and give them to S. Peter. When he returned king Aſtulphus provoked at his treachery beſieged Rome. An expreſs was ſent to Pepin, who flew into Italy, raiſed the ſiege, and obliged the Lombards to ſurrender the exarchate and Pentapolis to the pope for a perpetual poſſeſſion. This was in the year ſeven hundred and fifty five. Thus the pope became a temporal prince, and from this time he left off in his epiſtles and bulls to note the years of the greek emperours, as he had hitherto done. It was this Stephen in this viſit, who firſt allowed the validity of pouring inſtead of dipping in baptiſm.

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(9) ALBERTI CRANTZII *Saxonia Coloniæ.* 1574. *lib. i. cap. xxxiv.* Prima Pipini poſt ſuſceptam coronam opera fuit, arma in perfidos Chriſto Saxones vertere. Ea fuit gentis moles, ut non ſtatim ad mutandam religionem poſſet armis cogi.

ANT. PAGI *Crit. in Annal. Baronii. Antw.* 1705.

CAROLI LE COINTE *Annal. Eccles. Francor.*

(1) STEPHANI *vita.* . . . CAR. SIGONII *Hiſt. de regn. Italiæ. Hanov.* 1618.

Confidently as this donation is affirmed by a thouſand authors, who copy Anaſtaſius the librarian, who wrote one hundred and forty years after the time, there are many who deny it. The hiſtories of thoſe times are ſo confuſed and contradictory, that nothing can be aſſerted on this article with ſufficient evidence. What may be depended on is: that the prefect, the ſenate and the people of Rome were not ſubdued by their biſhop till half a century after this time; that Charlemagne the ſon of Pepin was called into Italy by pope Adrian; that Leo the third fled to Charles for aid againſt the Romans; that Charles reinſtated him, and was elected emperour; that he enriched the pope by ſeveral methods, as by giving him the marquiſate of Ancona, by ſubduing ſeveral nations, forcing them to profeſs the catholick faith, and laying out their diſtricts into biſhopricks, to be governed by creatures of the pope; and, what was better than all the reſt, by ſetting him above law, and ſo putting it in his power to enrich himſelf, and to reduce the ſucceſſors of his bountiful patron to a ſtate of ſlavery: all which in due time came to paſs. How ever the pope came by his territories, he ſhared the fate of other princes, and is ſometimes ſeen ſtripped of almoſt every diſtrict, and at other times reigning over extenſive poſſeſſions. At preſent he hath an "acknowledged ſovereignty through a country that extends one hundred and eighty great Italian miles in length, from the gates of Mantua to the confines of Abruzzo, along the Adriatick ſea: and above one hundred miles in width, from Civita Vecchia to the ſhore of Ancona; that is from the one ſea to the other. In order to ſecure ſuch a conſiderable dominion, it was neceſſary to be always in negociation, and often in arms (2)."

The crowning circumſtance that ſet him above law happened in the year eight hundred, or as ſome ſay, the year before. The Roman ſenate and people underſtanding that pope Leo III. was employed in conſpiring with Charlemagne to reduce them to ſlavery, ſeized Leo, taxed him with ſeveral crimes, ſtripped him of his ſacerdotal habits, and ſhut him up in a monaſtery (3). Two prieſts were of the number. By ſome means Leo eſcaped, and fled to Paderborn, and threw himſelf at the feet of Charles. With a great retinue of nobles and biſhops of France he was ſent back, and ſoon after Charles went to Rome, ſummoned a council of Italian and French biſhops (a picked jury no doubt) and appointed a day to preſide himſelf, and hear both parties. When the day came the ſolemn aſſembly met in the church of S. Peter: but when the trial ſhould have come on, the archbiſhops, biſhops, and abbots unanimouſly declared: They durſt not judge the apoſtolical ſee, the head of all the churches of God. They conſidered Leo as high prieſt appointed to judge all, and himſelf to be judged of no man. Leo aſcended a pulpit, took the goſpels in his hand, and in the preſence of all declared upon his oath, that he was innocent of the crimes laid to his charge. The aſſembly was ſo tranſported with joy at hearing this, that the archbiſhops, biſhops, abbots, and all the clergy broke out into acclamations, ſinging a litany, and praiſing God, and the mother of God, lady Mary, always a virgin, bleſſed S. Peter, prince of the apoſtles, and all the other ſaints (4). Three hundred Romans, enemies of the pope, were beheaded in one day in the fields of the Lateran, the two prieſts were baniſhed, and on Chriſtmas-day, to the great ſurprize of Charles, Leo, while divine ſervice was performing, ſaluted him as emperour of Rome: and the church reſounded with acclamations. Charles was complimented with the name, but Leo had the thing: the title of emperour is a ſhadow; to be above law is the ſubſtance. They who have interpreted the prophecies of the new teſtament concerning antichriſt, and the vials, and the horns, ten kingdoms, and ſuch figures of a local antichriſt, have only filled up a ſcheme of interpretation ſtruck out by pope Gregory I (5). Dominion over conſcience is antichriſt any where. At Rome antichriſt is of age, a ſovereign and wears a crown: at the meaneſt meeting houſe if the ſame kind of tyranny be, antichriſt is a beggar's baby at the breaſt: but as conſcience every where is a throne of God, ſo an uſurper of his throne is antichriſt any where.

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(2) Voltaire's *Works. vol. i. chap ix.*

(3) Anastasii *vita Leonis iii.* Univerſi archiepiſcopi, et epiſcopi, et abbates unanimiter audientes dixerunt. Nos ſedem apoſtolicam, quæ eſt caput omnium Dei eccleſiarum judicare non audemus. Nam ab ipſa nos omnes, et vicario ſuo judicamur, ipſa autem a nemine judicatur, quemadmodum, et antiquitus mos fuit. Sed ſicut ipſe ſummus pontifex cenſuerit, canonice obediemus.

(4) Et hoc peracto omnes archiepiſcopi, epiſcopi, et abbates, et cuncti clerici lætania facta laudes

Time, the tutor of the dull, ſufficiently diſcovered the injuſtice and the folly of that ſtate into which the clergy had put the pope: the injuſtice, becauſe he iſſued laws oppreſſive to others; and the folly, becauſe the oppreſſed had no check upon him. The queſtion in time came up: What is above law? It was replied, the church. Is this the pope alone? or a general council? or the pope and council united? What if they ſhould diſagree? Happy had it been for the world if rhetoricians had never been legiſlators! Ambiguity makes a queſtion. A queſtion is anſwered by a law. The law is a metaphor: a metaphor is an ambiguity. The whole goes round in one perpetual circle of darkneſs called elucidation. Let it be affirmed, by a ſublime figure of ſpeech, that the pope alone is the church, or the head of the church; or, without a figure, the ſole legiſlator in religion. Is Leo the pope? What conſtitutes a pope: perſonal properties? may a dwarf, a deformed man, or a monſter be pope? are mental abilities eſſential: may an idiot, or a madman be pope? are any moral qualities neceſſary: may a blaſphemer, an aſſaſſin, a miſer be pope? Are any forms neceſſary to conſtitute a pope: what are thoſe forms? Is election one? Who are the electors: the people alone, the clergy alone, and what conſtitutes a clergyman, the nobility, any two claſſes together, or all three united, is an unanimity of votes neceſſary, or will a majority do? Is any ſcrutiny allowed, and what conſtitutes a good vote? How if the electors ſhould divide, and ſet up two popes, or three? How if one ſhould contradict his predeceſſor: can oppoſite orders be obeyed? How if one pope ſhould fall into what another had determined to be hereſy?..... The deſign of all this is only to hint, that the church polity, which goes on the ground of governing conſcience, is to the laſt degree prepoſterous, the polity itſelf is a ſource of diſunion, the cauſe not the effect of iniquity. The conſtitution itſelf cauſed thouſands of idle queſtions, which ended in rules of action, and the obſerva-

laudes dederunt Deo, atque Dei genetrici, ſemperque virgini Mariæ, Dominæ noſtræ, et beato Petro apoſtolorum principi, omnibuſque Sanctis Dei.

(5) Sir Isaac Newton's *Obſerv. on the Apocalypſe of S. John. chap. iii.*

tions of theſe rules became the practice of piety. Many proteſtants have proved to a demonſtration that a man may practiſe the whole papal ritual from being chriſtened into the community to his arrival at the pontificate without having either faith or repentance, and ſo may become the ſovereign of all chriſtians without being a chriſtian himſelf.

After all, what hath this polity done in the way of governing underſtanding and conſcience? Nothing at all. The pope put on three crowns, and diſplayed the enſigns of three keys, not as ſome ſuppoſe to expreſs his government of heaven earth and hell (this is the ſpiritual ſenſe) the true literal meaning is that he claims the ſovereignty of the three parts of his patrimony, the dutchy of Rome, the exarchate of Ravenna, and the places taken from the Lombards. It may with the utmoſt truth be ſaid, reſpectable as he is as a prince, yet like all other princes, he is a mere phantom of dominion over conſcience, for neither he nor any other prince in the world ever had it. There is a fallacy in the terms. Dominion over conduct is a very diſtinct thing from dominion over conſcience. The firſt a prince may have: the laſt no man ever had. Conſcience is governed by the underſtanding, the underſtanding by information. A man who hath not been informed of a ſubject doth not underſtand it. What he knows nothing about will never trouble his conſcience. The fort, therefore, of a pretended governour of conſcience is to enforce ſuch rules of conduct as preclude information. Rulers know this, and they always knew this, and hence proceeded all the rules of papal action. Jews are tolerated at Rome, becauſe Jews give no information to chriſtians on the ſubjects that divide them. Hereticks are puniſhed, becauſe they give information. The ſchools, the preſs, the pulpit, the gates, the ports are all guarded for the purpoſe of keeping out information. Not a priſon or an hoſpital but has its epiſcopizing chaplain. Not a diſtrict without a prieſt: it is even a branch of piety to ſettle and endow theſe ſacred officers of the cuſtoms. Every individual hath his confeſſor, it is a preparation for heaven to give him the gauge of the ſoul. The holy ſuperintendency begins at the birth and ends only at the grave. To perform the ceremonies with dexterity, to be adroit to ſprinkle an infant, careful to oil the livid ſkin of a man in his laſt agony gaſping to die; theſe practices, and ſuch as theſe are learning and piety, the worſhip of God and the exerciſe of benevolence to mankind. People uninformed are eaſy. The caſe differs after they underſtand. It is not only in articles of ſpeculation that they who have obtained information muſt be indulged: in rules of practice too they muſt be gratified. There is a ſingular inſtance of this in the archbiſhoprick of Milan, which may ſerve with a thouſand other proofs to demonſtrate, that uniformity of religion is impracticable even by the exerciſe of abſolute power, and altogether unneceſſary to the happineſs of ſociety.

Ambroſe of Milan was a great ſaint, and contributed as much as any man of his time in Italy to reduce chriſtianity from the majeſty of moral purity to the meanneſs of a ritual performance, which any ſordid ſoul may diſcharge.

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tions of theſe rules became the practice of piety. Many proteſtants have proved to a demonſtration that a man may practiſe the whole papal ritual from being chriſtened into the community to his arrival at the pontificate without having either faith or repentance, and ſo may become the ſovereign of all chriſtians without being a chriſtian himſelf.

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Vid. Sacramentale Ambroſianum.

CHAP. IX.

The Church of Spain.

CHARLEMAGNE, ſays an ancient writer ſmartly, undertook to clear the world of hereticks, as Hercules did of monſters, and Theſeus of thieves, and with equal ſucceſs (9). There were parts of the world, where Charles had no authority, and, happily for hereticks, Spain was one. An anecdote of the eighth century naturally directs the eye of a reader of eccleſiaſtical hiſtory to this part of the world. There were two chriſtian teachers, Elipand and Felix, who ſuppoſed Jeſus was the ſon of God by adoption, not by nature (1). Charles, who had been taught that the ſpeculations of ſome of his ſubjects were virtues, and different modes of thinking crimes, was pleaſed to take cognizance of this debate, and to order the two teachers to recant. Neither of them did, or could obey the order, but Felix was obliged to temporize, and died at Lyons, where he had been baniſhed, while Elipand perſevered and enjoyed himſelf; for though Felix lived among chriſtians under a chriſtian emperour, yet the government was tyrannical; and though Elipand lived among infidels, yet the government was juſt, and the people free.

Spain, including Portugal, anciently called Tarſhiſh, Iberia, Heſperia, Hiſpania, is the moſt weſtern part of the continent of Europe, and forms a large peninſula, divided from France by a chain of mountains called the Pyrenees, and encompaſſed on every other ſide by the ſea (2). Mountains, rivers, lakes, bays, minerals, trees, fruits, herbage, a rich and exuberant ſoil render this one of the moſt delightful countries in the world. In times very remote the Phœnicians ſettled colonies on the ſouthern coaſt, and during the rivalſhip of Rome and Carthage, Spain was an object of contention. At the birth of Jeſus Spain was a Roman province, and the condition of it ſimilar to that of other provinces of Rome.

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(9) ANTON. DE VILLA *Fort. lib. i. par. ii. cap. 2.*

(1) *Hiſt. Literaire de la France, tom. iv.*

(2) S. BOCHARTI *Phaleg. lib. iii. cap. vii. Tarſis.* Unus veterum mihi videtur rem acu tetigiſſe, Euſebius ſcilicet, cujus hæc verba: Θαρσεις εξ ου Ιϐερες. ut probem id ab illo veriſſime aſſeri, neceſſe habeo pauca præfari de Tyriorum et Phœnicum in Hiſpaniam navigationibus, quorum originem arceſſunt ab heroicis temporibus. Nempe Hercule Tyrio duce, quem multa faciunt Moſi συγχρονον, Phœnices in Hiſpaniam et uſque Gades navigaſſe creduntur. Fallor an id ea ætate factum, qua Judæi facti compotes terræ Chanaan veteres incolas alio migrare coegerunt. Ita ut in Boeotiam una pars ſe ceſſerit, altera in Africam et Hiſpaniam. Id certe palam

The eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of this country ought to be divided into ſix periods: the firſt from the times of the apoſtles to the reign of Conſtantine: the ſecond from that time to the period in which the northern nations ſettled there: the third from the ſettlement of theſe nations to their expulſion: the fourth from the irruption to the conqueſt of the Saracens: and the laſt from the conqueſt of the Moors to the preſent time.

I. From the times of the Apostles to the reign of Constantine.

The firſt period reaches from the year fifty-eight, in which Paul wrote his epiſtle to the Romans, to the year three hundred and twenty-five, in which the emperour Conſtantine aſſembled the council of Nice: a ſpace of two hundred and ſixty-ſeven years. When the apoſtle wrote that epiſtle, he intended to take a journey into Spain, that he might preach the goſpel, where Chriſt was not named: but whether he went, or, if he did go, whether his undertaking was crowned with ſucceſs, nobody knows. Writers of the ninth century have filled up this period with legendary tales: but they are too groſs to deſerve refutation (3). That of S. James, the patron of Spain, is a maſter-piece of the kind. The virgin Mary, it ſeems, ſent this apoſtle with twelve diſciples into Spain to build a church to her honour. When he arrived there, he raiſed an old pagan prophet from the dead, who had been buried ſix hundred years, and having baptized him by the name of Peter, conſecrated him archbiſhop of Braga. One night when S. James was at Cæſarea Auguſta, now Saragoſſa, the virgin Mary came riding in the air on a jaſper pillar attended

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palam clamitant binæ columnæ olim in Tingitana viſendæ, cum Phœnicia inſcriptione, quæ docebat fuiſſe erectas ab iis, qui fugerant *a facie Joſuæ prædonis filii Nave.*

Procopii *De bello Vandal. lib. ii. cap. x.* Ad fontem uberrimum columnæ e lapide candido viſuntur duæ, quæ inciſam Phœnicum literis et verbis ſententiam hanc ſervant: *nos ii ſumus, qui fugimus a facie Jeſu latronis filii Nave.*

(3) Dr. Michael Geddes's *miſcellaneous tracts. vol. ii. iv. Legend of S. James of Compoſtella. pag. 211. London.* 1705.

Joannis Vasæi *Rer. Hiſpanic. Chron.* Vidi Salmanticæ in bibliotheca collegii S. Salvatoris . . . hiſtoriam Compoſtellanam in duos libros digeſtam, juſſu D. Didaci primi archiepiſcopi Compoſtellani, in quibus primordia, ſucceſſus, incrementa eccleſiæ Compoſtellanæ late deſcribuntur. In iis libris plurima ſcitu digna reperi, quæ ſuis locis ponentur. Prioris libri autores fuiſſe dicuntur Munio Mindonienſis et Hugo Portugalenſis epiſcopi: poſterioris Giraldus quidam preſbyter, ut colligitur, et ejuſdem archiepiſcopi familiaris.

by thouſands of angels ſinging Ave Marias, and ordered him to build a church on the ſpot, which he did. Then he returned to Jeruſalem, where he was martyred. His twelve diſciples carried his body to Joppa, and put it on board a marble ſhip, in which they ſailed with it to Gallicia, whence they travelled with it to a wood, where the city of Compoſtella now ſtands, and buried it in a vault in a marble coffin. About eight hundred years after the body was found by Don Theodomir, biſhop of Iria, and the king built a church over it, and endowed it with lands. S. James ſoon after rendered the moſt ſignal ſervice to his devotees in a war with the Moors. The Spaniards were then tributaries to the Moors, and the annual tribute was an hundred chriſtian virgins. Don Ramiro refuſed to pay. The Moors attacked him. Ramiro raiſed forces and reſiſted, and S. James in full armour riding on a ſtately white horſe at the head of the troops mowed down whole ſquadrons of Moors, and freed Spain from the tribute. Hence came the rich and numerous military order of S. James: hence he was made patron of Spain: hence that knight errantry, which in modern times the author of Don Quixote endeavoured to ſubdue by ridicule.

It is in all caſes extremely difficult, and is almoſt utterly impoſſible to obtain certainty in eccleſiaſtical hiſtory from ancient records. Moſt genuine writings have been garbled and interpolated, and many others are altogether forgeries. No man underſtood Spaniſh antiquities better than Doctor Geddes, and he ſays, there is no hiſtory of the Spaniſh church before the year three hundred and twenty-four, in which year the council of Eliberis was held (4). The Doctor obſerves further, that the biſhop of Rome had no authority over the Spaniſh churches till the eighth century, and that then the attempt to introduce his ſupremacy was rejected and condemned by all the biſhops of Spain in council. The proof of this is taken from forty eccleſiaſtical ſynods held in Spain between the years three hundred twenty-four and ſix hundred ninety-four, none of which were aſſembled by the biſhop of Rome, in which he had no repreſentative, which were never notified to him for his approbation, in ſome of which he is not ſo much as mentioned, and although in thoſe aſſemblies many canons were framed for the regulation of an eccleſiaſtical hierarchy, yet there is not the leaſt mention of papal ſupremacy in any of them.

Garſias Loaiſa, afterward archbiſhop of Toledo, publiſhed, from ſeveral ancient manuſcripts, a correct edition of all theſe councils, with learned notes (5). Several have ſince written comments on them, and the intention of all is to expound them ſo as to ſave from harm the doctrine of papal ſupremacy (6). Commentators, who have ſucceeded in expounding the new teſtament ſo as to render that ſavourable to hierarchical dominion, ought never to deſpair. To proteſtants the councils themſelves are of no more value than as they elucidate ancient eccleſiaſtical hiſtory by diſcovering the manners of the people, exactly as obſolete laws do: but the diſputes of canoniſts, who gravely conſider the maxims of ſeven poor biſhops in a corner of Spain a thouſand years ago as laws to regulate the conſciences of all chriſtians to the end of the world, are a very low claſs of ſophiſms indeed (7)!

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(4) *Tracts, vol. ii.*

(5) GARSIÆ LOAISA *Collectio Conciliorum Hiſpaniæ. Madriti.* 1593.

(6) GABRIELIS ALBASPINÆI *Notæ in concil. Eliberitanum, et quoſdam alios antiquos canones. Pariſiis.* 1624.

Eliberis, Illiberis, or Elvire, is a village near Granada on the coaſt of Spain. The council, as it is called, which was held there the year before that at Nice, conſiſted of nineteen biſhops, twenty-four, or twenty-ſix elders, beſides deacons and people (8). It ſhould ſeem, the biſhops and elders had been elected by the churches to regulate the diſcipline in this aſſociation, and that after the canons had been made they were read to the deacons and the people for their approbation, the biſhops and the elders ſitting, and the deacons and the people ſtanding (9). Theſe circumſtances have exerciſed the geniuſſes of canoniſts, and they have racked their invention to find reaſons for the preſence of the people. At length it hath been determined, that the people were never conſulted, and that after the council had made canons they were called together only to hear the orders of their maſters publiſhed: therefore, ſay they, the prieſts ſat, and the people ſtood. The fact is, civil government did not interfere: prieſts had no authority, no exiſtence but what the people choſe to give them: canons had no force but from civil coercion: it was very convenient to the people to elect the officers of their churches to frame rules of diſcipline: and it was highly proper when this committee, which is here called a council, laid theſe rules before their conſtituents, that the people ſhould all ſtand up to vote, while the old men of the committee might be indulged to ſit as having no vote, or as being ſuppoſed to have given their votes in framing the canons.

Severini Binii *notæ in Conc. Elib. apud* Labbeum.

Ferdinandi de Mendoza *De Confirmand. Concil. Elib. ad* Clementem. P. viii. *Comment.*

(7) Garsias. *de codicibus Manuſcriptis, quibus uſus ſum in hac collectione. pag.* 9.

Gerundenſe concilium	vii.	Epiſcoporum habitum. An.	555.
Toletanum ſecundum	viii.	Epiſc. - - - - - - -	565.
Valetanum	vi.	Epiſc. - - - - - - -	584.
Bracarenſis ſynodus	viii.	Epiſc. - - - - - - -	599.
Hiſpalenſe	viii.	Epiſc. - - - - - - -	628.
Toletanum	xiv.	Epiſc. - - - - - - -	630.

Bonæ *rer. liturg. lib. i. cap. xvi.* . . . . Paci *Crit. Baron. an. lv.* . . . *&c.*

(8) Garsias *ut ſup. p.* 18. Sunt qui dicunt, poſt ſubſcriptiones epiſcoporum, in vetuſto codice legi ſequentes preſbyterorum. Auctores ſunt Zurita . . . et Genebrardus.

(9) Mendozæ *ut ſup. lib. i. cap. xii.* Et omni plebe. Abſit, beatiſſime pater, ut hinc aliquis eam erroris maculam Hiſpaniæ aſpergat. ut eo tempore, aut unquam in conciliis provincialibus, vel generalibus, intereſſe plebem potuiſſe dicat, et ejus judicio, ut eccleſiaſticorum, cauſas eccleſiæ tractari, et diffiniri: ſed ut auribus exciperet, quæ catholicæ eccleſiæ epiſcopi decreverant.

The canons of this council are eighty one ſhort rules of church diſcipline, which, if they be genuine, clearly prove that the churches in this connection were forming a party againſt pagans, jews and hereticks, under the direction of teachers, who were introducing a jewiſh theology, and creating themſelves prieſts after the model of the moſaical œconomy in the name of Chriſt. The mention of hereticks proves that there were other chriſtian churches in Spain beſides theſe, and if the heretical churches were as depraved in their morals as theſe, they were hereticks indeed. Three remarks on theſe canons may ſuffice to ſhew the general ſtate of chriſtianity in Spain at this time.

Firſt, here are no articles of faith mentioned, and the ſubjects of reprehenſion are idolatrous or immoral practices. This ſerves to eſtabliſh the antiquity of theſe canons, and affords a probable proof of what hath been elſewhere obſerved, that primitive chriſtians were united in church fellowſhip by moral and not ſpeculative bonds (1). The catholicks infer from the ſilence of the council on articles of faith that the fathers held the doctrines of the council of Nice, and conſequently were orthodox believers: but the inference is illogical, for any other party might as well conclude that they held their opinions. Hereticks, indeed, are mentioned: but what ſenſe they affixed to the term hereſy, no commentator is able to ſay. It ſhould ſeem, theſe churches were veering about toward a ſpeculative teſt, and that Oſius biſhop of the church at Cordova was bringing them about to the athanaſian faith. He was the firſt, who introduced a creed, when he preſided at the council of Nice (2).

Secondly. It is obſervable, that theſe canons are ratified by the primitive ſanction of deprivation of communion, and by no civil or eccleſiaſtical coercion. It hath been obſerved in another place, that primitive excommunication was not of divine appointment: but that it roſe out of mutual compact, which naturally originated in the condition of equality, in which Jeſus had placed his diſciples, and was not derived either from the ſynagogue, or the temple, or the civil or eccleſiaſtical ſtate of the Jews (3). This is another proof of the antiquity of this council, and the ancient ſimplicity of the church diſcipline of the chriſtians of Spain. This diſcipline doth not reſemble the modern laws of the court of inquiſition.

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(1) MENDOZÆ *lib. ii. cap. i.* Apoſtolorum ſymbolum cur patres Illiberitani initio hujus concilii omiſerint.

(2) IBID. Cum certis, præſertim D. Athanaſii, monumentis ſit traditum, eundem hunc, qui concilio huic interfuit et ſubſcripſit, Oſium, oborta Ariana hæreſi contra ſecundam trinitatis perſonam, omnium illum primum, Silveſtri papæ et univerſi concilii auctoritate, Nicænum fidei ſymbolum concinnaſſe, et principio illius præfixiſſe, (a quo illa poſthac in conciliis reliquis edendi ſymboli manavit conſuetudo) additis expreſſius his, quæ ad extinguendam accenſam ab Ario flammam de conſubſtantialitate filii cum patre videbantur neceſſaria.

(3) J. H. BOEHMERI *Jus antiq. Diſs. iii. De Confœderat. chriſtianor. diſciplina.* Excommunicatio non fluit ex dicto Chriſti Mat. xviii. . . . nec ex jure ligandi. . . . nec ex poteſtate remittendi peccata. . . . ſed ex diſciplina confœderata. . . . non habebat locum in deſertoribus. . . . chriſtanorum novum plane jus fuit.

Thirdly. It is clear by theſe canons that the aſſociated churches were going a great pace into a ſtate of ſervitude. They had diſconcerted the order of equality, in which Jeſus had placed his diſciples, and had exchanged the original name of brethren for thoſe of clergy and people; virgins of the world virgins devoted to God; catholicks and hereticks; and other ſuch futile diſtinctions, which tend to create falſe ideas of virtue and vice, and conſequently to expoſe ſome good citizens to popular hatred, and to elevate ſome inſignificant poſture-maſters into oracles of truth and models of piety and virtue (4). Whatever deranges the equality of chriſtians is the ſpirit of antichriſt, all the reſt is nothing but the carcaſe.

As far as the acts of this celebrated council diſcover the manners of the Spaniſh chriſtians called catholicks, it may be affirmed that, although they had not quite laid aſide every part of the primitive diſcipline, yet they had laid down a principle which ſubverted the whole. The primitive diſcipline began in a mutual contract between brethren; into which each was at his own requeſt baptized: all the canons of this council, which regard catechumens, go on the ſame principle, infants are not mentioned, and immoral catechumens are declared inadmiſſible (5). It ſhould ſeem too, that they admitted minors, for youths of both ſexes are called believers (6). The primitive diſcipline had for its object the overt moral conduct of the members; it had no ſuch virtue as orthodoxy, and no ſuch crime as hereſy: theſe canons go on the ſame principle, and the general deſign is evidently to reſtrain vice, and to promote virtue. The ſlight mention of hereſy and catholiciſm proves that the biſhops were introducing ſpeculation for virtue, inſtead of practice. In many other particulars theſe facts might be parallelled, if it were neceſſary (7).

It is obſervable, however, that theſe chriſtians were of the judaizing kind (8). They obſerved the ſabbath, kept pentecoſt, practiſed divorce, and allowed of prieſthood: but it was not any of theſe that ſubverted the primitive diſcipline. Every ceremony not congenial to the ſimplicity of the chriſtian religion tarniſhes the beauty of it, when it is aſſociated with it: but it is legiſlation which ſubverts it. Chriſtians may practiſe different rites of religion without any injury to virtue: but when one impoſes his form on another, virtue expires: the impoſer and the receiver ceaſe to be two brethren; the one is a tyrant, the other is a ſlave. In the preſent caſe canoniſts remark the propriety of theſe fathers in wording their canons (9). There are, ſay they, three ſorts of eccleſiaſtical obligations: the firſt is the law of nature: the ſecond the poſitive inſtitutes of ſcripture: and the third the ſtatutes of eccleſiaſtical rulers. Theſe are of two ſorts. The firſt are articles of belief, which are properly worded when the form runs thus: this is the faith of the catholick church: or the church believes ſuch and ſuch articles: or in brief, we believe, or I believe ſo and ſo. The ſecond are rules of poſitive performances, and theſe are called placita, decrees, ſentences, or opinions which pleaſe the court. Theſe are properly worded, when the term placuit is prefixed. They quote for authority two very ill-choſen precedents. The Roman ſenate gave their votes in this manner: and the firſt council at Jeruſalem uſed this form; it pleaſed the apoſtles and elders with the whole church; it ſeemed good unto us being aſſembled with one accord; it ſeemed good to the holy ghoſt and to us. Nothing is ſo frivolous as an attention to ſounds without meaning. The Roman ſenate was the civil government of the empire; but is conſcience a ſubject of empire, and are prieſts civil governours? It pleaſed the inſpired apoſtles, and the elders, and the whole church to ordain ſo and ſo: and therefore a few, who are neither inſpired, nor apoſtles, nor elders, nor the whole church, nor it may be any part of the church, but mere worldly men, have a right to iſſue their placuits to bind the conſciences, and regulate the actions of all men! Strange logick, this!

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(4) *Can. xx. De clericis et laicis uſurariis. . . . xiii. De virginibus Deo ſacratis. . . . xiv. De virginibus ſecularibus. . . . li. De Hæreticis, ut ad clerum non promoveantur. . . . xxii. De catholicis in hæreſim tranſeuntibus.*

(5) BOEHMERI *Jus antiq. Diſs. iii. De confœd. Chriſtianor. diſciplin.*
Can. x. De relicta catechumeni, ſi alterum duxerit. . . . xi. De catechumena, ſi graviter ægrotaverit. . . lxvii. De conjugio catechumenæ fœminæ. . . lxviii. De catechumena adultera. . . xlv. De catechumenis, ſi ad eccleſiam non frequentant.

(6) *Can. xxxi.* De adoleſcentibus, qui poſt lavacrum mœchati ſunt. . . . xvi. De puellis fidelibus, ne infidelibus conjungantur.

(7) *Can. xxxviii.* Ut in neceſſitate et fideles baptizent. . . . lvi. De magiſtratibus. &c.

(8) *Can. xxvi.* Ut omni Sabbatho jejunetur. . . xliii. De celebratione pentecoſtes. . . viii. De fœminis, quæ relictis viris ſuis, aliis nubunt. . . . ii. De ſacerdotibus gentilium. . . . xviii. De ſacerdotibus et miniſtris, ſi mœchaverint.

II. From the Council of Nice to the Settlement of the Northern Nations, &c.

The ſecond period of Spaniſh eccleſiaſtical hiſtory includes eighty-four years, to be reckoned from the council of Nice to the year four hundred and nine, when the Suevi erected a kingdom in Spain. During this period, in Spain, as in other provinces, the party, who called themſelves catholick, and who placed chriſtianity in a profeſſion, tacit or expreſs, of believing, as the moſt believed, what the council of Nice had affirmed to be true, were allied to the civil power, and were protected and enriched by the ſtate, while all others were diſcountenanced. Here, then, is an eſtabliſhed church, and diſſenters, and here it is natural to look for hereticks, and penal ſanctions. It would be endleſs to enumerate and aſſort theſe nonconformiſts. Saint Auguſtine had as fine a ſcent for this ſort of game as ever ſaint had. He flouriſhed in this period, and lived in the vicinity of Spain; and he reckoned up no leſs than eighty eight ſorts of theſe poor beings, whom he and other ſuch holy men doomed to utter deſtruction(1). He had a little pariſh in his own dioceſe infected with hereſy, for the inhabitants not being married, and having no children, adopted thoſe of their neighbours, and at their deceaſe left them their ſubſtance(2). This afflicted the chaſte biſhop ſo greatly, that he corrected them till they became catholicks, for it was an evidence of intereſt in the death of Chriſt to ſay, I believe as the church believes, while feeding the hungry and clothing the naked was doing only what any ungracious child of old Adam might do. Beſide, theſe people were called Abelites from that ſon of Adam, who ſpent his days in keeping ſheep and adoring one great Lord of all, and whom they reſembled: but the council of Nice had impoſed the name of omouſion on all good men, while the wicked were called omoiouſions. It was fit theſe ruſticks ſhould call themſelves by the family name. Auſtin muſt have heard, that when the emperour Conſtantine aſked Oſius, biſhop of Cordova, who preſided at the council of Nice, which of theſe two names was the right, the biſhop anſwered, they were both alike, at which all the company, except a few biſhops, burſt out a laughing, and they taxed the old prelate with hereſy(3). Yet for words, at which wiſe men laughed, did Auſtin and ſuch as he ſet the world in a flame. A Spaniſh biſhop named Oroſius, ſent ſome cramp words to Auſtin for advice. He made hereſy of them, and publiſhed to the world that Spain was a ſink into which the filth of all hereſies flowed, and conſequently that a Spaniſh heretick was a compound of near ninety hereſies (4). Seriouſly, if theſe writers had not been canonized for ſaints, and conſulted as oracles of God, a carnal reader of their works, eſpecially thoſe concerning hereſy, would think himſelf in Bedlam liſtening to the ravings of mad-men.

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(9) Mendozæ *ut ſup. lib. ii. cap. ii. Placuit. Quæ verbi placuit vis; qui uſus ejus in conciliis.* Quæ non natura, aut divina lege conſtant, ſed quæ humanis epiſcoporum placitis rogantur et abrogantur conſtitutiones, per verbum Placet decerni vetus mos. Quem primum in eccleſia apoſtolos uſurpaſſe in concilio Hieroſolymitano, Lucas refert. Act. xv. 22. 25. 28. Placuit apoſtolis et ſenioribus cum omni eccleſia.... Illa autem, quæ ad fidem attinent, per verbum placet, vel visum est, in conciliis non conſtituuntur: ſed per verbum, Credit; vel ad iſtum modum credit sancta et catholica ecclesia.... apud Romanos ſcriptores de varia ſenatus conſultorum conceptione verborum.... Placere mihi domum reſtitui.... placere legem abrogari.... ſenatui non placere.... Decrevit ſenatus tribunos plebis non placere cauſas militares cognoſcere, quo minus ad edictum conveniretur.

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(1) AUGUSTINI *De hæres. Præfat. ad* QUODVULTDEUM. Nec me tantæ beatitudo tua credat ineptiæ, ut non inſpiciam quantis et quam ingentibus voluminibus opus ſit, ut poſſint iſta diſſolvi.... Sed breviter, perſtricte, atque ſummatim. &c.

(2) IBID. *lxxxvii.* Eſt quædam hæreſis ruſticana in campo noſtro, id eſt, Hipponenſi, vel potius fuit: paulatim enim diminuta, in una exigua villa remanſerat, in qua quidem pauciſſimi, ſed omnes hoc fuerunt, qui omnes modo correcti et catholici facti ſunt, nec aliquis illius ſuperſedit erroris. Abelonii vocabantur, Punica declinatione nominis. Hos nonnulli dicunt ex filio Adæ nominatos, qui eſt vocatus Abel: unde Abelianos, vel Abeloitas eos nos poſſumus dicere. Non miſcebantur uxoribus, et eas tamen ſine uxoribus vivere ſectæ ipſius dogmate non licebat. Mares ergo et fœminæ ſub continentiæ profeſſione ſimul habitantes, puerum et puellam ſibi adoptabant in ejuſdem conjunctionis pacto ſucceſſores ſuos futuros: morte præventis quibuſque ſingulis alii ſurrogabantur: dum tamen duo duobus diſparis ſexus in illius domus ſocietate ſuccederent. Utrolibet quippe parente defuncto, uno remanenti, uſque ad ejus quoque obitum filii ſerviebant. Poſt cujus mortem etiam ipſi puerum et puellam ſimiliter adoptabant: nec unquam eis defuit unde adoptarent, generantibus circunquaque vicinis, et filios ſuos inopes ad ſpem hæreditatis alienæ dantibus libenter.

(3) J. DRUSII *notæ in* SULPICII SEVERI *lib. ii.* Hoſius, ut habetur in priore tomo conciliorum, interroganti Conſtantio, utri rectius ſentirent, qui homouſion an qui homoiouſion prædicarent, reſpondit, utroſque recte ſentire. &c.

The obſervations of the late Mr. Beauſobre on this ſubject are ſo much to the purpoſe in this place, that they ought not to be omitted. This learned and amiable critick, by following the reformation up to its true ſprings, found that the ancient chriſtians, called in eccleſiaſtical hiſtory hereticks, had not held the monſtrous errours, which eccleſiaſticks had imputed to them, but on the contrary had underſtood and practiſed chriſtianity far better than their perſecutors: but their perſecutors were ſaints! On this ſubject he ſays, "Some will tax me with ſpeaking diſreſpectfully of the fathers (5). I grant, ſome expreſſions may have eſcaped me, which I might have ſoftened: but relations notoriouſly falſe, or monſtrouſly exaggerated; bad reaſonings; a blind belief of every thing reported to diſgrace hereticks; a reigning paſſion to render their perſons odious; all this irritates an equitable mind. But what provokes beyond all patience is to ſee that ſelfiſh abuſe, which ſome writers make of the names and the teſtimonies of the fathers. A ſort of falſe reaſoning, which I call the ſophiſm of authority, hath been long introduced, and now continues to be applied to the moſt pernicious purpoſes. Reaſon and religion are oppreſſed; and in order to defend opinions evidently falſe, and practices groſsly ſuperſtitious, a ſentence is quoted from an ancient writer, and puffed off with the vain title of A SAINT, and A GREAT SAINT. People, on hearing this ſuperb title, are ſeduced into an imagination that they hear an oracle, and ſincerely believe, that juſtneſs of thought, accuracy of expreſſion, ſolidity of reaſoning, and demonſtrative evidence are neceſſarily connected with SAINTSHIP, and GREAT SAINTSHIP. They even fancy, that ſuch men were under the immediate influence of the holy ſpirit, inſeparably connected with their writings. Reaſon abaſhed and timid durſt not reſiſt: or if it dare be ſo bold, admirers of antiquity will exclaim firſt at preſumption and pride, and laſt at hereſy. In vain Jeſus Chriſt ſaid, One is your maſter; and Paul, Be ye not the ſervants of men: ſuch as theſe pretend to ſhackle what is moſt at liberty in us, reaſon and faith; and this under pretence of a religious reverence for the fathers, while the true deſign is to maintain the credit of errours and manifeſt abuſes, and to domineer over the conſciences of mankind. Never did Conſtantine VI. whom the miſerable monks ſcandalized with the contemptible name of Copronymus, diſcover more wiſdom and prudence, than when he forbad the title SAINT to be given to any except the apoſtles. He ſaw the abuſe, and endeavoured to correct it. I eſteem and honour the fathers, but I do not think them infallible, either as evidences of a fact, or as juſt reaſoners from facts allowed to be true. Even they, who inceſſantly plead for their authority, occaſionally criticiſe them. They have done more. They have corrupted their writings in an infinite number of places, and this they call correcting them."

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(4) IBID. *lxx.* Priſcillianiſtæ, quos in Hiſpania Priſcillianus inſtituit, maxime Gnoſticorum et Manichæorum dogmata permixta ſectantur. Quamvis et ex aliis hæreſibus in eas ſordes, tanquam in ſentinam quandam horribili confuſione confluxerint.

OROSII *Conſultatio ad Auguſt. de errore Priſcillianiſtarum et Origeniſtarum.* . . . AUGUST. *Reſpons.*

(5) M. DE BEAUSOBRE *Hiſt. critique De Manichee, et Du Manicheiſme. A. Amſterdam.* 1734. *tom. i. pref.* 4. On trouvera peutetre, que je parle quelquefois des anciens docteurs de l'egliſe d'une maniere, qui ne paroit pas aſſez reſpectueuſe, &c.

Probably, it was this ill-placed reverence for faſhionable names, which miſled Dr. Moſheim, who begins his account of the Spaniſh hereticks by taxing them with frenzy, and continues it by ſaying over the old ſaw, the unhappy people gave much trouble to the clergy (6). The fact is, the clergy murdered theſe people. Do murderers claim an exemption from trouble? Where then is the moral governour of the world, and where is conſcience? Had Zimri peace, who ſlew his maſter?

In the third century the celebrated Hierax flouriſhed at Leontium. He was a native of Egypt, and a chriſtian of the true primitive caſt (7). He was a man of eminent abilities both natural and acquired, and his accurate knowledge of the egyptian and greek languages, his ſkill in aſtronomy, muſick, medicine and all other eaſtern ſciences, is acknowledged by his bittereſt enemies; and what is more to his honour, they applaud his diſtinguiſhed piety and virtue. This poiſonous reptile, as Saint Epiphanius is pleaſed to call him, had the misfortune to hold two or three errours, for which he was anathematized with all his followers, and, if the laſt judgment be directed on the principles of greek councils, they will all ſuffer the vengeance of eternal fire. He thought, that the ſouls, but not the bodies, of mankind would live in a future ſtate of reward or puniſhment. He ſuppoſed, children dying before they arrived at maturity would not ſubſiſt in a future ſtate, and this notion ſeemed to him agreeable to impartial juſtice, and to the declaration of Paul, A man is not crowned, except he ſtrive: hence he reaſoned, that they who had not done any good works deſerved no reward (8). In brief, he was a Manichean. Dr. Moſheim ſays, he differed conſiderably from Manes: but Mr. Beauſobre more accurately obſerves that Manes and Hierax, from whom came the Spaniſh hereticks, differed only as two drops of water differ from each other (9). It was a difference of quantity not of nature. Both placed religion in virtue not in ſpeculation, in this they agreed: but their philoſophical and literary ſpeculations were different, though they had a general likeneſs. Hierax had an infinite multitude of admirers, who imbibed his doctrine, and copied his exemplary life. He enjoyed a fine ſtate of health, and the perfect uſe of his eyeſight till he was more than ninety years of age. This was of great conſequence to him, for he was a bookſeller, and wrote to the laſt a fine hand, which rendered his manuſcripts valuable in ſale. He compoſed and publiſhed ſeveral books both in the greek and egyptian languages: ſome were expoſitions of ſcripture, others were pſalms or hymns. During his life he was biſhop of a church, and, as he lived before chriſtian prieſts had any civil power, ſome, who were not of his opinion, correſponded with him as a good man, others diſputed with him as a miſtaken man: but great numbers of churches were formed on his primitive plan, and called after him Hieracites, and the third council of Conſtantinople excommunicated them by name, along with a great many more, about four hundred years after the death of Hierax, that is at the latter end of the ſeventh century (1). It is glorious to ſee how nature triumphs over art. The artificial religion of creeds and rituals withers and dies in the hands of the moſt artful prieſts and the moſt abſolute and proſperous monarchs: while the artleſs practice of piety and virtue lives with the poor through ſucceſſive ages. Penal ſtatutes to ſuppreſs it reſemble penal ſtatutes to cleanſe the world of violets; faſhion may baniſh them from the burgomaſters garden: but the heavens will unite to nouriſh them under the ſhade of a nettle or at the foot of an oak.

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(6) *Eccleſ. hiſt. cent. iv. chap. v. Concerning the hereſies that troubled the church during this century.*

(7) EPIPHAN. *Hæres. lxvii.*

(8) 2 TIM. *ii.* 5.

(9) MOSHEIM'S *Eccl. Hiſt. cent. iii. part ii. chap. v. Concerning the hereſies that troubled the church in this century.*

Hiſt. de Manichee. tom. ii. liv. vi. chap. viii. ſ. xiii. Deux goutes d'eau ne ſe reſemblent pas plus que les fictions de Priſcillien et celles de Manichée.

In the fourth century the Hieracites were very numerous in Egypt (2). One of them, named Mark, of the city of Memphis, now Grand Cairo, went into Spain, where he was entertained by a lady named Agape, and Helpidius a rhetorician: but the moſt famous of his converts was Priſcillian (3). This nobleman

(1) Euseb. *hiſt. eccles. lib. vii. cap. xx.*

Concil. Constantinop. *iii. act. xi. an.* 680. Βαλλεσθωσαν. Submittantur autem anathematibus et omnes hæreſes ... Hieracitarum, Meſſalianorum, &c.

(2) Beausobre. *ubi ſup.* Priſcillien fut accuſé de Manicheiſme, et l'accuſation n'eſt pas tout-a-fait mal-fondée. Le Marc de Memphis, qui paſſa en Eſpagne, et qui fut le maitre de Priſcillien, etoit un moine infecte du Manicheiſme, qui regnoit alors parmi preſque tous les eveques et les moines d'Eſpagne. Tout cela venoit du celebre Hierax, ou Hieracas, qui s'etoit ſignalé dans ce pais la par ſes auſteritez, et qui y laiſſa une infinité de diſciples, enchantez de ſon ſavoir et de ſon genre de vie.

Eutych. *An. Alex. tom. i. p.* 515. Metropolitæ autem et epiſcopi Ægyptii plerique Manichæi erant. Et dans le ſuite. *p.* 516. Manichæorum Metropolitæ cum epiſcopis et monachis ſuis. Et cela avant et depuis le concile de Conſtantinople.

(3) Sulpicii Severi *Hiſt. Sacra. cum notis* Drusii. *Franekeræ.* 1607. *lib. ii.* Sequuntur tempora ætatis noſtræ gravia et periculoſa, quibus non uſitato malo pollutæ eccleſiæ et perturbata omnia. Namque tum primum illa Gnoſticorum hæreſis intra Hiſpanias deprehenſa, ſuperſtitio exitiabilis arcanis occultata ſecretis. Origo iſtius mali oriens ab Ægyptiis ... Primus eam inter Hiſpanias Marcus intulit, Ægypto profectus, Memphis ortus. Hujus auditores fuere, Agape quædam non ignobilis mulier, et rhetor Helpidius. Ab his Priſcillianus eſt inſtitutus,

nobleman was rich, learned and eloquent. His genius was fine, his manners affable, his deportment grave, his addreſs inſinuating, his habits plain, his diet ſimple, and his piety and benevolence exemplary. In the religious aſſemblies of all the Manicheans adoration of God was the whole of the worſhip. This was performed in the natural way of prayer, praiſe, and ſinging hymns to the honour of the divine perfections. The ſcriptures were read, and ſome diſcourſed on the nature and obligations of virtue to inform and animate the reſt. Priſcillian did ſo, and many of noble families, and common people, and crowds, eſpecially of women, attended and imbibed the doctrine (4). In a ſhort time it ſpread over all Spain, and ſome biſhops, as Inſtantius, Salvian, and others embraced it, who, laying aſide the vices of the world and the ſuperſtitions of the catholick clergy, applied themſelves wholly to a practice of piety and a courſe of virtue.

The clergy did not behold all this with indifference. Hyginus, biſhop of a church at Cordova, a kind and moderate man, employed another biſhop, named Idacius, to try by gentle means to quiet and accommodate this troubleſome affair (5). Idacius aſſociated with himſelf the biſhop of Soſſuba, whoſe name was Ithacius, one of the moſt wicked tyrants that ever diſgraced the title of biſhop. Even his own party give him this character: "He was a man abandoned to the moſt corrupt indolence, and without the leaſt tincture of true piety. He was audacious, talkative, impudent, luxurious, and a ſlave to his belly. He accuſed as hereticks, and as protectors of Priſcillian, all thoſe, whoſe lives were conſecrated to the purſuit of piety and knowledge, or diſtinguiſhed by acts of mortification and abſtinence." Theſe fiery eccleſiaſticks irritated their brethren, and purſued ſuch meaſures as rendered the Priſcillianiſts more firm and popular, and of conſequence more odious to the

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ſtitutus, familia nobilis, prædives opibus, acer, inquies, facundus, multa lectione eruditus, diſſerendi ac diſputandi promptiſſimus felix profecto, ſi non pravo ſtudio corrupiſſet optimum ingenium, prorſus multa in eo animi et corporis bona cermeres. Vigilare multum, famem, ſitim ferre poterat, habendi minime cupidus, utendi parciſſimus.

(4) Ibid. Is ubi doctrinam exitiabilem aggreſſus eſt, multos nobilum, pluresque populares authoritate perſuadendi et arte blandiendi allicuit in ſocietatem. Ad hoc mulieres novarum rerum cupidæ, fluxa fide, et ad omnia curioſo ingenio, catervatim ad eum confluebant. Quippe humilitatis ſpeciem ore et habitu prætendens, honorem ſui et reverentiam cunctis injecerat. Jamque paulatim perfidiæ iſtius tabes, pleraque Hiſpaniæ pervaſerat, quin et nonnulli epiſcoporum depravati, inter quos Inſtantius et Salvianus, Priſcillianum non ſolum conſenſione, ſed ſub quadam etiam conjuratione ſuſceperant.

(5) Ibid. Quo Adyginus [*Hyginus*] epiſcopus Cordubenſis ex vicino agens comperto, ad Idacium emeritæ ætatis [*civitatis*] ſacerdotem refert. Is vero ſine modo, et ultra quam oportuit, Inſtantium ſocioſque ejus laceſſens, facem quandam naſcenti incendio ſubdidit, ut exaſperaverit malos potius quam compreſſerit.... Certe Ithacium Soſſubenſem Epiſcopum nihil penſi, nihil ſancti habuiſſe definio. Fuit enim audax, loquax, impudens, ſumptuoſus, ventri et gulæ plurimum impertiens. Hic ſtultitiæ eo uſque proceſſerat, ut omnes etiam ſanctos viros, quibus aut ſtudium inerat lectionis, aut propoſitum erat certare jejuniis, tanquam Priſcilliani ſocios aut diſcipulos in crimen arceſſeret.

Mosheim, *as above*.

prieſts. A council of twelve biſhops, ſuch as they were, aſſembled at Saragoſſa, and framed eight canons, one of which ordained, that no man ſhould aſſume the rank of a teacher without leave firſt had and obtained from them, and the reſt were intended to compel the people to keep their places in their own churches; the prieſts very prudently judging that the moſt effectual method of keeping men in bondage is to keep them in ignorance (6).

Jerom calls this party a faction, for even Jerom ſometimes forgot himſelf and ſpoke truth (7). A faction it was, and the Priſcillianiſts treated the legiſlators with becoming ſpirit. They did not attend this pretended council. The biſhops Inſtantius and Salvian, and the laymen, Priſcillian and Helpidius, with others their followers and abettors were anathematized, and to render the excommunication more effectual, a ſentence was denounced againſt all ſuch as ſhould hold communion with them. Inſtead of paying any attention to the inſolent edicts of theſe twelve demagogues, ſome of whom came from a diſtance, every body cenſured them for their abſurdity (8). The biſhop of Cordova had not attended the council, for he had never intended any violence; and, to repair the damage which he had innocently done, he admitted the excommunicated to communion in his church. Priſcillian continued to teach, and Inſtantius and Salvian ſettled him at Avila as biſhop of a church.

Ithacius and Idacius were enraged at this contempt of their aſſumed authority, and though many, who only received abuſe for their pains, endeavoured to mollify theſe tigers, yet in defiance of every dictate of prudence they applied to the civil magiſtrate for aid to ſuppreſs the hereſy of Priſcillian (9). By miſrepreſentations and falſe charges they obtained of the emperour Gratian a reſcript for the baniſhment of Priſcillian and his followers. Miſerable is that government where ſuch a power is lodged in an individual. Damaſus, then biſhop at Rome, was a Spaniard (1). To him Priſcillian and the two excommunicated Spaniſh biſhops repaired, hoping through his intereſt to get the reſcript reſcinded. Damaſus refuſed to ſee them. Hiſtorians have not marked the preciſe date of this application. Had they, ſome probable reaſon might be aſſigned for the refuſal. There was a time when Damaſus, during his pontificate, was himſelf under a charge of adultery: there was another time when he was procuring and arranging ſkulls and arms, and other relicks of ſaints: and there was another when he was buſy in ſettling the wiſeſt of all eccleſiaſtical regulations, the chanting of pſalms and hymns and godly ſongs night and day without intermiſſion. Prieſts are never ſo innocently employed as in this ceremony. Salvian died at Rome: but Inſtantius and Priſcillian proceeded to Milan, where Ambroſe then figured away at the head of the churches of Italy. The wary prelate, like his brother at Rome, would not have any thing to do in the affair: and the travellers, finding no friendſhip among the clergy, applied to the officers of the imperial court, and were ſo happy as to ſucceed, for the emperour reſcinded the reſcript, and they returned unmoleſted to their churches in Spain. It ſeems, they had ſpread their poiſon all the way.

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(6) Garsiæ *Concil. Cæſar Auguſtanum. xii. epiſc. can. vii.* Item lectum eſt; Ne quis doctoris ſibi nomen imponat, præter has perſonas, quibus conceſſum eſt, ſecundum quod ſcriptum eſt, ab univerſis epiſcopis dictum eſt: Placet.

(7) Hieron. *Catal. Scriptor. Eccles.* . . . . Priscillianus.

(8) Sulp. *ut ſup.* Poſt multa inter eos et digna memoratu certamina, apud Cæſarauguſtanam ſynodus congregatur, cui tum etiam Aquitani epiſcopi interfuere. Verum hæretici committere ſe judicio non auſi, in abſentes tum lata ſententia, damnatique Inſtantius et Salvianus epiſcopi, Helpidius et Priſcillianus laici. . . . Hyginus cum primus omnium inſectari palam hæreticos cæpiſſet, poſtea turpiter depravatus, in communionem eos recepiſſet. Interim Inſtantius et Salvianus damnati judicio ſacerdotum, Priſcillianum etiam laicum, ſed principem malorum omnium, una ſecum Cæſarauguſtana ſynodo notatum, ad confirmandas vires ſuas epiſcopum in Abilenſi oppido conſtituunt.

(9) Ibid. *ut ſup.* Tum Ithacius atque Idacius acrius inſtare, arbitrantes poſſe inter initia malum comprimi: ſed parum ſanis conſiliis, ſeculares judices adeunt, ut eorum decretis atque executionibus hæretici urbibus pellerentur. Igitur poſt multa et fœda, Idacio ſupplicante, elicitur a Gratiano tum imperatore reſcriptum, quo univerſi hæretici excedere non eccleſiis tantum aut urbibus, ſed extra omnes terras propelli jubebantur. Quo comperto, Gnoſtici diffiſi rebus ſuis, non auſi judicio certare, ſponte ceſſere, qui epiſcopi videbantur, cæteros metus diſperſit.

The two perſecuting biſhops durſt not reſiſt the imperial order: but, as revolutions were frequently happening, they laid by a while, and ſaw, to their unſpeakable mortification, the cauſe of freedom and virtue triumphing every where over that of ſacerdotal ſuperſtition, and their pain was alleviated only by the hope of happier times. The emperour Gratian was only twenty-nine years of age: but he was aſſaſſinated by the procurement of Maximus, who was ſaluted emperour (2). Ithacius availed himſelf of this opportunity, and when Maximus made his publick entry into Treves, ſollicited an order for a ſynod to judge the affair, which Maximus granted. The ſynod met at Bordeaux, Inſtantius was depoſed, and declared unworthy of the office of a biſhop. Priſcillian would not acknowledge the competency of this tribunal, and he petitioned to be heard by ſecular judges. This reaſonable requeſt was granted. On the trial the two bloody biſhops accuſed him of holding conventicles in the night, of praying naked, and of other ſuch abſurd practices. In fine, having a judge to their mind, the good man was found guilty, and committed to priſon till the emperour's will ſhould be known. Great intereſt was made with the emperour to ſave the innocent heretick, and Martin of Tours, particularly, ſtrained every nerve to ſtop the progreſs of this ſcandalous buſineſs. He endeavoured to diſſuade Ithacius from proceeding, obſerving it was a new and unheard of wickedneſs to employ ſecular judges in ſuch an affair. Ithacius taxed him with the infamy of hereſy for his humanity, and perſevered. Then Martin applied to the emperour, and beſought him to abſtain from ſhedding innocent blood. He obtained a promiſe that lenity ſhould be ſhewn: but ſoon after he had quitted Treves, Magnus and Rufus, two of the bloody party, prevailed with Maximus to violate his promiſe, and an order was iſſued for the execution of Priſcillian and his aſſociates. In conſequence of this, Priſcillian, Feliciſſimus and Armenius, Aſarinus, Aurelius and Latronianus, with a lady named Euchrocia, and many more were put to death (3). Some were put to the rack, others had all their property confiſcated, and the biſhop Inſtantius, with Tyberianus and others were baniſhed.

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(1) ANASTASII *vit.* S. DAMASI. Hic ædificavit platoniam, ubi corpora apoſtolorum jacuerunt, id eſt, Beati Petri et Pauli, quam et verſibus ornavit. Hic multa corpora ſanctorum martyrum requiſivit, quorum etiam concilia verſibus decoravit. . . . Hic accuſatus eſt invidioſe, et incriminatus de adulterio, et facta ſynodo purgatus eſt, a quadraginta quatuor epiſcopis. . . . Hic conſtituit, ut pſalmos diu, noctuque canerent per omnes eccleſias.

(2) GRATIANI *Imp. vita.*

It would be tedious to follow this affair through all its wild and devious ways (4). It hath been truly ſaid: The beginning of ſtrife is as when one letteth out water. Much miſchief is done before it can be ſtopped; often in the ſtrifes of the great there is no equal power to repel the force; and a long time elapſes before ſuch mighty waters find their natural bed. The preſent executions produced very different emotions in different perſons, and all the empire ſhook at the ſound. Four great parties were excited to expreſs their ſentiments. The catholick biſhops, who, as all hiſtorians of theſe times affirm, were (individuals excepted) an idle, avaricious, profligate ſet of men, were all ſtung with indignation at Ithacius and his faction for procuring the death of theſe men. Theſe biſhops were of two ſorts: one deteſted perſecution from mere principles of humanity (5). The other, of which claſs was the bleſſed S. Auguſtine, who had covertly blown the coals, had no objection againſt perſecution, on condition the biſhops inflicted it: but they had, for very viſible reaſons, a violent averſion to the ſubjecting of eccleſiaſtical cauſes to civil rulers (6). The trinitarians knew the arians had a powerful party at court, and both theſe factions knew by experience, that to leave religion to the will of the emperour was to expoſe themſelves to the danger of a new creed accompanied with new proſcriptions every revolution. All this party was headed by the celebrated Martin biſhop of Tours, who was called the apoſtle of France, who was the importer of monachiſm into the weſt, whoſe opinion of prieſthood was ſo high that he publickly declared the emperour was inferiour to a biſhop, and who was at this time flouriſhing in the higheſt odour of ſanctity, that is, as one who converſed with angels, wrought miracles, and obtained by holy cant popularity in a very high degree. Some years after, when this man died, two thouſand monks attended his funeral. The good man, however, hated perſecution, and took uncommon pains at the hazard of his reputation and his life to free all from penalties, even the greateſt hereticks. His admirers overlook this, which was his true excellence, and place his ſaintſhip in what he certainly never performed, the working of miracles. Neither he nor any others of this claſs would hold communion with Ithacius and his party, who they ſaid had ſtained the church with human blood. Biſhop Theognoſtus excommunicated them in a ſynod: and all the empire held them in abhorrence.

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(3) HIERON. *Catal. Scrip. Eccles.* Priſcillianus, Abilæ epiſcopus, qui factione Hylatii [*Idacii*] et Ithacii, Treveris a Maximo tyranno cæſus eſt, edidit multa opuſcula, de quibus ad nos aliqua pervenerunt. Hic uſque hodie a nonnullis Gnoſticæ, id eſt Baſilidis, et Marcionis, de quibus Irenæus ſcripſit, hæreſeos accuſatur, defendentibus aliis, non ita eum ſenſiſſe ut arguitur.

Matroniatus, [*Latroniatus*] provinciæ Hiſpaniæ vir valde eruditus, et in metrico opere veteribus comparandus, cæſus eſt et ipſe Treveris cum Priſcilliano, Feliciſſimo, Juliano, Euchrocia, ejuſdem factionis auctoribus. Extant ejus ingenii opera diverſis metris edita.

Tiberianus Bœticus ſcripſit, pro ſuſpicione, qua cum Priſcilliano accuſabatur hæreſeos, apologeticum tumenti compoſitoque ſermone: poſtea, poſt ſuorum cædem, tædio victus exilii, mutavit propoſitum, et juxta ſanctam ſcripturam, Canis reverſus ad vomitum ſuum, filiam, devotam Chriſto virginem, matrimonio copulavit.

DRUSII *not. in* SULP. SEVER. Euchrocia uxor erat Delphidii rhetoris, quem Auſonius recenſet inter Burigalenſes profeſſores. Idem Euchrociam cum filia Procula ſignificat, cum ait, Delphidium alloquens.

Minus malorum munere expertus Dei
Medio quod ævi raptus es,
Errore quod non deviantis filiæ,
Pænaque læſus conjugis.

(4) PROV. *xvii.* 4.

(5) MARTINI *Turonenſis vita*.... SULPIT. SEVER. *Dial*.... D'ACHERII *ſpicileg. tom. i. lib. iii. cap.* 3.... *Concilium Burdigalenſe advers. Priſcillianiſtas*.... *Concil. Trevirenſe.*

The ſecond party was that of Ithacius headed by government. The damage done to civil government by judaizing chriſtians is incredible. Before theſe miſtaken men erected a governing prieſthood the emperours never perſecuted: but when they found an empire riſing up within the empire, they were compelled by the neceſſity of the caſe to take cognizance of it: otherwiſe ſubjects of the empire might be criminated and put to death under laws unknown to the empire, and independent of the emperour himſelf. The firſt jewiſh chriſtians, who affixed the idea of guilt to what they pleaſed to call hereſy, were a ſet of low enthuſiaſts, who, knowing nothing of political government, and imagining themſelves inſpired to propagate prieſthood, did not foreſee that their idle maxims would always be unintelligible to men of ſenſe, and always impracticable in a ſyſtem of civil polity. When the emperours found it neceſſary for them to head this faction, becauſe it was become enormous and unwieldy, and if not directed would exert itſelf to the imminent danger of government, it is not conceivable that they ever ſpent one day in examining the ſubjects in debate, or that they did any thing more than puniſh ſuch as were in diſgrace for the ſake of managing ſuch as were popular. When Maximus ſent ſoldiers at the requeſt of Ithacius to kill hereticks, it is ſaid, they killed along with them many catholicks, for they diſtinguiſhed the former from the latter only by the paleneſs of their countenances and the plainneſs of their habits: and they ſometimes made ſad miſtakes (7). Many timid biſhops joined this party againſt their conſciences for fear of offending the emperour, who ordered all to hold communion with Ithacius. The provincial governours naturally took this, which was the crown ſide. A ſynod was held at Treves to exculpate Ithacius, and Martin went thither to prevent it. In vain the emperour endeavoured to convince him that it was ſafer for people to be in the hands of the crown than in thoſe of biſhops: he would not conſent to hold communion with Ithacius till he was frighted by threatnings into obedience. That did not hold long, for he eſcaped as ſoon as he could, and as an angel waited on him ſoon after, he took heart, and proteſted againſt the bloody faction, nor did he ever go to another council, or hold communion with theſe bad men to the day of his death. One of the nobleſt talents of S. Martin was that of caſting out devils: but he did not ſucceed after this affair as he had done before, and he attributed it to his having ſuffered himſelf to be terrified into a momentary apparent reconciliation to Ithacius. Martin is a ſaint with all who know his character: with one party for his miracles, and with the other for his hatred of perſecution (8). How wide the difference between this ſaint, and that other in the ſame church, who invented the inquiſition!

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(6) Orosii *ad Auguſtin. Commonitorium*.... August. *Reſpons.*

The third party was that of hereticks, which was extremely numerous, and of many ſorts. Spain had been long teeming with hereſy, and Cardinal Baronius makes a juſt remark on the probable cauſe. It ſeems, Epiphanius was once a Gnoſtick, which nobody would ever have ſuſpected had he not himſelf declared it (9). When he quitted theſe hereticks, he raiſed ſuch a perſecution againſt them, that eighty removed for peace. This was about the time that Mark went into Spain, and from him the Priſcillianiſts proceeded. Nothing is more likely than that Mark was one of the eighty, and that many beſide himſelf ſettled in Spain (1). However it were, the Priſcillianiſts counted the execution at Treves a martyrdom, carried the bodies of the ſufferers into Spain, where they were honourably buried, held their memories ſacred, and continued all over Spain in great multitudes to profeſs and practiſe hereſy.

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(7) Sulp. Sev. *vit.* Martini. *lib. iii.* Nec dubium erat, quin ſanctorum etiam maximam turbam tempeſtas iſta depopulatura eſſet, parvo diſcrimine inter hominum genera, etenim tum ſolis oculis judicabatur, cum quis pallore potius, aut veſte, quam fide hæreticus exiſtimaretur. Hæc nequaquam placitura Martino epiſcopi ſentiebant.

(8) Hier. a Prato *ad Sulpit. vit. Martin. præfat. Veronæ* 1741.
Vit. ut ſup. Pia enim erat ſollicitudo Martini, ut non ſolum chriſtianos, qui ſub illa erant occaſione vexandi, ſed ipſos etiam hæreticos liberaret. . . . Adſtitit ei repente angelus: merito inquit, Martine, compungeris, ſed aliter exire nequiſti. Repara vertutem, reſume conſtantiam, ne jam non periculum gloriæ, ſed ſalutis incurreris. Itaque ab illo tempore ſatis cavit cum Ithacianæ partis communione miſceri. . . . Sedecim poſtea vixit annos; nullam ſynodum adiit, ab omnibus epiſcoporum conventibus ſe removit.

(9) Epiphanii *Hæres.* xxvi. *prope finem.*

(1) Baron. *Annal.*

They are ſometimes called Gnoſticks, ſometimes Manicheans, ſometimes Priſcillianiſts, and they flouriſhed here under the laſt name during a period of more than eight hundred years after this time (2). This body of people did not think with either of the forementioned parties. They knew no ſuch crime as hereſy, and therefore they ſuppoſed very juſtly, that perſecution was oppreſſion, that killing for the faith was murder, and that kings and prieſts were only diſputing who ſhould commit the crime.

The pagans were a fourth claſs, who could not help forming a judgment of theſe proceedings. They repreſented the matter in a very juſt light. Maximus, ſaid they, was as cruel as Phalaris, and that ſort of ſlanderers called Prelates were his body guards, and his executioners (3). They, together, accuſed and put to death a lady for having too much religion, and too much preciſion in her worſhip of the deity. Not content with robbing ſuch people of their property, and confiſcating their ancient family eſtates, they proceeded after they had impoveriſhed them to calumniate their characters, and put them to violent deaths: and placed all their barbarities to the account of religion, to which they themſelves were the greateſt diſgrace. Baronius ſays, theſe were pagan panegyriſts, who not knowing how to diſtinguiſh a catholick from an heretick, thought the ſuperſtitious Gnoſtick Priſcillianiſts were the moſt devout profeſſors of the chriſtian religion. Such teſtimonies, however, are highly honourable to the Priſcillianiſts (4). The pagans were not competent to determine the queſtion, whether Jeſus were God, or the ſon of God: but they were perfectly maſters of another queſtion, Whether a fellow citizen were juſt or unjuſt, righteous or wicked.

The ſame may be affirmed of the jews, who in the preſent caſe are to be claſſed with the pagans. Government hath nothing to do with the paganiſm or judaiſm of a family, but with their civil department only: but, when once the natural diſtinctions of righteous and wicked are laid aſide, through any pretence whatever, a thouſand futile badges are affixed to citizens, and a thouſand unjuſt and cruel conſequences follow. When Conſtantine and Licinius publiſhed the firſt imperial law in favour of chriſtianity, the preamble ſet forth, that religion could not be forced, and that the conſcience of every man ought to be free. Jews, pagans, and chriſtians had all a mutual intereſt in preſerving this juſt maxim untainted and pure: and it is to chriſtians, and to that claſs of chriſtians, who took the arrogant titles of orthodox and catholick in oppoſition to ſome other chriſtians wiſer and better than themſelves, that the violation of this juſt maxim is to be attributed. Perhaps it may be a ſacrificing of the cauſe of the liberty and virtue of the world to redeem the broken credit of a few to call them chriſtians at all. Certain it is, the virtuous Manicheans thought they were only pagan ſchiſmaticks, acting vice in the name of the moſt virtuous of beings, Jeſus Chriſt, whoſe character would ſink in the ſame proportion as theirs roſe. Thus Fauſtus the Manichean ſaid to S. Auguſtine: "How dare you call me a pagan ſchiſmatick (5)? The pagans honour God, they think, by building temples, by erecting altars and images, and by offering ſacrifice and incenſe. I have quite other notions. I conſider myſelf, if I be worthy, a rational temple of God. I honour Jeſus Chriſt his ſon as his expreſs image. A well-inſtructed mind is his altar, and pure and ſimple adoration the only acceptable ſacrifice to God. For your parts, you have ſubſtituted the ceremonies of your love-feaſts in the place of ſacrifices, martyrs inſtead of idols, and you honour them as the pagans do their deities by votive offerings. You appeaſe the manes of the dead by wine and feſtivals. You celebrate the feaſts of paganiſm by obſerving days: and, in regard to their morals, you preſerve them entire, and have altered nothing. It is you then, not we, who are pagan ſchiſmaticks, and nothing diſtinguiſhes you from the reſt of the heathens but your holding ſeparate aſſemblies. You aſk me, whether I believe the goſpel? Is that a queſtion to put to a man, who obſerves all the precepts of it? I might with propriety put the queſtion to you, becauſe your life gives no proof of it. As for me, I have quitted father, mother, and children. I have renounced all that the goſpel commands me to renounce: and you aſk, whether I believe the goſpel? I perceive you do not underſtand the goſpel, which is nothing but the doctrine and the precepts of Jeſus Chriſt. I have renounced ſilver and gold: I carry none in my purſe. I am content with daily bread. I am free from anxiety about the morrow, what I ſhall eat and wherewithal I ſhall be clothed: and yet you keep aſking me, whether I believe the goſpel? You ſee in me the beatitudes mentioned by Jeſus Chriſt: I am poor in ſpirit, meek, peaceable, pure in heart. You ſee me ſuffer ſorrow, hunger, thirſt, perſecution, and the hatred of the world for righteouſneſs ſake: and yet you doubt whether I believe the goſpel. We ought no longer to wonder at John the baptiſt, who had ſeen Jeſus, and had heard of his works, for ſending to inquire of Jeſus whether he were the Chriſt: nor at Jeſus for not condeſcending to anſwer him, for he referred the meſſengers to his works."

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(2) CHRISTOPH. SANDII *Nucleus hiſt. eccles. lib. i. De* PAULO *Samoſateno.* Hoc adhuc hic obiter notari velim, D. Zwickerum, in paucis Socinianis antiquitatis eccleſiaſticæ peritum in Irenico-maſtige priore probare, Priſcillianos nondum ſeculo xii. eſſe deſiiſſe.
JO. MARIANÆ *Hiſt. de reb. Hiſpan. lib. iv. cap.* 20.

(3) PACATI *Panegyr. Theodos. Imp. dict. apud Baron. ann.* 385. Objiciebatur enim, atque etiam exprobrabatur mulieri viduæ nimia religio, et diligentius culta divinitas. Quid hoc majus poterat intendere accuſator ſacerdos? Fuit enim, fuit et hoc delatorum genus, qui nominibus Antiſtites, re vera autem ſatellites atque adeo carnifices, non contenti avitis evolviſſe patrimoniis, calumniabantur in ſanguinem, et vitas premebant reorum jam pauperum. . . . . . Hos ille Phalaris in amicis habebat.

(4) IBID. Hæc Pacatus, nullum gentilis homo delectum habens inter catholicos et hæreticos, putans ſuperſtitioſos Gnoſticos Priſcillianiſtas, chriſtianæ religionis exactiſſimos fuiſſe cultores.

"You ſay, the ſon of God was born of a virgin. Now, let us ſuppoſe that the hiſtory of the birth of Chriſt is one part of the goſpel, you will not pretend to affirm, it is the whole goſpel. The commandments of Jeſus are another part. If you accuſe me of not believing the goſpel becauſe I do not admit the hiſtory of the birth of Chriſt, I accuſe you, in my turn, of not believing the goſpel, and with much more reaſon, becauſe you do not practiſe the precepts of it. We are both alike then. I do not admit the genealogy of Chriſt: and you do admit it: you do not practiſe the precepts of Chriſt, and I do practiſe them. Thus neither of us admits the whole goſpel: but it muſt be allowed, you have choſen the eaſy, and I the difficult part, and that Jeſus hath not annexed the promiſe of ſalvation to your part, but he hath to mine. He hath ſaid, Ye are my friends, if ye do whatſoever I command you: but he hath not ſaid, Ye are my friends, if ye believe I was born of a virgin."

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(5) AUGUSTINI *opera, Contra* FAUSTUM *Manichæum, lib. xx.* 3.

When it is obſerved that ſuch men as theſe, who with all their hereſy were friends of virtue, are confounded in one common maſs with pagans and jews, under the names of Manicheans, Donatiſts, Pelagians, Priſcillianiſts, and altogether anathematized by prieſts in council, that is, diſtinguiſhed from other citizens by odious names, aad pointed out to be deſtroyed by civil government, who doth not ſee that ſuch conduct renders it very probable, they were all puniſhed for their virtue (6)? There was, in the reign of Honorius, a little after the death of Priſcillian, a pagan officer, one Generidus, who threw up his commiſſion in the army, becauſe he would not conform to chriſtianity (7). It was not the paganiſm, it was the good ſenſe and the integrity of this brave Roman, that reſiſted the imperial tyranny over conſcience. In the council of Eliberis, mentioned ſome time ago, the biſhops made two laws againſt the jews; the one that chriſtians ſhould not eat with them, the other that chriſtian landlords of eſtates ſhould not allow their jewiſh tenants to bleſs God for the fruits of the earth, and both under the penalty of excommunication (8). This was condemning not the judaiſm but the virtue and piety of the people called jews. What is more extraordinary, theſe nineteen obſcure prieſts in a nook of Spain had the preſumption to excommunicate thoſe, who lent money upon intereſt, though the laws of the empire permitted it. It is no ſufficient apology to ſay, they were probably borrowers themſelves; for it would be anſwered, their own idleneſs made them poor, and it was inſolent to affect a divine commiſſion to ſubvert government to ſupply their neceſſities, or perhaps their luxuries. On the whole, it is a needleſs queſtion, What was the creed of the Priſcillianiſts? The true and proper obſervation is: they were men of virtue, and it was virtue that the people in power perſecuted. In matters of religion they would not ſubmit to affront their own conſciences by hypocritically profeſſing to believe what they did not: and it was not the addition of hereſy that made this puniſhable, for the ſame diſpoſition was penal in a pagan or a jew. Happy if the firſt preamble had always continued a maxim of government (9)!

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(6) S. AUGUSTINI *opera contra Paganos . . . contra Mathematicos . . . contra Judæos . . . contra Manichæos . . . . contra Priſcillianiſtas . . . . adverſus Donatiſtas . . . . contra Pelagianiſtas . . . . contra Arrianos.*

CONCILIA *adverſus Priſcillianiſtas . . . Monothelitas . . . Arrianos, &c.*

(7) ZOZIM. *lib. v. anno* 408. *Honorio imperante.*

(8) BASNAGE *hiſt. des Juifs. liv. vi. ch. xiv. ſ.* 8. . . . TILLEMONT *Hiſt. Eccleſ. vii.* 302.

GARSIÆ LOAISA *Concil. Elib. can. xlix.* Admoneri placuit poſſeſſores, ut non patiantur fructus ſuos, quos a Deo percipiunt a Judæis benedici; ne noſtram irritam et infirmam faciant benedictionem. Si quis poſt interdictum facere uſurpaverit, penitus ab eccleſia abjiciatur.

Can. l. Si vero quis clericus, vel fidelis cum Judæis cibum ſumpſerit, placuit, eum a communione abſtinere, ut debeat emendari.

Can. xx. De clericis et laicis uſurariis.

It was not all the power of the emperour that could protect Ithacius and his bloody partners from publick cenſure. They were held in execration by all claſſes, and the biſhops in the end were obliged to ſave appearances by excommunicating them. The civil power baniſhed the ringleader, Ithacius, and he died in exile. So horrible, in the cloſe of the fourth century, did it ſeem for chriſtian biſhops to have any concern in ſhedding human blood! It is laughable enough to ſee with what orthodox rudeneſs this pious generation expreſſed the ſoundneſs of their faith, when the times would not ſuffer them to kill hereticks (1). At Conſtantinople the moſt devout Theodoſius cauſed the figures of Arius, Macedonius, Sabellius and Eunomius, to be cut in marble, with which were paved one or more of thoſe receſſes in the ſtreets, where paſſengers ſtepped aſide to eaſe nature, ſo that every vulgar drunkard might ſhew the ſoundneſs of his faith by defiling the face of an hereſiarch. Even in that council of Toledo, which in the fifth century firſt introduced a creed, and that the Nicene into Spain, profeſſedly for the ſake of condemning the Priſcillianiſts, there is a canon to allow believers to keep at their choice a wife, a woman, or a concubine, without any breach of communion (2). S. Auguſtine of chaſte memory, expounded it, as he did every thing elſe, in the hudibraſtick manner, and diſtinguiſhed the concubine of a catholick from other concubines: this African genius had an abſolute authority over every propoſition,

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(9) Euseb. *Hiſt. lib. x. cap.* 5. Jamdudum quidem, cum animadverteremus non eſſe cohibendam religionis libertatem, ſed uniuſcujuſque arbitrio ac voluntati permittendum ut ex animi ſui ſententia rebus divinis operam daret, &c.

(1) Nicolai Alemanni *in hiſt. arcan.* Procopii *notæ hiſtoricæ, tom. ii. p.* 130. Ενθα αρειος. Eo in loco, ubi Arius abominandam mortem ſubivit, a piiſſimo Theodoſio ſculptus eſt ex marmore humi hærens, et una cum illo Macedonius, Sabellius, et Eunomius ad improperium, ut prætereuntes ſputis, urina, et ſtercore eos deturparent.

(2) Garsiæ *concil. Toletan. i. cap. xvii.* Si quis habens uxorem fidelem, ſi concubinam habeat, non communicet. Cæterum, qui non habet uxorem, et pro uxore concubinam habet, a communione non repellatur; tantum ut unius mulieris, aut uxoris, aut concubinæ, ut ei placuerit, ſit conjunctione contentus: alias vero vivens abjiciatur, donec deſinat, et per pœnitentiam revertatur.

In notis decreti Gregoriani exponitur hoc decretum de juſta concubina, ex ſententia B. Auguſtini lib. de bono conjugali, quæ eſt uxor minus ſolemniter ducta.

And as he was diſpos'd could prove it,
Below the moon, or elſe above it.

In the acts of the ſame council the Priſcillianiſts are charged with holding eighteen errours, which are evidently the ſame for ſubſtance as thoſe, which the Manicheans and Hieracites held. They are not taxed with any one immorality, for they were Unitarians, who placed religion in virtue. The anathemas run thus: If any one ſhall ſay or think, that the father and the ſon and the holy ghoſt are one God: let him be accurſed (2). If any one ſhall ſay or believe, that the fleſh of birds and animals is not to be eaten: let him be accurſed. If any one ſhall affirm or think that marriages allowed by divine law are execrable: let him be accurſed. If any one ſhall follow the ſect of Priſcillian in theſe errours, or ſhall profeſs or do any thing in baptiſm againſt the ſee of S. Peter: let him be accurſed. This laſt ſcents of forgery. That of the unity of God is a proviſion for the Nicene trinity. That of eating partridges is eſſential to good living: and that of marriage is to be expounded agreably to canon law, after S. Auguſtine in a ſpiritual ſenſe, of a literal wife by contract, or a ſpiritual wife without the formality of a contract, in the words of the canon a concubine, and in the profane language of the world a kept miſtreſs. Certainly, the Priſcillianiſts deſerved to die for not believing that a concubine was a lawful wife, that animal food was an article of faith, and that three perſons were only one perſon.

In regard to baptiſm in this period, it doth not appear that either the ſubject, a believer, or the mode, dipping, underwent any change in any party, orthodox or heterodox. Three obſervations concerning that of the Priſcillianiſts may ſuffice.

Firſt, they did baptize. Their enemies never taxed them with omitting it: and the above mentioned council of Toledo expreſsly affirms, that they did adminiſter it.

Secondly. They did not baptize infants, for not only infant-baptiſm had not then crept into Spain, and when it did, they did not acknowledge the canons of the catholicks as laws, or form themſelves on the examples of the popular biſhops: but, as they held that ſuch as died in infancy did not exiſt in a future ſtate, there was no conceivable reaſon for baptizing them.

Thirdly, they baptized by dipping. Mr. Beauſobre obſerves, that Turibius a Spaniſh biſhop charged the Manicheans and the Priſcillianiſts with receiving as a ſacred book the Acts of S. Thomas, and that the Manicheans baptized in oil, which ceremony was mentioned in that book (3). "No," ſays the learned critick, "it is a falſe accuſation, and I will prove firſt, that the Manicheans never baptized in oil: and ſecondly, that no ſuch practice is mentioned in the Acts of S. Thomas (4)." He proves both to a demonſtration, and adds: "the unction of proſelytes mentioned in the acts of S. Thomas could not poſſibly mean baptiſm. The reaſon is, baptiſm was then adminiſtered by dipping: but the apoſtle did not plunge them in oil. There was no ſuch thing as baptizing by aſperſion, when the acts of S. Thomas were written. This cuſtom did not begin in the weſt till the latter end of the ſixth century; and in the eaſt, where theſe acts were compiled, it hath never been received at all."

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(2) *Conc. Tolet. i. ut ſup.* ii. Si quis dixerit, atque crediderit, Deum patrem eundem eſſe filium, atque paracletum, anathema ſit . . . xvi. Si quis dixerit, vel crediderit, conjugia hominum, quæ ſecundum legem divinam licita habentur, execrabilia eſſe, anathema ſit. . . . xvii. Si quis dixerit, vel crediderit, carnes avium, vel pecorum, quæ ad eſcam datæ ſunt, non tantum pro caſtigatione corporis abſtinendas, ſed execrandas eſſe, anathema ſit . . . xviii. Si quis in his erroribus Priſcilliani ſectam ſequitur, vel profitetur, aut aliud in ſalutari baptiſmo contra ſedem Sancti Petri faciat, anathema ſit.

III. FROM THE SETTLEMENT OF THE NORTHERN NATIONS TO THEIR EXPULSION.

The third æra of Spaniſh church hiſtory begins at the year four hundred and nine, and ends at ſeven hundred and thirteen, including a term of about three hundred years. During this period the Suevi, the Vandals and the Wiſigoths, reigned in Spain, and formed a government more juſt, more free, and more happy than that which had preceded it (5).

The Vandals, who firſt of theſe nations ſettled a while in Spain, ſoon removed into Africa. The Suevi, who are deſcribed by Cæſar as the moſt powerful and warlike of all the German nations, able annually to muſter an hundred thouſand fighting men, ſettled in a part of Spain, and were governed by a ſucceſſion of elected kings about one hundred and ſeventy or eighty years, at the expiration of which term they were abſorbed in the kingdom of the Wiſigoths (6). All the german nations had a general family likeneſs. Their armies were a national militia. Their governments were ſimilar, and all free. Their religion was the chriſtian in the arian form, they admitted thoſe to communion, who were not of their opinion, and they perſecuted nobody (7). Pagans, jews, and chriſtians of all deſcriptions lived quietly among theſe brave and generous conquerours. Even that reſtleſs faction, who called themſelves catholicks, held annual councils, had a regular ſucceſſion of biſhops, and enjoyed all their civil and religious rights. The Goths conſidered the baptiſm of theſe people futile, becauſe they adminiſtered it in the name of a trinity, and therefore they rebaptized ſuch of them as joined their churches; and they knew the party was a faction for power connected with foreigners for the purpoſe of ſubduing all other chriſtians, under pretence of exterminating hereſy; and yet they tolerated them: and, what was more remarkable, after the Wiſigoths became catholicks liberty was ſo well underſtood, that the abſurd intolerance of the church did not immediately alter the condition of the ſtate (8). It would require great labour to elucidate with due accuracy this dark part of the hiſtory of Spain: but in general it may be affirmed that the gothick government there was far more friendly to religious liberty than that of the Romans.

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(3) TURIBII *Epiſt. ad Idac. et Cepon.*

(4) M. DE BEAUSOBRE. *Hiſt. de Manichée. tom. i. liv. ii. chap. vi.* On ne baptizoit au commencement que dans les eaux vives. Et poſt jejunium, in fontibus qui contigui habentur mari perennis aquæ mihi baptiſmum dedit. *Recog. lib. vi.* 15.... Thomas abiit ad fontem, et baptizavit mulierem, cum multis aliis...... Rex aſcendens de lavacro...... L'Apotre ne les plongeoit pas dans l'huile.... On ne baptizoit point par aſperſion, lors que les actes de St. Thomas ont eté ecrits. Cette coutume n'a commencé en occident que vers la fin du vi. Siecle, et n'a jamais eté recue en orient, ou ces actes ont eté faits.

BEVEREGII *Annot. in Can. Apoſt.* Merſioni in baptiſmo antiquitus uſurpari ſolitæ, aſperſionem, ſeu profuſionem aquæ, in occidentali præſertim eccleſia, plus quam mille abhinc annis, Gregorii videlicet primi ætate, ſubſtitutam eſſe.

(5) JO. MARIANÆ *Hiſt. Hiſpan. lib. iv. cap. i.* Multas gentes feras et indomitas in Hiſpaniam per hæc tempora veniſſe, ſequens narratio declarabit, Vandalos, Suevos, Alanos, atque Silingos. Gothi in primis ex antiquis ſedibus dilapſi... ad extremum in Hiſpania conſtiterunt, in eaque imperii ſedem cæteris nationibus qua pulſis, qua domitis collocarunt ac tenuerunt annis amplius trecentis.

(6) JUL. CÆSARIS *de B. G. lib. i. c.* 1. Suevorum gens eſt longe maxima, et bellicoſiſſima germanorum omnium. Ii centum pagos habere dicuntur, ex quibus quotannis ſingula millia armatorum, bellandi cauſa, ſuis ex finibus educunt: reliqui domi manent, pro ſe, atque illis colunt. Hi rurſus invicem anno poſt in armis ſunt: illi domi remanent.

The principal event in this period was the converſion of king Reccared to the catholick faith. This happened in the year five hundred and eighty nine, in the fourth year of the reign of this king (9).

Hiſtorians call this period the darkeſt part of the hiſtory of Spain, and dark it will continue till ſome hiſtorians have courage to break out of the path beaten by the firſt chroniclers, who, being all orthodox, have given odious names to virtuous actions, and beſtowed encomiums on wicked men, who diſtinguiſhed themſelves by nothing but rage for a party. It would be a miſerable waſte of life to enter the liſts with ſuch men, and to unravel all their ſophiſms. In the preſent caſe, it is neceſſary to the hiſtory to report a few facts: the reader will give them what names he may think proper.

The Goths are uſually repreſented as pagans, who never embraced chriſtianity till they joined in communion with the church of Rome: but it is highly probable that the goſpel was preached to them by the apoſtles (1), and it is abſolutely certain that they profeſſed chriſtianity ſeveral centuries before their kings became catholicks (2). The catholicks all the time had the arrogance to name them Arians and Anabaptiſts and hereticks, and not chriſtians (3). Even to this hour ſome cannot conceive how it is poſſible for an Antitrinitarian to be a chriſtian.

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(7) Theodoreti *Hiſt. Eccles. lib. iv. cap. xxxvii.* Gothi hactenus patrem quidem filio majorem eſſe dicunt, filium tamen creaturam dicere non ſuſtinent, licet cum iis communicent, qui ita dicunt.

(8) Lucæ *diaconi Tudenſis Chronicon. Æra DCX.* Leovigildus multos terroribus in Arrianam peſtilentiam impulit: pleroſque ſine perſecutione verbis blandis terroribuſque decepit. Inter cætera quoque hæreſis ſuæ contagia, etiam rebaptizare catholicos impulit. Et non ſolum multos pervertit ex plebe, ſed etiam ex ſacerdotalis ordinis dignitate, ſicut Vincentium Cæſarauguſtanum de epiſcopo apoſtatam factum, et tanquam a cælo in infernum projectum.

Isidori *Hiſpal. Epiſc. De Gothis, Wandalis, et Suevis Chronicon. Æra DCVIII.*

Capital. Karol. *et* Ludov. Impp. *lib. vii. ccxxi.* Cum rebaptizatis fideles religioſi nec in cibo participent.

(9) Garsiæ Loaisa *Concil. Hiſpan. Chronic. Gothor. Regum.* Toletanum concilium tertium anno quarto Reccaredi: in quo Arriana hæreſis in Hiſpania damnatur. Æra Cæſaris 627. An. Chriſti 589.

The Goths are generally reputed barbarians, enemies to all literature; and, true it is, they did deſpiſe the frivolous ſubjects taught in Roman ſchools, and the manner of teaching them, becauſe they thought ſuch an education inconſiſtent with their two favourite paſſions, love of freedom, and love of arms. Never did a people reaſon more juſtly. It was in the ſchools that the Roman youth were prepared for future life, and there they were corrupted and enfeebled, and fitted by a courſe of effeminacy and inſignificance to ſubmit to ſlavery. There the young Roman, while he was liſtening to his tutor, as ſtern in manners as ſublime in ſcience, while he was admiring the claſſicks, compoſing after the manner of the poets, practiſing an artificial eloquence, the chief ſubject of which was the majeſty of Cæſar, found himſelf arrived at manhood without having once thought of the dignity of himſelf. The Gothick youth, on the contrary, by being early habituated to attend his parent in excurſions which required robuſt and manly efforts, and to ſit in aſſemblies, where councils were held, where officers were elected, and where juſtice was adminiſtered, felt his own weight and importance. He was trained up to conſider himſelf a conſtituent part of a whole, in the ſafety and happineſs of which he had become inſenſibly intereſted. In brief, the Romans knew words; the Goths things: the empire therefore fell in pieces at the approach of the Goths, and the conquerours attributed the degeneracy of the Roman manners to their education (4).

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(1) ACTS i. 8. . . ROM. xv. 19. . . COL. iii. 11.

(2) AMBROSII *com. in Evang. Luc. L. i.* Gothis non imperabat Auguſtus, non imperabat Armenis, imperabat Chriſtus.

HIERON. *Epiſt. lvii. ad Lætam.* Depoſuit pharetras Armenius; Hunni diſcunt pſalterium Scythiæ frigora fervent calore fidei; Getarum rutilus et flavus exercitus eccleſiarum circumfert tentoria; et ideo forſitan contra nos æqua pugnant acie, quia pari religione confidunt.

(3) SANDII *Nuc. Hiſt. Eccles. lib. iii. An.* 590. Recte ſcribit Wernerus Rolevink, autor faſcic. temp. Sæpe fit mentio de diverſis regnis et provinciis, quod crebro converſæ ſint ad fidem, quia non ſemper in eis permanſit fides propter diverſas cauſas. Sic de Anglia, Francia, Perſia et Judæa. (addere potuiſſet et Scotiam, Hiſpaniam, Italiam, Africam, Daniam, Ungariam, Gothos, Vandalos, Suevos, Longobardos) In hoc ſingulariter Roma privilegiata fuit, quia ibi nunquam defecit fides Petri. Vera autem ratio iſtius differentiæ eſt, quia populi primo facti ſunt chriſtiani, deinde Romani: et quia ſolos ſe Romani chriſtiano nomine dignos clamitant, evenit ut ab hiſtoricis Romanorum tum demum gentes ad Chriſti fidem converſæ dicantur, quando avita fide relicta Romanis ſacris ſe addixerunt.

(4) LIUTPRANDI *legatio.* MURATOR. *Script. Ital. tom. ii. p. i.* Hoc ſolo, id eſt Romani nomine, quicquid ignobilitatis, quicquid timiditatis, quicquid avaritiæ, quicquid luxuriæ, quicquid mendacii, immo quicquid vitiorum eſt comprehendentes.

There is great reaſon to believe that the tale of the illetiracy of the Goths is a popular errour. Certain it is, they had a tranſlation of the ſcriptures into their own language ſo early as the time of Ulphilas, who lived in the reign of Conſtantine, many years before they diſmembered the empire. That relique of the Gothick bible in the library at Upſal in Sweden, containing the four goſpels, a few chaſms excepted, was ſuppoſed for a long time to be the verſion of Ulphilas: but ſeveral late learned criticks deny this, and ſome affirm it is a frankiſh tranſlation (4). It is written on vellum of a violet colour, the initial letters are golden, the reſt ſilver, and hence it is called the codex argenteus. Whether this be the gothick verſion or not, it is beyond a doubt ſuch a verſion they had, and it is an evidence of literary improvement (5). Procopius, who relates an inſtance of the averſion of the Goths to literature, proves no more than that they did not think a learned education neceſſary to a king. He ſays; "When Theodorick, king of the Oſtrogoths died, his grandſon Athalarick ſucceeded to the throne. He was only eight or ten years of age, and during his minority he was under the guardianſhip of his mother Amalaſuinth (6). This lady propoſed to educate the prince as young princes had uſually been educated among the Romans. For this purpoſe ſhe choſe three gothick tutors, men of years, learning and ſuperiour wiſdom. One day, Athalarick diſpleaſed his mother. She gave him a box on the ear. He ran out into the anti-chamber crying. The gothick officers there took occaſion to reprove her for miſmanaging the education of the child. They told her, that literature was wholly unconnected with fortitude; that old grave tutors naturally inſpired young minds with fear, and meanneſs of ſoul, inconſiſtent with bravery and intrepidity in war; that her father Theodorick had never ſuffered the Goths to ſend their children to ſchool, becauſe he ſuppoſed they, who had been accuſtomed to dread a rod, would never bid defiance to the ſword and the ſpear; that Theodorick himſelf never had the leaſt tincture of literature, and yet he had been a brave and a proſperous king: therefore, Madam," added they, "diſmiſs theſe pedagogues, and give Athalarick ſome of his equals for companions, who, being of his own age, will teach him to govern in the generous manner of a Goth." There were, therefore, learned men among the Goths, and the officers of the army objected againſt literature only as a diſqualification for war. In all other reſpects Theodorick had always encouraged it, and his daughters were celebrated for their ſcience, though he himſelf could not write his name. His contemporary Juſtin was equally illiterate.

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(4) GEORG. HICKESII *Theſaur. Præfat. Gram. Anglo-Sax.* Credo, Teutonem aliquem, Ulphilæ ſive æqualem, ſive illo forſan ſuperiorem, Argentei codicis eſſe Auctorem. Dico, forſan ſuperiorem, quia Germanos doctrinam chriſtianam ante Irenæi tempora amplexos eſſe conſtat ex ejus verbis lib. i. cap. iii.

J. D. MICHAELIS. *Lectures on the new teſt. ſect. lxx.*

(5) GEOR. FRED. HEUPELII *Diſs. de* ULPHILA. *Viteb.* 1693.... *Evangel. ab* ULFILA. *Stockholmiæ* 1671.... FRANCISC. JUNII *Gloſſar. Gothic.*... THOMÆ MARESCHALLI *De verſione Gothica Obſervat. ad calc. Evang. Goth.*

(6) PROCOPII *De bello Gothico lib. i. cap.* 2. Τρεις τε απολεξαμενη των εν Γοτθοις γεροντων, &c.

Philoſtorgius, Socrates and Sozomen affirm, that the Goths were deſtitute of letters till the time of Ulphilas (7). Perhaps ſome tribes were: but authorities better than they prove to a demonſtration that ſome of the German nations had characters and poetical compoſitions long before the Romans became acquainted with them (8). However this were, it is certain, literature had made very conſiderable progreſs among the Goths ſoon after the time of Ulphilas. There is, of the epiſtles of Jerom, one written to Sunia and Fretela, two learned Goths, in anſwer to many critical enquiries concerning the ſenſe of ſeveral paſſages in the pſalms (9). The enquirers had compared the gothick verſion with the latin, and both with the greek, and requeſted Jerom to give his opinion on the agreement of either with the hebrew. Jerom did ſo in a long and learned letter, and, among other compliments, which he paid his correſpondents, one was, that they were ſtudying the ſcriptures with the accuracy of critical linguiſts, while the greeks were either aſleep, or engaged in ſome frivolous diſpute. It is not credible, that the natives of any country ſhould paſs within the ſpace of fifty or ſixty years from abſolute barbariſm, and the total want of letters, to the knowledge of ſeveral languages, and to criticiſm, which is in general the laſt effort of literature. If it be ſaid, literature declined among the Germans, the armies that ſallied out, and founded kingdoms in the empire were illiterate, and the qualifications of a part were taken for a character of the whole: all this will be readily granted: but as the illiteracy of the emperour Juſtin doth not prove that the Greeks either ancient or modern were not learned, ſo neither doth that of Theodorick evince that the Goths had not either formerly or then any literature among them. When therefore hiſtorians denominate the Goths barbarians, they are to be underſtood in a reſtrained and qualified ſenſe.

It is needleſs to repeat what hath been elſewhere obſerved, that the Goths did not perſecute any one; for both before and after their emigration chriſtians of all claſſes lived in peace among them. The Judaizers in the empire, who were perſecutors from the beginning, pretended that the Goths had been orthodox catholicks before the time of Ulphilas, and that he perverted them to arianiſm, and they therefore praiſed the purity of their primitive faith. Thus Ambroſe, Cyril, Jerom, Chryſoſtom, Auguſtine and Prudentius, who perſecuted gothick Arians at home, applauded the orthodoxy of the gothick chriſtians in their own country (1). The truth is, the Goths in general did not believe the trinity either at home or abroad: but many of them did believe it, and ſuffered no moleſtation on that account. When arian Goths went to Conſtantinople Chryſoſtom perſecuted them: but when the ſame Chryſoſtom created one Unila, who was a trinitarian, a biſhop, and ſent him to propagate the doctrine of the trinity among the Goths, they did not perſecute him. The orthodox could not comprehend how a people could tolerate doctrines which they did not believe, ſo, to ſolve the difficulty, they pronounced the whole nation orthodox, and ſaid, they afterwards lapſed into arianiſm.

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(7) PHILOSTORGII *hiſt. Eccles. lib. ii. n. v.* a PHOTIO *in epitomen contract. ex edit.* JACOB. GOTHOFREDI. *Genevæ.* 1643. SOCRATIS *hiſt. Eccles. lib. iv. cap. xxvii.* SOZOM. *lib. vi. cap. xxxvi.*

(8) HICKESII *Theſaur. Grammat. Francotheotiſca. cap. i.* Certum eſt, Helvetios Germanorum vicinos et ſocios, Cæſare in Galliam miſſo, Græcis literis uſos fuiſſe. Monumenta etiam tumuloſque, in confiniis Germaniæ, Rhetiæque, Græcis literis, ut quidam putabant, ab Ulyſſe inſcriptos, extitiſſe, Tacitus ex aliorum fide narrat; Græcaſque literas apud Druidas, Gallorum ſcriptores in uſu quoque fuiſſe in commentariis ſuis tradit Cæſar. Quidni ergo eorum opinioni et ipſe accedam, qui principes et ſacerdotes Germanorum Græcis pariter literis, antequam Romanorum jugo ſubderentur, monumenta ſcripſiſſe arbitrantur.

(9) HIERON. *Epiſt. cxxxv.* SUNIÆ *et* FRETELÆ. Quis hoc crederet, ut barbara Getarum lingua Hebraicam quæreret veritatem, et dormitantibus, immo contendentibus Græcis, ipſa Germania ſpiritus ſancti eloquia ſcrutaretur?

That kind of religion, which the catholicks always propagated, ought to be conſidered, as it really is, not merely as a religion, but as a ſpecies of government, including in it a ſet of tyrannical maxims injurious to the lives, liberties and properties of citizens in a free ſtate, and all tending to render the ſtate dependent on a faction called the church, governed from age to age by a ſucceſſion of prieſts. This idea of catholiciſm is the only true key of the eccleſiaſtical conduct of the Goths. In Spain, as in every other gothick kingdom, all people, even catholicks enjoyed their liberties. None were ever controuled till they were caught in ſtate factions, and then not for religion but ſedition. There is not in all the laws of theſe nations one ſtatute to oppreſs conſcience older than their converſion to catholiciſm. Before that time they practiſed a general diſtributive juſtice, which, unhappily for the ſtates, their kings exchanged for that contemptible paper kite called orthodoxy, a bauble always dyed in human blood.

In the latter end of the ſixth century Leovigild was king of the Wiſigoths in Spain (2). He was an arian, and his government was juſt and mild. He amended and improved the laws, extended the dominion of the Wiſigoths, and was the firſt of their kings who wore purple, and ſat in a chair of ſtate elevated above the reſt in publick aſſemblies. He is called on his coins Leovigild THE JUST, and he merited the appellation: but the catholicks ſay, he was antichriſt, the apocalyptical beaſt, and they prove this by the numeral letters of his name, which make exactly S. John's myſtical number of ſix hundred three ſcore and ſix, though they tax him with no crime except that of not believing that Jeſus was God equal with the father.

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(1) Ambrosii *Com. in Evang. Luc. lib. i. pag.* 26.

Cyril. *Hieroſol. Catech. x.* Perſæ et Gothi, et omnes gentes teſtantur, morientes pro illo, quem corporeis oculis non viderunt.

Chrysost. *Epiſt. xiv.* Narraverunt mihi Marſi et Gothi monachi, apud quos Serapion epiſcopus, perpetuo deliteſcebat, Moduarium, diaçonum, veniſſe illud afferentem, eximium illum virum, Unilam, quem non ita pridem epiſcopum creavi, atque in Gothiam miſi, multis ac magnis rebus geſtis, diem ſuum extremum clauſiſſe, ac regis Gothorum literas attuliſſe, quibus, ut ad eos epiſcopus mittatur, petit.

Augustini *De civitat. Dei lib. xviii. cap. lii.*

Prudentius *in Apotheoſi v.* 494.

(2) Isidori *Chronicon Gothorum.* In legibus quoque ea, quæ ab Eurico incondita conſtituta videbantur, correxit, plurimas leges prætermiſſas adjiciens, pleraſque ſuperfluas auferens.... Primus qui inter ſuos regali veſte opertus ſolio reſedit. Nam ante eum et habitus et conſeſſus communis, ut genti, ita et regibus erat.

Mahudel. *Diſſert. ſur les Monnoyes antiques d'Eſpagne.*

The catholick party in Spain was at this time under the management of three or four men, who beneath the habits of monks, and the faſcinating ſound of orthodoxy, concealed a conſpiracy to dethrone the king, enſlave the people, ſecure the doctrine of the trinity, and eſtabliſh an uniformity of religious worſhip (3). One of theſe was Saint Gregory the great, who, while he was a mere monk intriguing at court at Conſtantinople, had got acquainted with the principal engine of the miſchief, and now that he was pope of Rome continued to correſpond with him; and dedicated ſome of his works to him. This was Saint Leander, who was akin to the royal family, and who, while he was a monk, had been elected biſhop of the catholick church at Seville. Several more ſuch ſaints, all zealous churchmen, were of the party, and ſeveral of them relations or brothers of Leander, as Saint Iſidore, afterward biſhop at Seville, Saint Fulgentius, and more.

A ſingle anecdote is ſufficient to convey a juſt idea of the religious ſtate of the Spaniſh catholicks at this time. An eccleſiaſtick, named Braulio, was put in nomination with ſeveral other candidates for the biſhoprick of the catholick church at Saragoſſa. As the election went againſt him, it pleaſed the Almighty to ſignify the miſtake to the aſſembly by cauſing a flame of fire to reſt on the head of Braulio, who was inſtantly declared duly and divinely elected (4). Some hiſtorians ſay, this man was brother of Leander, others contend, that he was only an intimate. It is very immaterial, and his caſe is mentioned only for the ſake of obſerving, that ſuch elections are impoſſible without a previous union of knavery and folly. The actors were cheats, and the ſpectators dupes. Such comedies have been often played, but never with ſucceſs except when the ſubtle have exhibited before the ſoft.

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(3) ALFONSI GARSIÆ METAMORI *De Academiis et doctis viris Hiſpaniæ. Apologet. Narratio.* Hi fuerunt tres germani fratres, lumina et ornamenta reipublicæ noſtræ, Leander, Fulgentius et Iſidorus, nobilitate clari, eruditione inſignes, ſanctimonia venerabiles, qui Romanam et Atticam eloquentiam inſigniter edocti, in literis quoque hebraicis minime infantes, Gothos ipſos, Valentis imperatoris ſcelere, ac ſacrilegio corruptos, chriſtianam religionem fortiter docuerunt.

Erat vero in Leandro autoritas tanta, et ſummæ eruditionis præjudicata opinio, ut magnus ille prætextatus Gregorius, et primus hujus nominis eccleſiæ Romanæ princeps, commentaria, quæ in Job prophetam ediderat, huic dicare in lucro poſuerit.

GREGORII *Opera. Liber Moral . . . Epiſt. . . . &c.*

ISIDORI *de claris Hiſpan. ſcriptor. tractat.*

(4) LUCII MARINÆI SICULI *de reb. Hiſpan. lib. v, De Sancto Braulio.* Braulius epiſcopus Cæſarauguſtæ civitatis electus eſt divinitus. Nam, cum ex multis quem eligerent, in plurimorum ſapientum concilio hærerent, ſubito flamma ſuper Braulii caput omnibus viſa eſt, quæ innoxia cœli convexa petens, Braulium epiſcopatus dignitate decorandum cæteriſque præferendum ſignificat. Epiſcopus igitur electus religioni chriſtianæ multum profuit.

FR. TARAPHÆ *de regib. Hiſpan. An. 558. Limbæ vit.*

As the catholicks at this time were thoroughly diſpoſed to faction, ſo the condition of the royal family afforded a fit opportunity for the execution of their ſchemes. Leovigild had ſurvived his firſt conſort, and was now married to Gundaſuinth, widow of king Athanagild. By the firſt lady he had two ſons, Hermenegild and Reccared. In order to ſecure the ſucceſſion in his family, he had admitted the eldeſt to be his coadjutor in the government, and had married him to Ingundis, daughter of Sigebert king of Auſtraſia, ſo the eaſtern dominion of the Franks was called. Ingundis was grandaughter to the queen conſort, and the old lady received her with the utmoſt joy, and endeavoured to perſuade her to renounce the catholick notions of original ſin and the trinity, and to be rebaptized into the arian faith. The princeſs, it ſhould ſeem, fraudfully complied, for it is not credible that her grandmother could force her to be dipped, as Gregory of Tours pretends (5). The king eſtabliſhed an houſhold for the young pair, and there Ingundis aſſiſted by Leander returned to her former profeſſion, and converted her conſort Hermenegild to the catholick faith. This weak prince was now perſuaded that his father was an heretick, and that it was religion to dethrone him.

In proſecution of this godly enterprize Saint Leander publiſhed books to prove Arians hereticks, and, while theſe operated in Spain, he went ambaſſador to Conſtantinople to demand ſuccours of the emperour. In brief, the imperial troops, the courts of Auſtraſia, and Burgundy, Theodemir a petty king of the Suevi, monks, prieſts and catholicks, in Spain and all adjacent kingdoms, eſpouſed the cauſe of God in the hands of his ſervants Leander and Hermenegild, and the latter put himſelf at the head of an army, and diſtributed a medal with a motto importing that an heretick, though a king, was to be deſtroyed (6). Hereſy is a glorious reaſon for a ſon to imbrue his hands in the blood of his father!

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(5) GREGORII *Turonenſis Hiſt. lib. v.* 38. Ingundis ab avia Gundaſuintha cum gaudio magno ſuſcipitur; quam nec paſſa eſt in religione catholica diu commorari, ſed ut rebaptizaretur in Arriana hæreſi blandis cœpit ſermonibus inlicere: ſed illa viriliter reluctans, cœpit dicere, ſufficit ſatis me ab originali peccato baptiſmo ſalutari ſemel ablutam fuiſſe, et ſanctam trinitatem in una æqualitate eſſe confeſſam: hæc me credere ex toto corde confiteor, nec unquam ab hac fide ibo retrorſum. Hæc illa audiens, iracundiæ furore ſuccenſa, adprehenſam per comam capitis puellam in terram conlidit, et diu calcibus verberatam, ac ſanguine cruentatam, juſſit ſpoliari et piſcinæ immergi: ſed ut adferunt multi, nunquam animum ſuum a fide noſtra reflexit.

(6) S. LEANDRI *vita in Act. S. S. Antverp. ad D. xiii. Martii.*
S. ISIDORI *chron. Ær. DCVIII.*

JO. MARIANÆ

One of theſe curious pieces was found near Cordova, and it is deſcribed by Moralez, who had it in his poſſeſſion (7). He thought it was the invention of Leander or Iſidore, and nothing can be more likely. They, who have written the lives of theſe three holy men, have forgot to mention the genius diſplayed by the two ſaint uncles to allure Saint Hermenegild their nephew to commit the duty of murder, as a title to enjoy the glory of martyrdom. On one ſide is the head of the prince, with the word Ermenegildi: on the reverſe victory with wings, ſurrounded with the words Regem Devita: reject the king. The alluſion is evidently to the words of Paul to Titus, A man that is an heretick, after the firſt and ſecond admonition, reject. There is a pun in the word devita, for it may mean avoid the king: and it may be underſtood, reject him by depriving him of life. It was not very wiſe to give victory wings, but as ſhe made uſe of them and flew over to the army of the heretick king, the motto on the medal was never explained: but, as the hiſtorian obſerves, it was ingeniouſly, prudently, and piouſly imagined.

Leovigild conducted his affairs in this critical conjuncture with the tenderneſs of a parent, and the prudence of an experienced governour. He convened an aſſembly at Toledo to try, if poſſible, to abate the zeal of the enthuſiaſtical catholicks, and to form an union between them and the Arians (8). The chief article of diſcuſſion was baptiſm, for all the arian Goths, the Priſcillianiſts, the followers of Bonoſus, and others deemed hereticks by the

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Jo. Marianæ *De reb. Hiſpan. lib. v. cap.* 12. *Ermenegildi bellum.* Aureæ monetæ reſiſtunt, in ipſo ut videtur belli ardore, ut eſſent videlicet pro teſſera militari, præcipuæ puritatis percuſſæ. Ermenegildi nomen et faciem exprimentes altera ex parte, in altera victoriæ ſignum, his adjunctis verbis, Homo Regem devita. Nimirum ad Pauli ſententiam alluſit, Hæreticum hominem præcipientis poſt unam et alteram monitionem eſſe devitandum. Longinqua auxilia a catholicis conquiſita. Leander Conſtantinopolim ad Tiberium Auguſtum navigavit.

(7) Ambrosii Moral. *Corduba. apud ſcript. Hiſpan. tom. ii. p.* 860. Nummum etiam aureum Hermenegildi habeo, et tanquam ſanctiſſimi martyris egregium monumentum veneror, quem in hoc ſacro bello conſtat eſſe percuſſum. . . . . Omnia tam acute, prudenter et pie excogitata ſunt et adaptata, ut credi poſſit ab Leandro aut Iſidoro fratre viris ſanctiſſimis, litteriſque et ingenio præſtantibus divi etiam Ermenegildi avunculis fuiſſe excogitata, et principi pie rebellanti ad ſymbolum et teſſeram tradita. Repertus vero fuit is nummus prope Cordubam tertio milliario, in eo agro qui Caſa Blanca nominatur.

(8) Johan. Biclariensis *Chron. ad ann. xii. Leovigildi.*

Roderici Ximenis *Toletan. Archiep. De reb. Hiſpan. lib. ii. cap.* 14.

Marianæ *lib. v. cap. xii.* Inter catholicos et Arrianos, quorum de religione diſſidio bellum excitatum eſſe conſtabat, ſpecies quædam concordiæ excogitata. Arianorum præſulum conventus Leovigildi juſſu Toleti habitus. In eo conventu rebaptizandi mos ſublatus Arianis familiaris, cum ad eorum ſectam catholici transfugiſſent. Patri filium æqualem eſſe, de quo tandiu diſceptabatur, verbo tenus ſancitum; cum pravæ opinionis virus conceptum retinerent animis, verborum ſimulatione multorum animi circumventi.

S. Isidori *Chron. ad Ær. DCVIII.* Leovigildus multos quoque terroribus ſuis in Arrianam hæreſim et peſtilentiam impulit, pleroſque ſine perſecutione, illectos auro rebuſque decepit. Auſus quinetiam inter cætera hæreſis ſuæ contagia rebaptizare catholicos, et non ſolum ex plebe, ſed etiam ex ſacerdotalis ordinis dignitate, ſicut Vincentium Cæſarauguſtanum de epiſcopo apoſtatam factum.

catholicks were literally anabaptiſts in regard to the catholicks (9). Themſelves were baptized once only by dipping in the name of Chriſt: but when catholicks, who had been dipped in the name of the trinity, joined their churches, they rebaptized them. The catholicks reſented this, and conſidered it, as it really was, a tacit denial of the whole of their religion. Againſt this they publiſhed books, and filled Spain with lamentable declamations and outcries againſt hereſy, and the ſacrilege of rebaptizing. Yet the Goths tolerated pagans, jews, catholicks, and all others, and did not compel any to join their churches. In this aſſembly the mode of adminiſtering baptiſm was qualified, and it was agreed that catholicks ſhould be baptized in the name of the father, through the ſon, by the holy ghoſt. Many acceded to this, and Vincent, biſhop of Saragoſſa, among the reſt, and were rebaptized, joined the arian church, and a declaration of their converſion was publiſhed. This manoeuvre drew off many from the party of Hermenegild.

By a ſecond ſtratagem Leovigild divided and diſſipated the army under the command of his ſon. A part he bought off by preſenting the general with thirty thouſand pieces of gold: and another part he ſubdued by force of arms. To his ſon he ſent a moſt affectionate letter, in which he contraſts his own generous conduct to the undutiful prince with that of the prince to him (1). Toward the cloſe he informs him, that religion in the preſent caſe was nothing but a pretence, a name to conceal ambition and love of dominion: that his pretended piety went to ſubvert all laws human and divine, and to provoke the diſpleaſure of God: that providence had always proſpered the kingdoms of the Goths in their profeſſion of religion: and that he might eaſily perceive the vanity of the new religion, which he had embraced, by obſerving that it taught a ſon to hate, reſiſt and deſtroy his own father. He cloſes by offering to forgive all his offences on condition he gave up his enterprize, and by obſerving what dreadful conſequences muſt follow if he perſiſted. Mariana hath preſerved the whole letter, and it will always do honour to the writer.

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(9) CONCIL. AURELIANENSE *iii. can. xxxi. an. DXXXVIII.* Judex civitatis vel loci, ſi hæreticum, aut Bonoſiacum, vel cujuſlibut alterius hæreſis ſacerdotem, quamcumque perſonam de catholicis rebaptizaſſe cognoverit, quia reges nos conſtat habere catholicos, non ſtatim rebaptizantes aſtrinxerit, et ad regis fidem atque juſtitiam propterea diſtringendos adduxerit, annuali excommunicationi ſubdatur.

ISIDORI *Hiſpal. De claris ſcriptoribus. vit. xx.* Juſtinianus de Hiſpania eccleſiæ Valentinianæ epiſcopus. Ex quatuor fratribus epiſcopis ex eadem matre progenitis unus ſcripſit quoque librum reſponſionum ad quendam ruſticum de interrogatis quæſtionibus, quarum prima eſt, de ſpiritu ſancto, ſecunda eſt contra Bonoſiacos [*Bonoſianos*], qui Chriſtum adoptivum et non propirum dicunt. Tertia reſponſio eſt de baptiſmo Chriſti, quod iterare non licet.

(1) MARIANÆ *hiſt. ut ſup.* Regnandi ambitio omnes naturæ leges violat, reſolvitque ea, quæ perpetua neceſſitudine conſtricta ſunt. At religionem cauſaris. In quo te video non humana jura tantum, ſed divina etiam evertere, et in caput tuum Dei vindictam provocare. Itane ab ea religione tuo arbitratu diſcedas, cujus cultu propagando nomen Gothicum auctum opibus, atque potentia amplificatum eſt? An majorum, quæ ſacroſancta eſſe debuit, autoritatem contemnas? Novæ religionis vanitatem vel eo potiſſimum conſiderare potuiſti, quod filium a patre ſejungat, et ſummæ caritatis nomina odio pluſquam paterno, atque invidia labefactet, &c.

It is extremely difficult, and not very material, to reduce the hiſtory of this inteſtine war to preciſion. Hermenegild perſiſted ſix years in his rebellion and in the end was ſubdued and impriſoned by his father. There he finiſhed his days, and the Spaniſh church worſhip this idolater of the fifth commandment as a martyr and annually keep the thirteenth of April in commemoration of him (2). The ſaints, Leander, Iſidore, John the monk, and others were baniſhed, not for religion but ſedition: but the catholicks have ſince canonized them all; nor are they the only ſaints, whoſe crimes have merited places for their names in the calendar. Leovigild did not revenge this civil war on the catholicks, but continued all his reign to preſerve peace and good order without any diſtinction on account of religion.

Leovigild departed this life in the eighteenth year of his reign, and in the year of Chriſt five hundred and eighty-ſix. He was ſucceeded by his youngeſt ſon Reccared. Never had the clergy a more humble ſervant than this prince. Uxoriouſneſs had made him a catholick, during the life of his father, and as ſoon as he aſcended the throne Leander and the reſt of the actors in the late bloody ſcene were recalled. A council at Toledo was held (3). The king produced the articles of his faith, which he and the queen, the biſhops and ſome nobles ſubſcribed. It is remarkable, there were two or three biſhops in ſome cities, conſequently they were not dioceſans (4). Here unity of faith, and uniformity of worſhip were introduced, anathemas were plentifully denounced, and the vengeance of heaven and earth was threatened to overwhelm all, who did not accede to the faith and the meaſures of the council. The former creed publiſhed in the reign of Leovigild was diſowned, and a curſe was denounced againſt anabaptiſm (5). In return for all theſe favours, the prelate graced the king with the title of catholick, which deſcended to his ſucceſſors. The whole was a farce acted for the benefit of the clergy, and ſo productive hath time rendered it, that the archbiſhoprick of Toledo alone now yields thirty thouſand pounds ſterling a year.

The reign of Reccared laſted fifteen years; a golden age for the orthodox, and for which they were indebted to Badda the queen. This lady was preſent in the council, and ſubſcribed the creed, and if it be true, as chronicles affirm, that ſhe was the daughter of a britiſh prince, her fair countrywomen need not bluſh at the uſe ſhe made of her beauty and her talents (6). It is extremely clear, that this national converſion of the Goths was on the part of the royal family a ſoft placid affair, and not intended to be accompanied with any perſecution. The king and queen and their attendants were mighty good ſort of people, and though Spain abounded with hereticks yet none were oppreſſed. Even arian Anabaptiſts in ſpite of all the great words in the council were allowed to hold biſhopricks, and it was only by ſlow and wary ſteps that the clergy brought forward their maxims of perſecution (7). In this firſt council Jews were forbidden to marry chriſtian wives, or to keep chriſtian concubines, or to hold offices, and arianiſm was anathematized: but by degrees orders to burn arian books were iſſued, and in due time, after the deceaſe of the old arian biſhops, Arians themſelves were perſecuted (8). Whatever might have been the original deſign, it was found true in practice, in Spain as in every other country, that unity of faith is unattainable without civil coercion. Pope Gregory, who had a glove to fit every hand, acted his part moſt devoutly (9). A Jew, named Joſeph, complained to him of ſome violence, which one Peter a catholick biſhop had offered to ſome jews in the celebration of their religious rites. Gregory gave him a letter to Peter, in which he cenſured his zeal, and beſought him to uſe no coercion in future, but to treat the jews with mildneſs, becauſe the chriſtian religion ought not to be propagated by force and acrimony. The ſame Gregory wrote to king Reccared to applaud him for perſecuting the Jews, and for not accepting a great ſum of money, which they had offered for their liberty, and he accompanied his adulation with ſome preſents. One was a bit of old iron, which had formerly been a part of S. Peter's chain: another was a bit of the croſs of Chriſt: and a third was an hair of John the Baptiſt: with which, no doubt, the royal family was greatly edified.

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(2) ERMENEGILDI *vita in act. S. S. Antverp. ad D. xiii. April.*

(3) GARSIÆ LOAISA CONCIL. *Toletan. iii. an. DLXXXIX.*

(4) IBID. Neufila *Tudenſis* eccleſiæ epiſcopus ſubſcripſi . . . Gardingus *Tudenſis* eccleſiæ epiſcopus ſubſcripſi. . . . Maurila in Chriſti nomine *Valentinæ* eccleſiæ epiſcopus, in his conſtitutionibus, quibus interfui, annuens ſubſcripſi. . . . . Celſinus *Valentinæ* eccleſiæ epiſcopus ſubſcripſi. . . . Viligiſclus eccleſiæ *Valentinæ* epiſcopus ſubſcripſi. . . . . Julianus *Dertoſanæ* eccleſiæ epiſcopus ſubſcripſi. . . . Froiſclus item *ibi* epiſcopus ſubſcripſi. . . . . Pantardus . . . tam pro me quam pro fratre meo Nigiſio epiſcopo de civitate *Luci* ſubſcripſi. . . . Becilla *Lucenſis* eccleſiæ epiſcopus ſubſcripſi.

(5) *Can. xvi.* Quicumque libellum deteſtabilem duodecimo anno Leovigildi regis a nobis editum, in quo continetur Romanorum ad hæreſim Arianam traductio, et in quo gloria patri, per filium, in ſpiritu ſancto male a nobis inſtituta continetur, hunc libellum ſi quis pro vero habuerit, anathema ſit in æternum.

Can. xv. Quicumque rebaptizandi ſacrilegum opus bonum eſſe credit aut crediderit, agit aut egerit, anathema ſit.

Although it would be foreign to the deſign of this ſketch of church-hiſtory to inveſtigate with critical accuracy the accounts given of this period, yet it may not be improper to add a few brief reflections.

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(6) CONCIL. TOLET. III. *Subſcriptiones.* Ego Badda, glorioſa regina, hanc fidem, quam credidi et ſuſcepi, mea manu de toto corde ſubſcripſi. . . . *Not.* Badda, pia uxor Reccaredi regis, filia, ut tradunt hiſtorici quidam Hiſpani, Arturi regis Britanniæ.

(7) JO. BICLAR. . . . . ISIDOR. *De viris illuſt. anno DLXXXVIII.* Floruerunt in Hiſpania Sunna, Segga, Uldila, Vincentius, et Athalocus epiſcopi Ariani.

(8) CONCIL. TOLET. III. *capit. xiv.* Suggerente concilio, id glorioſſimus dominus noſter canonibus inſerendum præcepit, ut judæis non liceat chriſtianas habere uxores vel concubinas, neque mancipia chriſtiana comparare in uſus proprios: ſed et ſi qui filii ex tali conjugio nati ſunt, aſſumendos eſſe ad baptiſmum: nulla officia publica eos opus eſt agere, per quæ eis occaſio tribuatur pænam chriſtianis inferre.

(9) S. GREGOR. *Epiſt. lib. i. ep. xxxiv. Ad* PETRUM *epiſc. Tarricinenſem. De Judæis non perſequendis.*

Lib. vii. ep. cxxvii. Ad RECCAREDUM *regem. Commendans ejus animum, quod licet ſumma pecuniarum a Judæis offerretur conſtitutionem in eos editam mutare noluerit.*

It may ſafely be affirmed, there was nothing in government in the reign of Leovigild to authorize a revolution. All parties enjoyed liberty. Even Jews held offices, and Leander himſelf, who was a monk and an enthuſiaſt, and not of the religion of the king, was employed in the honourable character of ambaſſador at the court of Conſtantinople (1).

The rebellion ſeems to have been the contrivance of Gregory, with whom Leander got acquainted at Conſtantinople. Gregory was then a monk, and reſident at Conſtantinople as reſponſalis from pope Pelagius. In the long liſt of popes Gregory ſtands foremoſt in ſtupidity and hypocriſy, enthuſiaſm and cruelty. It is a queſtion whether nature ever produced a worſe man. His whole life was a ſucceſſion of crimes, varniſhed over with fanaticiſm. His account of Saint Hermenegild and his martyrdom is a ſtring of impudent falſehoods, and his affirmation that the converſion of all Spain under Reccared, from arianiſm to orthodoxy, was owing to the merits and interceſſion of this undutiful ſaint, who would have killed his own father, clearly diſcovers that morality was no part of his ſyſtem, and that his religion itſelf was wickedneſs. If the LIGHT that is in thee be darkneſs: how great is THAT darkneſs (2)!

Nothing can be more frivolous than the declamations of hiſtorians on the converſion of Spain under Reccared. They ſpeak in the higheſt terms of the learning and eloquence of Saint Leander, and his brother Saint Iſidore, and Saint Gregory, and they ſay, the nation was converted by the preaching and the writings, and the miracles of theſe men. Yet, it ſeems, councils and canons and penal ſtatutes, marriages and contracts and armies and battles and aſſaſſinations were neceſſary to give this learning and eloquence effect. Modern readers ought not to take monkiſh affirmations on truſt, becauſe it is in their power to judge for themſelves, as the works of the learned and eloquent ſaints of thoſe times lie open to the world in various editions. The ſpaniſh ſaints reſemble Falſtaff's regiment. The miracles, reported for facts with ſo much confidence by the infallible Gregory, put modern catholicks to the bluſh, and Mr. Du Pin, who relates a great number of them that are utterly incredible even where credulity is religion, quotes them to prove that popes are not infallible, for the book of dialogues is an infallible proof that Gregory was not ſo. Such a budget of inſipid falſehoods no ſuperannuated goſſip ever uttered on a twelfth-night to gaping clowns (3). How theſe ſaints expounded ſcripture may be ſeen in Gregory's expoſition of Job, written for the Spaniards, and dedicated to Leander. There, who could have thought it! Job is Jeſus Chriſt: his wife carnality: and his friends hereticks, that is the arian Anabaptiſts of Spain. Several works of Iſidore remain, and of Leander there is a letter to his ſiſter, and an harangue in the council of Toledo. Both the brothers are as innocent of the charge of learning and eloquence as Gregory was, and theſe three monks may juſtly be deemed a trio of punſters. For certain, it was not the learning, it was not the preaching, it was not the writings, it was not the miracles, it was not the eloquence of theſe men that converted Spain: nor was it the ſpirit of God, as they boaſt: but the pretended converſion was the natural effect of intrigue and bribery, fraud and force: or perhaps, as great events often proceed from little cauſes, the whole might proceed from one depraved paſſion in the heart of Hermenegild, or one diſconcerted fibre in the brain of Reccared.

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(1) S. GREGOR. *in Expos. libri Job. præfat.* Reverendiſſimo atque ſanctiſſimo fratri ſuo Leandro, coepiſcopo, Gregorius ſervus ſervorum dei. Dudum te frater beatiſſime in Conſtantinopolitana urbe cognoſcens, cum me illic ſedis apoſtolicæ reſponſa conſtringerent, et te illuc injuncta pro cauſis fidei regis Wiſigothorum legatio perduxiſſet.

(2) *Beati* GREGORII *Dialog. lib. iii. cap. xxxi. De* ERMENEGILDO. Nec mirum quod veræ fidei prædicator factus eſt Richardus, qui frater eſt martyris, cujus hunc quoque merita adjuvant ut ad omnipotentis dei gremium tam multos reducat.... Totum hoc agi nequaquam poſſet ſi Ermenegildus rex pro veritate mortuus non fuiſſet.... In Wiſigothorum etenim gente unus mortuus eſt ut multi viverent, &c.

After all, was Spain converted? If a great kingdom of Arians, who had believed on conviction that God was one undivided eſſence, and that Jeſus was only the ſon of God, had diſpoſed of this conviction, and had believed at pleaſure that Jeſus was a perſon in God equal with two other perſons in God, and all making but one God, it would have been a miracle greater than any reported by the catholicks. Let writers declaim as long as they pleaſe on the creduloufneſs of paſt ages, impoſſibilities never were effected in any age. In the time of Cæſar there were no leſs than fifty millions of ſouls in Spain (4). Before the diſcovery of America in fourteen hundred and ninety two the population of Spain amounted to twenty millions. That diſcovery drained the kingdom of half its inhabitants. In the year ſeventeen hundred ſixty four the adult perſons of Spain conſiſted of ſix millions and an half, and the addition of thoſe who were under age would double the number. There is reaſon to believe, Spain was well peopled in the time of the Goths: but there is no reaſon to believe, that king Reccared, queen Badda, a few noblemen, ſixty two biſhops, and five deputies, who conſtituted the council of Toledo, could diſpoſe of the convictions and conſciences of ſeveral millions, or even of one individual. The fact is, with Reccared orthodoxy died, and his ſucceſſors were either Arians or demi-catholicks, or profligates, for one hundred and thirty eight years, when Alfonſo i. ſirnamed for perſecuting Arians, the catholick, became king of the petty kingdoms of Leon and Aſturias (5). The ſaints and their books fell into total oblivion, and about forty years after the death of Reccared, in the reign of Chindaſuinth, there could not be found in all Spain one copy of Gregory's expoſition of Job (6). It is very credible, as ſpaniſh hiſtorians ſay, that the arian hereſy was obſtinate, for in the nature of things it muſt be ſo. That Jeſus is a man may be underſtood. That he is one of three divine perſons cannot be underſtood. Now a doctrine underſtood ſtands a better chance of being remembered than a doctrine incomprehenſible does. It follows then, on the whole, that hereticks had ſafe harbour in Spain, as long as the Wiſigoths reigned there, notwithſtanding the boaſted catholiciſm of that country.

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(3) Du Pin *Bibliotheque. tom. v.* S. Gregoire i. Quoique l'on ne puiſſe pas douter que les dialogues, qui portent le nom de Saint Gregoire, ne ſoient de ce pape.... il ſemble neanmoins que cet ouvrage ne ſoit pas digne de la gravité et du diſcernement de ce ſaint pape, tant il eſt plein de miracles extraordinaires et d'hiſtoires preſque incroyables. Il eſt vrai, qu'il les a rapportés ſur la foi d'autrui; mais il ne devoit pas ſi legerement y ajouter foi, ni les debiter enſuite comme les choſes conſtantes... Je ne crois pas que perſonne voulut etre garant de toutes ces relations.

Ibid. S. Leandre. Il affecte de parler par ſentences, ornées d'antitheſes et de mots, dont les terminaiſons et les cadences ſont les memes a chaque membre.

Tom. vi. S. Isidore *de Seville.* Cet eveque avoit beaucoup de lecture; mais il n'avoit pas tant de beauté ni d'elevation d'eſprit. Son ſtile n'a rien de recommandable que ſa netteté; il n'eſt ni eloquent ni poli. Ses propres penſées ſont ſouvent fauſſes, et il ne fait pas toujours un bon choix de celles des autres. Il ſe contente d'une ſcience ſuperficielle, il n'approfondit pas les matieres, il ne remarque que ce qu'il y a de plus trivial; et ſe trompe aſſez ſouvent. Cependant il a paſſé dans ſon ſiecle pour un prodige de ſcience, et pour un oracle.

(4) Twiss's *Travels through Spain. page* 336.

In order to form a juſt notion of the ſtate of baptiſm during this period, four obſervations, founded on various authentick monuments, are neceſſary.

Firſt, there were in Spain chriſtians of all deſcriptions, as well as Jews and pagans. This appears by the books publiſhed by the catholick faction againſt Manicheans, Priſcillianiſts, Acephali, Sabellians, Photinians, Arians, and others, whom they inſolently named hereticks (7). None of theſe ſuffered any inconvenience becauſe government knew no ſuch crime as hereſy.

Secondly. All parties adminiſtered baptiſm by immerſion ſingle or trine, and all rebaptized (8). The catholicks made a diſtinction between ſome who adminiſtered baptiſm in vague terms capable of a trinitarian meaning, and others who did not. The firſt they admitted to their communion by the ceremony of unction, the latter they rebaptized, as their decrees in council concerning the Bonoſians, and others abundantly prove (9). Bonoſus was biſhop of a church in Macedonia. He taught, as Photinus a biſhop at Sirmium did, that God was one undivided eſſence; that there was no plurality of perſons in the deity; that Jeſus was an extraordinary man, born of a virgin by the POWER of God, for ſo they underſtood the ſcriptural phraſeology, holy ghoſt, ſpirit of God, and ſo on (1). They called Jeſus God, becauſe they thought a certain divine emanation dwelt in him. Bonoſians and Photinians were numerous in Spain, and they, and all other parties, conſidering the catholicks as a mere worldly faction, rebaptized all ſuch as left them to join their churches. It was with a very ill grace in Spain that this faction called themſelves catholick, or univerſal, for, as Cardinal Baronius properly enough obſerves, between the Priſcillianiſts and the Arians they were cooped up in a very narrow compaſs, and bore no proportion to hereticks in numbers (2)

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(5) SANDII *Nuc. Hiſt. Eccles. lib. iii. An. DXCV.* Ex Gregorii Romani V. ep. 6. liquet nullum regum fuiſſe catholicum præter regem Francorum, nullam gentem catholicam præter gentem Francorum. Nam ſtatim poſt mortem Recaredi, Romana fide etiam a poſteris Recaredi uſque ad Alfonſum i. relicta, Ariani denuo in Hiſpania florere cœperunt.

MICHAELIS RITII *de regibus Hiſpaniæ lib. ii.* Alfonſus i. Arrianum dogma, quod a Recaredi regis morte rurſus in Hiſpania pullularat, eradicavit. . . . ex quo catholicus eſt cognominatus.

J. MARIANÆ. *lib. vi. cap.* 2. 4.

(6) S. GREGOR. *op. De inventione Moral.* D. GREG. Beatus Gregorius papa librum beati Job, petente Sancto Leandro expoſuit, et ei expoſitum tradidit. Illeque expoſitum eum in Hiſpaniam ad ſedem Hiſpalenſem detulit. Decedente beato Leandro ſanctus Iſidorus loco ejus factus eſt Archiepiſcopus. Poſt cujus deceſſum libri moralium ita per negligentiam perditi ſunt ut in tota Hiſpania non invenirentur.

FRANC. TARAPHÆ *de regib. Hiſpan. Hiſt. An. CCCCL.* Audentius epiſcopus Hiſpanus, magni zeli et ſanctimoniæ vir, per hoc tempus, ut Gennadius teſtatur, adverſus hæreticos de fide catholica librum egregium edidit, in quo maxime contra Photinianos, Manichæos, Sabellianos et Arianos diſputans oſtendit Dominum noſtrum filium Dei coæternalem.

Thirdly. The Spaniſh chriſtians called hereticks did not regulate their adminiſtration of baptiſm by any of the canons of the catholick councils, for they diſowned their authority, and by rebaptizing converts from them practically denied their chriſtianity. In general, they baptized by three forms of words: ſome in the name of Chriſt; others in the name of the father, and of the ſon, and of the holy ghoſt, as the Novatians and others, who were trinitarians; and others in the name of the father, through the ſon, by the holy ghoſt, in which they ſuppoſed they were juſtified by a paſſage of Paul, who

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Isidori *vir. illuſt. vitæ.* Juſtinianus de Hiſpania eccleſiæ Valentinianæ epiſcopus ſcripſit contra Bonoſiacos. . . . Leander opuſcula adverſus inſtituta Arianorum ſcripſit. . . . Severus Malachitanæ ſedis antiſtes edidit libellum unum adverſus Vincentium, Cæſarauguſtanæ urbis epiſcopum, qui ex catholica in Arianam pravitatem fuerat devolutius. &c.

Hildephonsi *ad* Isidor. *addit.* . . . Montanus amatores Priſcillianæ ſectæ abdicat et exprobat. &c. &c.

(8) S. Gregor. *Epiſt. lib. i. ep. xli.* Leandro. *De trina merſione baptiſmatis.* Dum in tribus perſonis una ſubſtantia eſt, reprehenſibile eſſe nullatenus poteſt, infantem in baptiſmate in aquam vel ter vel ſemel immergere. &c. . . . hucuſque ab hæreticis infans in baptiſmate tertio mergebatur. &c.

Concil. Tolet. iv. *cap.* 5.

(9) Concil. Arelatens. *ii. An. CCCCLII. can. xvi.* Photinianos ſive Paulianiſtas ſecundum patrum ſtatuta baptizari oportere.

Can. xvii. Bonoſiacos autem, ex eodem errore venientes, quos ſicut Arianos baptizari in Trinitate manifeſtum eſt, ſi interrogati fidem noſtram ex toto corde confeſſi fuerint, cum chriſmate et manus impoſitione in eccleſia recipi ſufficit.

(1) Tho. Ittigii *hiſt. Photini.*

Mat. Larroque *De Photino.*

(2) Baronii *Annal. tom. vii. An. DXXXVIII.* Una ex parte ob Priſcillianiſtas, altera vero ob Arianos, Arianis principibus in Hiſpaniis regnantibus, Hiſpana anguſtiaretur eccleſia. &c.

ſays to the Epheſians, THROUGH Chriſt we both have an acceſs BY one ſpirit UNTO the Father (3). It is to the honour of theſe chriſtians that they allowed of this variety in their own communities, and this accounts for the conduct of the catholicks, who rebaptized ſome Bonoſians, and ſome Arians, and not others, becauſe ſome held Jeſus to be a mere man, and had been baptized only in the name of Chriſt, and others, though they denied trinity and perſonality, yet believed Jeſus was God in ſome ſenſe, either by delegation, or by the indwelling of the deity, and therefore had been baptized in the name of the father, through the ſon, by the holy ghoſt. When any of theſe joined the catholicks they were interrogated, and, if they explained the words of Paul of three perſons in one ſubſtance, their baptiſm was held valid, and they were admitted. The eaſtern catholicks admitted them by the ceremony of unction: the weſtern by that of laying on hands. This is the account given by pope Gregory. It cannot be proved that any of theſe chriſtians baptized new born infants, and the probability is, that they did not, becauſe they did not believe original ſin, the only ground on which the catholicks adminiſtered it. It is, however, very credible, that the court-arians and the catholicks through their mutual fears and jealouſies excited in each other a zeal to bring forward the baptiſm of minors, and that in this, as in other countries, this degenerated in time into what is now called infant-baptiſm (4).

Laſtly. The ſtate of baptiſm among the party called catholicks in Spain was briefly this. There is no trace of infant-baptiſm among them earlier than the year five hundred and ſeventeen. If any infants were baptized before this period, they were baptized without any authority. In this year, it is ſaid, Leander conſulted pope Gregory on the propriety of trine immerſion, and

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(3) S. GREGORII *Epiſt. lib. ix. ep. lxi.* Ab antiqua patrum inſtitutione didicimus, ut qui apud hæreſim in Trinitatis nomine baptizantur, cum ad ſanctam eccleſiam redeunt, aut unctione chriſmatis, aut impoſitione manus, aut ſola profeſſione fidei ad ſinum matris eccleſiæ revocentur. Unde Arianos per impoſitionem manus occidens, per unctionem vero ſancti chriſmatis ad ingreſſum ſanctæ eccleſiæ catholicæ oriens reformat. Monophyſitas vero et alios ex ſola vera confeſſione recipit.... Hi vero hæretici, qui in Trinitatis nomine minime baptizantur, ſicut ſunt Bonoſiani et Cataphrygæ, quia et illi Chriſtum Dominum non credunt, et iſti ſanctum ſpiritum perverſo ſenſu eſſe quemdam pravum hominem Montanum credunt, quorum ſimiles multi ſunt, et alii tales, cum ad ſanctam eccleſiam veniunt, baptizantur: quia baptiſma non fuit, quod in errore poſiti in ſanctæ trinitatis nomine minime perceperunt. Nec poteſt hoc ipſum iteratum dici baptiſma: quod, ſicut dictum eſt, in trinitatis nomine non erat datum.

SYNOD. CAPUAN. *in cauſa Antiochenæ diſſenſionis, et Bonoſi hæretici. An. CCCLXXXIX.*

In hac Synodo conſtitutum fuit, ne fierent rebaptizationes, reordinationes, et epiſcoporum tranſlationes.

DU VERDIER *Abregé de l'hiſt. d'Eſpagne. tom. i. Leonigilde.*

JOS. SAENZ DE AQUIRRE *Collect. Concilior. Hiſpaniæ.*

CAROL. LE COINTE *Annal. Eccleſ. Franc. ad An. CCCCXVI. N.* 81....90.

Epheſ. ii. 18.

(4) S. AVITI *Archiep. Viennenſis op. ex edit. Jac Sirmondi.* *Paris.* 1643. *Ep. de Hæreticorum oratoriis non recipiendis.* Quid tamen ſi nunc quiſquam de vicinis regibus legis alienæ ulciſci in regione ſua ſimiliter velit, quod hic ſacerdotibus ſuis doluerit irrogari?

Gregory's anſwer was inſerted in a council held at Toledo in the year ſix hundred and thirty-three, where it was determined that baptiſm ſhould be adminiſtered by ſingle immerſion (5). Commentators uſually refer their readers to letters of pope Leo to the Sicilians, and pope Gregory to the Spaniards, and to other councils, in order to elucidate theſe canons: but this is not fair in regard to the Spaniards, who utterly diſavowed the dominion of the pope, and, as Dr. Geddes hath fully proved, conſidered themſelves as they really were an epiſcopal hierarchy independent of foreign authority, and ſubject as the britiſh epiſcopal church is to the crown (6). The correſpondence between Leander and Gregory was merely a correſpondence of friendſhip. They were both monks nearly of the ſame age, they were both on the ſame ſcale of genius, they were preciſely of the ſame religion, and they were both grievouſly afflicted with the gout, a diſorder, ſays a learned cardinal, with which a great number of ſaints have been exceedingly oppreſſed, and whoſe caſe, adds he, may ſerve to confute ſuch as pretend that the gout is an effect of intemperance (7).

Iſidore of Seville, about the year ſix hundred and ten, publiſhed a treatiſe on the offices of the church (8). Whether that, which is now accounted his, and which is printed in the bibliotheca patrum, be the ſame, is doubtful. Cardinal Baronius thinks it is not. In the ſecond book there is an account of catechumens, who are defined converts from paganiſm (9). Theſe are divided

into

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(5) Concil. Toletan. iv. *can. vi.* De baptiſmi autem ſacramento, propter quod in Hiſpaniis quidam ſacerdotes trinam, quidam ſimplam merſionem faciunt, a nonnullis ſchiſma eſt conſpicitur, et unitas fidei ſcindi videtur... Quapropter, quia de utroque ſacramento quod fit in ſancto baptiſmo a tanto viro [*Gregorio*] reddita eſt ratio, quod utrumque rectum, utrumque irreprehenſibile in ſancta Dei eccleſia habeatur, propter vitandum autem ſchiſmatis ſcandalum, vel hæretici dogmatis uſum, ſimplam teneamus merſionem, ne videantur apud nos, qui tertio mergunt, hæreticorum probare aſſertionem, dum ſequuntur et morem. Et ne forte cuiquam ſit dubium hujus ſimpli myſterium ſacramenti, videat in eo mortem et reſurrectionem Chriſti ſignificari: nam in aquis merſio, quaſi in infernum deſcenſio eſt, et rurſus ab aquis emerſio, reſurrectio eſt. Item videat in eo unitatem divinitatis, et trinitatem perſonarum oſtendi: unitatem dum ſemel immergimus, trinitatem dum nomine patris, et filii, et ſpiritus ſancti baptizamus.

(6) Leonis *Papæ i. epiſt. iv. an. CCCCXLVII.* 1. Quod prohibeatur in die epiphaniæ baptiſmum celebrari.... 3. Quod in baptiſmo mors proveniat interfectione peccati, et ſepulturam triduanam imitetur trina demerſio, et ab aquis elevatio ſit velut reſurrectio de ſepulcro...... 4. Quod beatus apoſtolus Petrus in die pentecoſtes virorum tria millia baptizaverit.... 5. Quod hæc duo tempora, id eſt paſcha et pentecoſte, a Romanis pontificibus ad baptizandum præfixa ſunt.... 6. Quod omni tempore hi qui neceſſitate mortis urgentur, id eſt ægritudinis, obſidionis, perſecutionis, naufragii, debeant baptizari.

(7) Baronii *Annal. an. DXCIX.* Laborabat æque Leander atque Gregorius tunc podagra, ut ipſe in eadem teſtatur epiſtola. Certe quidem ſi numerandos ſuſcipias ſanctitate celebres homines, qui podagræ morbo afflictati ſunt, copioſum conficies catalogum, quo redarguas eos qui voluptuoſos ex podagræ doloribus arguunt homines.

Juliani *epiſc. Tolet. prognoſticon. ad* Idatium. Eras enim tunc podagrici doloris contortionibus rabidus, ſed multo amplius ſpe divinæ contemplationis erectus.

(8) A Braulione *et* Ildephonso *inter opera ejus recenſetur.*

(9) Beati Isidori *Hiſpal. epiſc. De eccleſiaſticis officiis. lib. ii. cap. xx.* Catechumeni ſunt,

qui

into mere catechumens, who were under a courſe of tuition, and competents who having gone through the courſe, approved of what had been taught, and deſired to be baptized, and admitted into the church. This proves, what hath been elſewhere affirmed, that in free ſtates, as in thoſe of the Goths, the acceding of a king to the catholick church did not eſtabliſh that religion by law all over the kingdom. Canons might operate on crown lands, and on the eſtates of ſuch other noblemen as embraced the catholick faith: yet this, though it is the moſt that can be allowed, is not evident, for civil ſtatutes had a general operation on all eſtates, and they counteracted canons. Here are pagans in the country, and here is an office prepared for the admiſſion of them into the church: but it muſt be by their own conſent. In the chapter on baptiſm, the author ſays, that there were ſeven ſteps in baptiſm, three down into the water to ſignify the threefold renunciation made in baptiſm, and three up out of the water to ſignify the triple confeſſion of faith: the ſeventh is the pavement at the bottom, which reſembles the ſon of man (1). Laying aſide his allegories, it ſhould ſeem, a ſpaniſh catholick baptiſtery had two floors and three ſteps between: the floor of the baptiſtery at bottom, three ſteps up, and the floor of the chapel at top. Here, he adds, adults and little ones were baptized; adults on their own profeſſion of faith for their actual ſins, and little ones for their original pollution, like the deaf, and the dumb, and the ſick, on a confeſſion made by others in their ſtead. Baptiſm conſiſts of immerſion in repreſentation of the burial of Chriſt, and emerſion in repreſentation of his reſurrection. He ſays, further, hereticks, if they baptize in the names of the trinity perform right baptiſm: but as it is adminiſtered without the church it is invalid.

As baptiſm was adminiſtered in baptiſteries and baths, into which water was conveyed by pipes, the catholicks either played ſome tricks, or forged ſome falſehoods, which they publiſhed for miracles, and blaſphemouſly attributed to Almighty God, with a view to prove the ſuperiority of their baptiſm over that of hereticks.

There was, ſay they, one Bardas an arian biſhop, who preſumed to go about to baptize a perſon by ſaying, Bardas baptizes thee in the name of the father, through the ſon, by the holy ghoſt: and immediately after he had uttered the words, the baptiſtery cracked, and the water ran all away (2). The catechumen conſidering

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qui primum de gentilitate veniunt, habentes voluntatem credendi in Chriſtum. . . . . . *Cap. xxi. De competentibus.* Ideoque appellantur competentes, id eſt gratiam Chriſti petentes: nam catechumeni tantum audiunt, nec dum petunt.

(1) *Cap. xxiii.* Fons autem origo omnium gloriarum eſt, cujus ſeptem gradus ſunt, tres in deſcenſu propter tria quibus renunciamus; tres in aſcenſu propter tria quæ confitemur: ſeptimus vero is eſt, qui et quartus, ſimilis filio hominis. . . . In Chriſti imagine mergimur per myſterium ſacri fontis, ut conſepeliamur Chriſto morientes huic mundo: et ab iiſdem aquis quibus in forma reſurrectionis ejus emergimur.

(2) VICTORIS *Tunnunens. epiſc. chron.* Bardas quidam Arriani erroris epiſcopus dum præſumit contra regulam ſupra baptizandum dicere, baptizat te Barbas in nomine patris, per filium,

men conſidering the affair ran to a catholick biſhop, and was baptized in the name of the father, and of the ſon, and of the holy ghoſt. This was an eaſtern tale, and very proper to be told in Spain, where it could not be confuted.

They affirm, there were baptiſteries in churches on the tops of mountains, not near any water, and having no canals or pipes, into which, in the night preceding eaſter day, juſt time enough for the purpoſe of baptizing, water uſed to pour itſelf, and which all diſappeared as ſoon as the adminiſtration of the ordinance was at an end. Saint Gregory of Tours in France gave it under his hand to the Franks, that there were ſuch baptiſteries in Spain: and Saint Iſidore biſhop of Seville in Spain gave it under his hand to the Spaniards, that there was one ſuch baptiſtery in Sicily, for biſhop Paſchaſius ſaid ſo (3). This management was very prudent.

When Saint Gregory at Conſtantinople formed the plan of the pretended converſion of the royal family of Spain, he mixed a cup of poiſon, and when Saint Leander practiſed on the tender minds of the young family of Leovigild he adminiſtered the fatal doſe. In Hermenegild it operated too forcibly, and he died. In Reccared the artful phyſicians took care it ſhould operate ſlowly by throwing in ſome correctives: but in the end it ſpent its fatal force, and utterly ruined the ſtate (4). Before Reccared put himſelf at the head of the catholick party, and undertook to defend them againſt all the reſt of his ſubjects, the people were free, and if the gothick kings had not been ſaints, they had been however good civil governours, which was much better for the ſtate: when this faction was allowed to incorporate their tyrannical maxims with the laws of the ſtate, the commonwealth went to decay, and catholiciſm iſſued at the end of one hundred and twenty years in a total revolution. So providence hath ordained, great ills effect their own cure: and exceſſive tyranny provokes the oppreſſed to ſeize perfect liberty!

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filium, in ſpiritu ſancto, protinus aqua, ex qua futurus erat baptizare hominem, nuſquam comparuit, vas vero ipſum, in quo aqua erat, confractum eſt. Quod conſiderans, qui baptizandus erat, protinus ad catholicum currit, et baptiſmum regulariter ſumit.

(3) ANDREÆ SCHOTTI *notæ in Iſidor. xi. de Eccles. ſcriptor. Rer. Hiſpan. tom. ii.* Idem miraculum in quibuſdam Hiſpaniæ baptiſteriis accidiſſe Gregorius Turonenſis ſcribit libro hiſtoriæ eccles. v. et x. Sed mirum eſt id ab Iſidoro homine Hiſpanò non recenſeri neque hoc loco, neque in originum ſeu etymologiarum libris. Verba autem epiſtolæ, quæ citantur ab Iſidoro, ita in ipſa Paſchaſini epiſtola leguntur: illic perparva et vili opera conſtructa eſt eccleſia, in cujus baptiſterio nocte ſacroſancta paſchali, baptizandi hora, cum nullus canalis, nulla ſit fiſtula, neque aqua omnino vicina, fons ex ſe repletur.

(4) S. GREG. *Epiſt. lib. i. ep. xli.* LEANDRO. Explere autem loquendo nullatenus valeo gaudium meum, quod communem filium Reccaredum glorioſiſſimum regem ad catholicam fidem integerrima agnovi devotione converſum. Hujus dum mihi per ſcripta veſtra mores exprimitis, amare me etiam quem neſcio feciſtis. Sed quia antiqui hoſtis inſidias ſcitis, quoniam bellum durius contra victores proponit, nunc erga eundem *ſolertius* ſanctitas veſtra *evigilet*, ut bene cæpta perficiat, nec ſe de perfectis bonis operibus extollat, ut fidem cognitam vitæ quoque meritis teneat: et quia æterni regni civis ſit operibus oſtendat: quatenus poſt multa annorum curricula, de regno ad regnum tranſeat.

Formerly, candidates for the crown had exhibited moral and military qualities, and for the ſake of theſe the people had elected them: now a new qualification called catholick faith was ſuperadded, and this was magnified by the prieſts till thoſe diſappeared (5). Formerly the catholick prieſts had affected moderation, and love of liberty: now the worſt, intoxicated with honour and power, became inſolent and cruel; and the beſt contented themſelves with gently writing that indeed they diſapproved of violence in religion, but however as Chriſt was preached they rejoiced, yea, and would rejoice (6). In time they all degenerated into luxury and crimes, and in the reign of king Witiza, their own hiſtorians ſay, their wickedneſs provoked God to give them up into the hands of the Saracens (7). Formerly the laws were juſt and equal, and catholicks like other citizens enjoyed the benefit of them: but now that the prieſts of this party were ſuffered to form themſelves into a legiſlative body under pretence of regulating religion, the unjuſt maxims of their councils were ſlipped off from the parent ſtem and grafted into the code of national civil law; ſo that canons originally intended only to regulate the actions of their own party were given out as laws to govern all the inhabitants of Spain (8). As if this were not prepoſterous enough, other canons and creeds, made by foreigners at Nice, and Conſtantinople, and nobody knows where, by nobody knows whom, were foiſted into a code of ſpaniſh law. The preſent code of Wiſigothick law is ſaid to be that, which was extant in the reign of king Egicas, about the year ſeven hundred. This is very doubtful: but, whether it be or not, a ſlight inſpection of the book may ſerve to convince any one, that however eaſy it might be to the legiſlators to get the laws for deſtroying hereticks paſſed, it was difficult, not to ſay impoſſible, to reduce them to practice, as other laws, remnants of the ancient free conſtitution ſtood, unrepealed in full force to counteract the wicked influence of theſe novel regulations. To call theſe cruel canons gothick laws is to inſult the memory of a brave and generous people, whom foreign prieſts in bad times firſt intoxicated, and then held their hands, and ſo cauſed them to ſign what in ſober moments their hearts abhorred.

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(5) RODERICI *Toletan. de reb. Hiſpan. lib. ii. cap. xviii.* Glorioſiſſimus Suintila filius regis Recaredi ſuſcepit *divina gratia* regni ſceptrum, et regnavit annis x. Præter militaris gloriæ laudes, plurimæ in eo virtutes regiæ effulſere, *fides*, prudentia et induſtria, in judiciis examinatio provida, in regimine cura præcipua, circa omnes largitas læta, erga inopes miſericordia ſemper prompta, ita ut non ſolum princeps populorum ſed etiam pater pauperum vocaretur.

CONCIL. TOLET. IV. *an. DCXXXIII.* Salus, et pax, et diuturnitas *piiſſimo* et amatori Chriſti domino Siſenando regi, cujus *devotio* nos ad hoc decretum ſalutiferum convocavit. Corroboret Chriſti gloria regnum illius, genteſque Gothorum in *fide* catholica!

CONCIL. TOLET. V. *an. DCXXXVIII.* Gratias agimus *chriſtianiſſimo* et glorioſiſſimo Cinthilano principi noſtro, cujus ſtudio advocati, et inſtantia ſumus collecti, &c.

(6) S. ISIDORI *Chronicon Gothorum.* Siſebutus poſt Gundemarum regali faſtigio evocatur. In initio regni ſui Judæos ad fidem chriſtianam permovens, æmulationem quidem Dei habuit, ſed non ſecundum ſcientiam. Poteſtate enim compulit, quos provocare fidei ratione oportuit. Sed ſicut ſcriptum eſt [PHILIP. i. 18.] ſive per occaſionem, ſive per veritatem, Chriſtus adnuntietur.

(7) *Excerpta chronici* MOISSIACENSIS *ap.* DU CHESNE. *tom. iii. an. DCCXV.* His temporibus in Spania ſuper Gothos regnabat Witicha, qui regnavit annos vii. et menſes iii. Iſte deditus fæminis, exemplo ſuo ſacerdotes ac populum luxurioſe vivere docuit, irritans furorem Domini. Saraceni tunc in Spania ingrediuntur.

(8) *Legis Wiſigothorum, lib. xii. De Removendis preſſuris, et omnium hæreticorum ſectis extinctis.*

IV. From the irruption to the Conquest of the Saracens.

The fourth period of ſpaniſh eccleſiaſtical hiſtory includes full eight hundred years, for ſo long the Saracens or Moors reigned in Spain, and ſo long were they guardians of the liberties of ſuch chriſtians as choſe to be free. Here, without a prelate or a catholick king to defend the faith, conſcience was free, Jeſus was believed from conviction, and God was adored by choice.

At what time, or on what occaſion the Moors firſt entered in an hoſtile manner into Spain, hiſtorians are not agreed. Spaniſh writers generally place the firſt invaſion in the year ſeven hundred and fourteen (9). Some place it in ten (1). Others ſay, the Saracens made a deſcent in the reign of king Wamba, thirty or forty years before. The year is not material to this hiſtory. The occaſion is of ſome conſequence. Here again hiſtorians diſagree. Some ſay, the ambition of the ſons of king Witiza induced them to invite the Moors as auxiliaries, and that the allies then ſet up for themſelves (2). Others relate a ſtory of the wife or daughter of one count Julian, whom king Roderick violently debauched, and on whom Julian revenged himſelf by introducing the Moors (3).

The moſt probable account is, that the tyranny introduced into government by the catholick prieſts had diſaffected the people, otherwiſe it is not credible that Spain would have been ſuch an eaſy conqueſt to the Moors (4). A detail of facts would be tedious: but the mention of one well authenticated fact may ſerve to caſt light on the whole. Before the pretended converſion of Reccared, the Jews, who were extremely numerous in Spain, had enjoyed the rights of citizens. The orthodox in their councils had agreed to perſecute them, but while their canons were unſupported by government they operated only on their own eſtates, and if the Jews were ſo happy as not to fall into the hands of catholick landlords they were no way affected by the godly reſolutions of the ſaints; for the ſtate protected them, and they held offices under government. When Reccared and the court became catholicks, they of courſe became perſecutors, for to be a catholick is to obey the canons of the church, that is of the prieſts in council. In the third council of Toledo, where Reccared and his court were received into the catholick church, by the firſt canon they bound themſelves to admit all former canons, and by the fourteenth they obliged themſelves to deprive the Jews of all publick offices (5). By another order they required their children to be taken from them, and put into monaſteries to be educated in the chriſtian religion. This was to ſubvert the laws of the kingdom. In following reigns a ſet of moſt iniquitous laws were made to oppreſs theſe uſeful members of ſociety (6). Now they were forbidden to circumciſe, then they were commanded to be baptized; at one time they were compelled to eat meats prohibited by their law, and to profane their ſabbath, at another they were commanded to obſerve the rites and feſtivals of the catholick church; now they were oppreſſed by fines and exactions, then they were deprived of perſonal liberty; in one reign they were baniſhed, in another they were recalled only to be ſtripped of their property and driven into exile again: and all under pretence of the glory of God, and the good of the catholick church. How numerous they were in thoſe times is not certain: but when in the fifteenth century Ferdinand baniſhed them, an hundred and ſeventy thouſand families, or as ſome ſay eight hundred thouſand perſons left the kingdom (7).

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(9) *Rer. Hiſpan. Scriptor. Var.*

(1) Jo. Jac. Mascou. *Hiſt. German. xv.* 26. . . . *Annotat. xxv.*

(2) Roderici Tolet. *cap. xx.* . . . Lucæ *Tudens. lib. iii.* . . . *Chronicon.* Alphonsi *regis. n.* 9. Vitizane defuncto, Rodericus a Gothis eligitur in regem. . . . . . . Filii Wittizani invidia ducti, eo, quod Rodericus regnum patris eorum acceperat, callide cogitantes, nuntios ad Africam mittunt, Saracenos in auxilium petunt, eoſque navibus advectos Hiſpaniam intromittunt.

(3) Abulcacim Tariff Abentariq. *Hiſt. de la conqueſte d'Eſpagne par les Mores, traduite par* Michel de Luna. *A Paris.* 1680. . . . Nicol. Antonii *Bibl. Hiſpan. Vet. tom. ii. p.* 237. *Romæ* 1696.

(4) Marianæ. *lib. vi. cap.* 9. *anno DCLIII.* Epiſcopi duo et quinquaginta Toleti concilium octavum habuere. Rex ad patres ingreſſus, paucaque de more præfatus, coram codicillum obtulit, in quo fidei catholicæ de ſcripto concepta profeſſio continebatur. Patres in eo non tantum ut de religione ſtatuerent, quæ ex commodo eccleſiæ futura eſſent, hortatur rogatque: ſed *reipublicæ* etiam ſtatum temperarent, antiquis legibus nova cenſura ubi opus eſſet, additione etiam atque detractione caſtigatis. Proceres quicunque ex recepta Gothorum conſuetudine conventum cum patribus agitare compellebantur, idem ut facerent obteſtatur,

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(5) CONCIL. TOLETAN. *iii. Capitul. i. De obſervatione priorum canonum.... xiv. Ut Judæis uxores vel concubinas chriſtianas habere, ſive comparare mancipia chriſtiana, et judaizare non liceat, vel publica officia peragere.*

(6) *Legis Wiſigothorum, lib. xii. iv.* RECCARED. *De cunctis Judæorum erroribus generaliter extirpandis.... v.* RECCAR. *Ne Judæi more ſuo celebrent paſcha.... vii. Ne Judæi carnis faciant circumciſiones.... viii.* RECCAR. *Ne Judæi more ſuo dijudicent eſcas, &c.*

MARIANÆ. *vi.* 9. Libellus ſupplex a Judæis Receceſuintho oblatus, qui inter antiquas Gothorum leges extat, velle ſe continebat, tametſi a Chintilla per vim compulſi erant Chriſti ſacra ſuſcipere; Sabbathum, reliquaſque Judæorum cæremonias abdicare, porcinas carnes ut manducarent adduci non poſſe, magis ſtomachi faſtidio ob cibi inſolentiam, quam quod religione aliqua ſe ut ita facerent obſtrictos putarent. Mentis ſanitatem ſatis declarare, cum cibos alios cum his carnibus coctos edere minime recuſarent.

(7) HIERONYMI CONESTAGGII *De Portugaliæ conjunct. cum regno Caſtellæ. lib. i.* Ferdinandus et Iſabella reges Caſtellæ ex imperii ſui finibus ejicerent Judæos. Horum ingens numerus a Joanne ſecundo licentiam in Luſitaniam ſeſe recipiendi obtinuit, hac lege, ut octo ducati

In the reign of king Egica, a few years before the revolution, the king and the clergy accuſed the Jews of holding a correſpondence, dangerous to the commonwealth, with other Jews in Africa, who lived under the government of the Moors (8). What was there wonderful in this: that people oppreſſed in one kingdom ſhould complain to their brethren at eaſe in a neighbouring ſtate? The Jews in Spain contributed largely toward the ſupport of government, and juſtice required protection in return. If this juſtice were refuſed, who was king Egica, and what were prelates to them?

There were many conformities between the Moors and the Jews. Both deſcended from Abraham, the Jews by Iſaac, the Moors by Iſhmael. Both worſhipped one only God. Both practiſed circumciſion. Both intermarried in their own tribes, and each preſerved themſelves a diſtinct people. Both had a joint intereſt in reſiſting and curbing the tyranny of the catholick chriſtians of Spain, who perſecuted both. The chriſtians called hereticks, too, had been marked out for vengeance by the catholicks; and it is very credible, that they, as well as the Jews, were juſtly offended and diſaffected, and that, if they did not immediately effect a revolution, they however took no pains to prevent it. Thus, without pretending to aſſign remote and extraordinary cauſes, the vices of the people in power, and the virtues of the oppreſſed, may be conſidered as the near and natural cauſes of the reduction of Spain by the Moors.

The inhabitants of Arabia are known by the general name of Saracens, which ſome derive with great probability from the city of Saraca (9). They are alſo called Arabs, or Arabians, from the country which they inhabit. The word Hagiar is properly the name of Arabia Petræa, and thence they are denominated Agarenes, or Hagarenes. Such as embrace the religion of Mohammed call themſelves Moſlemuna, whence comes Muſſulman, a mohammedan believer. The conquerours of Spain were twenty-four thouſand of theſe people, who inhabited Mauritania in Africa, and thence they were called Mauri, or Moors, and afterward Moriſcoes.

It was in the beginning of the ſeventh century, in the year ſix hundred and eleven, that Mohammed an Arab laid at once the foundation of a new religion

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ducati in ſingula capita ſolverentur, et ut elapſo, quod præſcriptum erat tempore, rex ipſis diſceſſuris naves concederet. Quibus pactis interpoſitis, circiter viginti millia familiarum Judaicarum, quarum ſingulæ decem amplius capitibus conſtabant, in Luſitaniam migrarunt, &c.

MARIANÆ. *xxvi. i.* Plerique ſcriptores centum et ſeptuaginta familiarum millia abiiſſe confirmant: quidam ad octingenta millia capita perveniſſe ait.

(8) JOS. SAENZ DE AGUIRRE *Concil. Hiſpan. tom. ii. p.* 753. Nuper manifeſtis confeſſionibus indubie pervenimus, hos in tranſmarinis partibus Hebræos alios conſuluiſſe, ut unanimiter contra genus chriſtianum agerent. . . . 757. per alia ſua ſcelera non ſolum ſtatum eccleſiæ perturbare maluerunt, verum etiam auſu tyrannico inferre conati ſunt ruinam patriæ, ac populo univerſo.

(9) M. D'HERBELOT *Bibl. Orient. Paris* 1697.
LUC. HOLSTENII *not. ad* STEPHEN. *Byzant. de urbibus. Amſtel.* 1678.
SALE'S *preliminary diſcourſe to the koran.*

and a new empire (1). Himſelf conquered ſome parts of Arabia. His ſucceſſor, Abubeker, extended his dominion over part of Syria and Paleſtine. Omar the next Caliph (ſo the ſucceſſors of Mohammed, emperours of the Saracens are called) ſubdued all Arabia, Syria, Meſopotamia, Perſia, and Egypt, in leſs than ten years and an half. With a rapidity beyond all example he overran vaſt countries, and conquered wherever he went. The greateſt conqueſts, however, were obtained in the reign of Valid, who kept his court at Damaſcus. One of his generals extended his empire as far as Samarcand. A ſecond invaded the empire of the Greeks toward the Black Sea. A third named Muza or Moſes, his lieutenant in Africa, ſent an army under the command of Tarik into Spain. They landed near Calpe, which mountain was on that account called Gibel Tarik, and from the union and corruption of theſe two words came the modern name, Gibraltar. In brief, having routed the gothick army, they met with little oppoſition from the cities, for many opened their gates, and eaſily accommodated matters with the conquerours (2).

The ardour of the Saracen troops, and the unparallelled extent and rapidity of their conqueſts, the aſtoniſhment of all hiſtorians, are not accounted for by ſaying, It was enthuſiaſm. Enthuſiaſm is heat: but the queſtion returns, What fired the Saracens? Without preſuming to dive into the deep deſigns of the all-wiſe governour of the univerſe, "who ſeeth not as man ſeeth," three ſecond-cauſes may be aſſigned. The idea of one infinite ſupreme firſt cauſe is a grand and animating thought, a mighty ſpring of action. No babylonian or perſian, no greek or roman conquerour ever darted this noble thought into the minds of his ſoldiers, or ever propoſed to conquer for the great purpoſe of elevating man to know and adore his God. This ray of light and heat emitted itſelf into the minds of mortals, whoſe depravity mixed with it the cry of havock, havock, to arms, to arms. Next, it ought to be remembered, that there was an infinite multitude of Unitarians in all parts of the world. Jews and almoſt all ſuch chriſtians as were called hereticks were Unitarians, and all theſe were oppreſſed and perſecuted by a party, who called themſelves chriſtians, and the only chriſtians (and continue to do ſo to this day) but whom the reſt of the world took for a new ſpecies of idolaters in their worſhip, heathens in their morals, and tyrants in their government, and who had overwhelmed the moſt artleſs and benevolent of all religions with an impenetrable jargon productive of nothing but diviſions and ſcandals (3). To theſe muſt be added the qualifications and the conduct of the Saracens themſelves. "They introduced, in places where they ſettled, the mohammedan religion, the arabick language, the manners of the eaſt, together with that taſte for the arts, and the love of elegance and ſplendour, which the caliphs had begun to cultivate among their ſubjects They permitted the Spaniards to retain their own religion; their laws concerning private property; their forms of adminiſtering juſtice, and their mode of levying taxes(4)." From them the weſt received all their inſtructions. In the reign of the caliph Haroun Alraſched, or, as he is uſually called, Aaron Rachild, who was contemporary with Charlemagne, arabick poetry was in perfection, arts and ſciences flouriſhed, the indian cyphers were imported into Europe, chemiſtry and medicine were cultivated, the aſtronomer Benhonain tranſlated the almagiſt of Ptolemy into the arabick language, and it was of the Arabians that the Europeans learned to compoſe an almanack. Ruins of the taſte and magnificence of the mooriſh kings lie all over Spain, and the ſtreets of the city of Cordova were paved more than three hundred years before thoſe of Paris. While all Europe lay immerſed in barbarity the Arabians excelled in all the polite arts of refinement and elegance. The revolution, therefore, was advantageous to Spain. All theſe facts are abundantly proved by the beſt writers, who, through an impartial reverence for truth, were compelled to ſay, that the ſaracen conqueſts on the whole were friendly to the liberties and morals of mankind (5).

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(1) Geor. Elmacin. *Hiſt. Saracenica, cum vers. et notis* Thomæ Erpenii. *Lugd. Batav.* 1617.

Ism. Abulfeda *de vit. et reb. geſt. Mohammedis. Oxon.* 1728.

Abrahami Echellensis *Supplem. hiſt. Oriental. Paris.* 1651.

(2) Roderic. *Tolet.* Nec aliquis de ſenioribus Hiſpanorum captus dicitur, præter præfectum Cordovæ. Omnes enim alii, aut deditione, aut fœdere ſe dediderunt.... Arabes enim, quæ vi non poterant ſubjugare, falſo fœdere deceperunt.

(3) Gregor. *Turon. paſſim.* Chriſtianorum perſecutio ab Arianis, &c.

Scriptor.

It is impoſſible to form any thing like a clear notion of this intricate period of ſpaniſh church hiſtory, unleſs the great maſs of materials be ſubdivided into four parts. The whole taken together is a chaos exhibiting to view every thing and nothing. The firſt object is the Moors. The ſecond the gothick ſpaniſh ſtates. The third the Mozarabs. The laſt independent chriſtians.

To begin with the Moors. Spain was at firſt governed by lieutenants appointed by the caliphs On the extinction of the family of Abbas, the governours of the ſpaniſh provinces threw off their dependence on the caliphs, and in proceſs of time formed ſeveral little independent kingdoms in Spain (6). The kings were abſolute, but their governments were all framed on that of the parent ſtate, and the people were free in all matters of religion and conſcience.

Scriptor. Hiſpan. paſſim. Chriſtianorum cum Arrianis concertationes. . . . . Moros tienen una batalla con los chriſtianos. . . . Hazen mucho damno a los chriſtianos en el cerco de Saragoſa, &c.

SALE's *prelim. diſcourſe. ſect. ii.*

(4) DR. ROBERTSON's *hiſt. of Charles V. vol. i. ſect. iii.*

(5) PROCOPII ANECDOT. . . . AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. *hiſt.* . . . OCKLEY's *hiſtory of the Saracens.* . . . BOULAINVILLIERS *Vie de Mahomed.* . . . RICAUT's *State of the Ottoman empire.* . . . SALE. *as above.*

Modern univerſal hiſtory, vol. xliv. preface. page x.

(6) *Script. Hiſpan. ut ſup.* HIERON. PAULI. *tom. ii. p.* 844. *&c.* . . . BASNAGE *hiſt. des Juifs. lib. ix. cap. v. iii. De l'etat des Juifs en Eſpagne.* . . . *Hiſt. de Moiſe vetu de Sac. Traduction du Thalmud en Arabe.* . . . *Magnificence des Rabbins.* . . . *Savans, nombreux.* . . . . *Cophni, Rabbin illuſtre.* . . . *Les cinq Iſaacs, &c.*

In the country arts and manufactures flouriſhed. The province of Mercia was diſtinguiſhed by a manufacture of rich and curious ſtuffs; as other provinces were by different commodities. The cities were full of inhabitants and riches. In Toledo near ten thouſand perſons were employed in ſilken and woollen manufactures. Barcelona was the parent of modern mercantile œconomy. The Jews were extremely numerous and very wealthy. There were fifteen hundred families in the ſingle kingdom of Granada, and at leaſt ſeven hundred families at Cordova, that kept carriages, and dreſſed as ſuperbly as the arabian lords. They had flouriſhing ſchools at Seville, Toledo, and Granada. At Cordova they had a college, of which a celebrated rabbi Moſes was principal, and from which ſeminary proceeded many men of learning and eminence among the Jews. In the mohammedan ſchools ſcience was cheriſhed to maturity, and how freely the muſſulmen philoſophized may be judged by the works of the famous Averroes, a native of Cordova (7). The palaces and baths of the kings were the moſt ſpacious and elegant in Europe. That of the Alhambra is a laſting monument of the magnificence of the kings of Granada. The moſques for publick worſhip diſplayed (if ſuch an expreſſion may be uſed) a ſuperb ſimplicity, ſimple becauſe unadorned with images, and ſuperb becauſe they were executed on a ſpacious ſcale where no expence was ſpared. The preſent cathedral of Cordova was built by king Abderamo for a moſque, and it is yet called meſquita. The roof is ſupported by more than ſix hundred columns each of a ſingle piece, ſome of marble, ſome of jaſper, of granite, of porphyry, of alabaſter, of verde antico; and four or five arabick inſcriptions remain (8). The delicious country of Cordova, watered by the Guadalquivir, and perfumed by groves of citrons, oranges and pomegranates, inſpires ſoft ideas, ideas which too often in depraved mortals ſicken and die off in effeminacy and luxury. The Moors caught the infection, became idle, laſcivious, jealous, and divided. Similar ſituations produced like effects, and by degrees the deſcendants of the old gothick Spaniards ſubdued firſt one mooriſh kingdom, and then another, till, in the year fourteen hundred and ninety-one, Abouabdallah, or Boabdilla, king of Granada, was compelled to reſign that city to Ferdinand and Iſabella, and ſo ended the dominion of the Moors. The conquered king retired into Africa, and when, ſetting out on his journey, he caſt a farewell look on the wealthy city and the ſoft Alhambra, the ſeats of ſo many pleaſures, all now departed like a dream, the tears trickled down his cheeks. "Perhaps," ſays a beautiful hiſtorian, "what he lamented had been the inſtrument of his ruin (9)."

The ſecond object of attention is the gothick ſpaniſh ſtates. When the Moors firſt conquered Spain, ſeveral of the high ſpirited nobles refuſed to ſubmit, and they fled along with their dependents into the inacceſſible mountains of the kingdom of Aſturias. Within a few years they deſcended from their rocks and caverns, under the conduct of Pelayo, a relation of their laſt king Roderick, and either diſpoſſeſſed the Moors of a ſmall territory, or, which is more likely, obtained a ſettlement on condition of paying them a tribute. In proceſs of time ſeveral ſuch little ſtates or kingdoms were formed, ſo that in the eleventh century there were near twenty kingdoms in Spain (1). The Spaniſh hiſtorians ſay, that an almoſt uninterrupted war was carried on for eight centuries between the armies of theſe kingdoms and the Moors, and that three thouſand ſeven hundred battles were fought before Granada, the laſt of the mooriſh kingdoms in Spain, was ſubdued. It fell out here as in the heptarchy in England: by a ſeries of events all theſe petty ſtates were in proceſs of time annexed to the two kingdoms of Caſtile and of Aragon; and by the marriage of Ferdinand of Aragon with Iſabella of Caſtile, in the year fourteen hundred and eighty one, all were united, and when the Moors were expelled from Granada, ten years after, Ferdinand became of courſe monarch of all Spain.

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(7) *See his life in* BAYLE.

(8) TWISS's *travels*.... SWINBURN, &c.

(9) VOLTAIRE. *Gen. Hiſt. chap. lxxxv.*

When theſe brave deſcendants of the ancient Goths iſſued forth from their faſtneſſes to attack the Moors, and to obtain a ſettlement in their own native ſoil, they came animated with that primitive love of freedom, which had always diſtinguiſhed their anceſtors. In this ſpirit they formed their governments, and though the modes of adminiſtration were diverſified, yet all were free. A ſketch of the ſtate of liberty in the kingdom of Aragon may ſerve to give an idea of all the reſt.

In theſe, as in all other feudal ſtates, there was one large claſs of men in a ſtate of ſervitude. It was an accidental evil, which fell out in a courſe of events in governments conſtitutionally free. Theſe are called in ſpaniſh hiſtory CRIADOS, and they were conveyed in grants of lands along with the ſoil (2). Thus, in the year ſeven hundred and eighty, prince Addelgaſter and his conſort Brunild founded the monaſtery of S. Mary de Obona in the kingdom of Aſturias, and endowed it with lands, waters, cattle, ſervants and their children. The active claſſes in the ſtate were four. The firſt are called

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(1) MARIANÆ *Hiſt. Hiſpan.*... FERRERAS hiſt. d'Eſpagne.... SCHOTTI ſcript. Hiſpan.

(2) GERONIMO CURITA [ZURITA] *Anales de la Corona de Aragon. Zaragoça* 1610. *P. vi. lib. viii. c.* 20. Criados del Obiſpo de Cordoua con mano armada quitan un preſo a los oficiales Reales.

ANTONII YEPII *Chron. apud. Concil.* DE AGUIRRE *tom. iii. pag.* 89. In nomine ſanctæ et individuæ trinitatis.... Ego Addelgaſter filius Silonii regis, una cum conjuge mea Brunilda, inflammati divino ſpiritu, et a Deo omnipotenti viſitati, metuque mortis inſpicientes.... Damus montes, fontes, molinarias.... Damus viginti vaccas, et quinque juga boum, cum omnia inſtrumenta arandi.... Damus ſiquidem noſtras *criationes*, nominatas Saderno, cum filiis et filiabus ſuis: Thotmiro cum filiis et filiabus ſuis: Fiela cum filiis et filiabus ſuis: Xemena cum filiis et filiabus ſuis: Eloſina cum filiis et filiabus ſuis: et iſti ſerviant monaſterio Sanctæ Mariæ de Obona in quantum et quale ſervitium ab Abbate vel vicario hujus monaſterii eos vocaverint, vel injunxerint. &c.

Ricos hombres, literally rich men, and in the ſenſe of the Spaniſh law nobles of the firſt rank; anſwering to britiſh peers (3). The ſecond are called hidalgos, and infanciones, who were nobles inferior to the former; nearly ſuch as engliſh gentlemen (4). The third were the civdadanos or citizens. The fourth were the clergy.

The government of Aragon was nominally monarchical, but really republican. The Cortes, or aſſembly of the ſtates, was a parliament compoſed of the four claſſes juſt now mentioned (5). The inferiour clergy and the cities ſent repreſentatives. Thoſe of the cities are called procuradors, and they reſembled engliſh burgeſſes. The nobles and the dignitaries of the church ſat in their own right, and no power but their own could prorogue or diſſolve it. To the paſſing of any law an unanimous aſſent was neceſſary. Here taxes were impoſed, war declared, and peace concluded. The aſſembly officered the army, and ſometimes nominated the ſervants of the crown. Here the proceedings of inferiour courts were inſpected, and all grievances redreſſed; and redreſſed, if the crown had cauſed the grievance, before any money was voted. If the king refuſed to grant an immediate redreſs, the whole houſe, except the clergy, might unite either in or out of parliament to compel him by force; and if he refuſed to comply with their requeſt, the contract was held diſſolved, and they might proceed to elect another king, even a heathen, if they thought proper (6). The king was elective, and it was underſtood by both

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(3(JOHN STEVENS's *Spaniſh dictionary. Lond.* 1706.

ZURITA. *ut ſup. p. i. cap. v.* Quales ſe llamauan ricos hombres de natura.... *P. i. li. ii. c.* 64. Meſnaderos en Aragon, que caualleros eran.

(4) IBID. *P. i. li. i. cap.* 44. Infancones (que por antiguo lenguage de Aragon, corrompido el nombre de immunes, ſe llamauan Hermunios) de q privilegios y exempciones gozan.

P. ii. li. ix. c. 44. Hidalguia que concedio el Rey Don Pedro iiii. a los decendientes de Miguel. Bernat, por lo que el hizo en defenſa del caſtillo de Vaguena.

HIERONYMI BLANCÆ *Aragonens. rer. comment. apud Schotti ſcriptor. Hiſpan. tom. iii. p.* 729. Notandum eſt, quod in Aragonia omnis homo deſcendens de genere militari per lineam planam eſt Infancio, ſive ſit legitimus, ſive illegitimus, ſive maſculus, ſive fœmina.... Et quia multæ ſunt ſpecies in Aragonia iſtorum infancionum, ſciendum eſt: Quod infancionum alii ſunt Rici homines et non milites; alii Rici homines et milites; alii meſnadarii milites; alii non milites; alii ſunt milites ſimplices; alii filii militum tantum, vel nepotes; alii nec Barones, nec Meſnadarii, nec milites nec militum filii vel nepotes.

ZURITA *ut ſup. P. iv. li. xx. c.* 72. Civdades del reyno de Aragon ſe juntan en Zaragoça porſus Sindicos para tratar de la buena adminiſtracion de juſticia.... *P. ii. li. viii. c.* 30. Civdadanos de Zaragoça proceda contra ellos el Rey D. Pedro iv. como principales en las alteraciones de la union.

(5) Dr. ROBERTSON's *hiſt. of Charles v. vol. i. ſect. iii. Notes xxxi. xxxii. &c.*

(6) ZURITA *Annales ut ſup. P. i. l. i.* 5. *De la elecion del rey Ynnigo Ariſta.* Y que ningun rey pudieſſe tener corte, ni juzgar ſin conſeio de ſus ſubditos y naturales, ni movieſſe guerra o paz con otro principe, ni tregua alguna, ne negocio que fueſſe importante ſin acuerdo de doze ricos hombres, o de doze de los mas ancianos y ſabios de la tierra. &c. *Vide plura apud eundem: ut* Fueros y leyes de Sobrarbe.... Fueros del Reyno de Aragon.... Fuero de Hueſca, &c.

both parties that government was founded in mutual compact, for the king took a ſolemn oath to his electors, and they bound themſelves by a ſingular oath to him. Theſe are their words: "We, who are each of us as good, and who are altogether more powerful than you, promiſe obedience to your government, if you maintain our rights and liberties: but if not, not (7)."

This form of government was framed with extreme deliberation, by aged and experienced men, elected for this purpoſe, on the principles of the old gothick ſtate, with the advice of the Lombards, and it ſeems to have been coeval with the reſettlement of the fugitives. Beſide the general principles of liberality common to all foreign gothick conſtitutions, the Aragoneſe incorporated into their code two articles peculiar to Spain, both which originated in a prudent foreſight of the exceſſive hazard of preſerving liberty entire in a ſtate (8).

The firſt peculiarity was what they called the Union, an expreſs ſtipulated right of reſiſtance. The accurate and elegant hiſtorian juſt now mentioned gives, from authentick Spaniſh hiſtory, ſome inſtances of the exerciſe of this right. "In the principality of Catalonia, which was annexed to the kingdom of Aragon, the impatience of the people to obtain the redreſs of their grievances having prompted them to take arms againſt their ſovereign John ii. they, by a ſolemn deed, recalled the oath of allegiance which they had ſworn to him, declared him and his poſterity to be unworthy of the throne, and

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Hier. Blancæ. *ut ſup.* 588. *De antiquo jure Suprarbienſi foro nuncupato....* Ipſæ vero leges hujus modi fuere.

IN. PACE. ET. JUSTITIA. REGNUM. REGITO. NOBISQUE. FOROS. MELIORES. IRROGATO.
E. MAURIS. VINDICABUNDA. DIVIDUNTOR. INTER. RICOS. HOMINES. NON. MODO. SED. ETIAM. INTER. MILITES.
AC. INFANTIONES. PEREGRINUS. AUTEM. HOMO. NIHIL. INDE. CAPITO.
JURA. DICERE. REGI. NEFAS. ESTO. NISI. ADHIBITO. SUBDITORUM. CONSILIO.
BELLUM. AGGREDI. PACEM. INIRE. INDUCIAS. AGERE. REMVE. ALIAM. MAGNI. MOMENTI. PERTRACTARE.
CAVETO. REX. PRÆTERQUAM. SENIORUM. ANNUENTE. CONSENSU.

(7) Robertson. *N. xxxii. Las obras y relaciones de Ant. Perez.* 8*vo. par Juan de la Planche.* 1631. *p.* 143. Nos, que valemos tanto como vos, os hazemos nueſtro rey y Senor, con tal que nos guandeys nueſtros fueros, y libertades, y ſi no, no.

(8) Blancæ. *p.* 590. In procœmio noſtrorum fororum continetur: "Apud nos prius leges conditas quam reges creatos fuiſſe.... Ne fortaſſe quid caperet reſp. detrimenti, duodecim primarios viros, ut priſca noſtra monumenta teſtantur, ſelegerunt, quibus, interregno hujus modi durante, tota fuit ipſius adminiſtrandæ reip. cura commiſſa.... Dulcedine capti libertatis unius ſe ſubjici imperio formidabant; quoniam quidem proventuram inde credebant ſervitutem.... per legatos Adrianum ii. pont. max. ac Longobardos conſulerent. Quem modum ad diuturnitatem imperii magis aptum ſtatuendum eſſe cenſerent... Juxta reſponſum datum decreverunt omnes. Unum aliquem virtute præſtantem, regem ſibi conſtitui oportere. Sed tamen ne regum arbitria, quemadmodum in aliis provinciis, apud nos etiam pro legibus futura eſſent, quaſdam tulerunt leges in primis, quibus hujuſmodi incommodo mederentur. Has leges poſtea Suprarbienſem forum nuncuparunt.

endeavoured to eſtabliſh a republican form of government, in order to ſecure the perpetual enjoyment of that liberty, after which they aſpired (9). Nearly about the ſame period, the indignation of the Caſtilian nobility againſt the weak and flagitious adminiſtration of Henry IV. having led them to combine againſt him, they arrogated, as one of the privileges belonging to their order, the right of trying and paſſing ſentence on their ſovereign. That the exerciſe of this power might be as publick and ſolemn, as the pretenſion to it was bold, they ſummoned all the nobility of their party to meet at Avila; a ſpacious theatre was erected in a plain without the walls of the town, an image repreſenting the king was ſeated on a throne, clad in royal robes, with a crown on its head, a ſceptre in its hand, and the ſword of juſtice by its ſide. The accuſation againſt the king was read, and the ſentence of depoſition was pronounced in preſence of a numerous aſſembly. At the cloſe of the firſt article of the charge, the archbiſhop of Toledo advanced, and tore the crown from the head of the image; at the cloſe of the ſecond, the Conde de Placentia ſnatched the ſword of juſtice from its ſide; at the cloſe of the third, the Conde de Benevente wreſted the ſceptre from its hand; and at the cloſe of the laſt, Don Diego Lopez de Stuniga tumbled it headlong from the throne. At the ſame inſtant, Don Alfonſo, Henry's brother, was proclaimed king of Caſtile and Leon in his ſtead.

The ſecond peculiarity was the inſtitution of the office of juſtiza (1). This magiſtrate was appointed for the wiſe purpoſe of rendering every individual reſponſible to law, and particularly the nobles and the king. In ſome periods he was elected by the Cortes, in others he was nominated by the king: but, after the abolition of the union, he held his office for life, and was wholly independent on the crown. As he was accountable to the Cortes, and, in caſe of mal-adminiſtration, liable to ſuffer the moſt ſevere puniſhment, it was neceſſary he ſhould be choſen not out of the firſt order of nobles, who were not ſubject to capital puniſhment, but out of the ſecond claſs, or cavalleros, who anſwer nearly to the gentlemen or commoners in Great Britain. The Cortes annually elected a committee of ſeventeen of their members, who were called inquiſitors of the juſtiza of Aragon, and who formed a court named the court of inquiſition into the office of juſtiza (2). This court was open to all,

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(9) Dr. Robertson. *vol. i. ſect. iii.* Zurita.... Ferreras.... P. Orleans.... L. Maritiæus Siculus.... Marian.

(1) Blancæ *p.* 589. *For Suprarb.* Hæ leges ſunt quaſi prima reip. noſtræ elementa, in ſeque continent Magiſtratus Juſtitiæ Aragonum inſtitutionem, quod eſt inſtituti noſtri præcipuum.

NE. QUID. AUTEM. DAMNI. DETRIMENTIVE. LEGES. AUT. LIBERTATES. NOSTRÆ. PATIANTUR. IUDEX. QUIDAM. MEDIUS. ADESTO. AD. QUEM. A. REGE. PROVOCARE. SI. ALIQUEM. LAESERIT. INJURIASQUE. ARCERE. SI. QUAS. FORSAN. REIPUB. INTULERIT. JUS. FASQUE. ESTO.

(2) Blancæ *p.* 770. *De inquiſitoribus Juſtitiæ Aragonum, cenſorioque ſeptemdecim virorum*

judicia

all, and any perſon had liberty to complain of any neglect of duty, or any act of injuſtice in the Juſtiza, to report to the houſe, and in caſe of guilt to puniſh by degradation, confiſcation, or death; and they voted by ballot. This dreadfully righteous tribunal was formed to balance the great and dangerous power, which the conſtitution placed in the hands of the Juſtiza in truſt for publick uſe.

This magiſtrate was at firſt named chief juſtice, and afterward juſtice of Aragon (3). No titles are adequate to expreſs the high truſt repoſed in him. His perſon was ſacred. He was the ſupreme interpreter of the laws. All inferior judges were obliged to conſult him. He was the conſtitutional counſel of the crown. The king ſtated every doubtful caſe in writing to him, and the juſtiza returned an anſwer, like a counſel's opinion, what was law, and his reſponſes required implicit deference. The king was accountable to him, as he was for his reſponſes to parliament (4). The anſwer of the juſtiza Salanova to two caſes ſtated by James ii. which are preſerved by Blanca, are conceived in terms the moſt polite and reſpectful; and at the ſame time exhibit a clearneſs and a firmneſs highly ſuitable to the duty of his profeſſion and the dignity of his office (5). He was empowered to interpoſe in any court without an appeal, and to remove cauſes into his own court, to which a ſtate priſon was annexed. He had the inſpection of all patents and proclamations, and of the whole conduct of the king and the nobles. He had authority to remove the king's miniſters, and to call them to account for mal-adminiſtration. In brief, his power was almoſt unbounded, and he was reſponſible only to parliament for the execution of his office. Some of the kings were not pleaſed with this inſtitution: but the people found the benefit of it, for by the

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judicio. . . . *p.* 773. Sed ſtatutum erat, ut antequam ullum judicium fieret facti alicujus, inquiſitores de ſingulis cauſis ad comitia referrent. Comitia autem de eis omnibus, prodita prius die, publico judicio decernebant: ac quæ majori parte rata videbantur; rata erant futura. &c.

(3) BLANCÆ. *p.* 589. Hic magiſtratus primum juſtitia major: deinde ipſius regni nomen aſſumens, Juſtitia Aragonum appellatus.

(4) IBID. *p.* 749. *For.* Quod Juſtitia Aragonum in factis domini regis habeat juriſdictionem in dominum regem: cum hoc ſit ſpecialiter, et expreſſe pactatum, et conventum inter dominum regem et Aragonenſes, tempore quo fuit creatus, aſſumptus, ſeu dictus rex.

(5) IBID. *p.* 802. *Juſtit. Aragon. xxix.* EXIMINUS PETRI SALANOVA. . . *p.* 748. Salanovæ reſponſa ſunt hujuſmodi. Sereniſſimo ac magnifico Domino, Domino Jacobo Dei gratia regi Aragonum. . . . Eximinus Petri de Salanova Juſtitia Aragonum. . . . Noverit veſtra celſitudo me veſtras literas recepiſſe ſuper facto cujuſdam preſbyteri, qui per cuſtodes civitatis Jaccæ de nocte fuit captus, et per populum dictæ civitatis eadem nocte fuit in furca ſuſpenſus, juris et fori ordine prætermiſſo, in contemptum regiæ majeſtatis, et injuriam eccleſiaſticæ libertatis. Et quod intenditis, quod tam enormis exceſſus non remaneat impunitus. . . . Ego omnibus præmiſſis viſis, et intellectis . . . vobis ſignifico meum intentum. Et primo ſciatis Domine, Quod in Aragonia inquiſitionem non habemus, niſi contra veſtros officiales: et talis exceſſus, ſicut alii exceſſus, ſecundum forum, et etiam ſecundum jus debent ordine judiciario puniri, ut innuit forus Aragonum tit . . . et tit . . . et concordant hic jura. Ex. De injuriis . . . De pœnis. . . . De prædicto exceſſu poteſt conqueri procurator veſter nomine veſtro. Poſſunt etiam conqueri conſanguinei preſbyt. . . , Vel ſi procurator epiſcopi et conſanguinei voluerint conqueri: illud idem, &c.

interpoſition of the juſtiza they were preſerved from a wanton exerciſe of power by kings and nobles (6). The ſpaniſh hiſtory is full of examples, and ſuch ancient hiſtorians as Zurita and Blanca ſpeak of it as the bulwark of their liberties. It is painful to recollect that learned men, even in free countries, have beſtowed infinite pains to bring their countrymen acquainted with ſuch inſignificant quibblers as Saint Cyprian, and Saint Irenæus, and ſuch other ſcribblers, and have left ſuch incomparable hiſtories as thoſe of Zurita, and Blanca, ſo full of political wiſdom, to moulder and ſink into oblivion (7).

A government formed with ſo much wiſe caution, it ſhould ſeem, muſt reſiſt every rude attack of lawleſs power, and perpetuate freedom till the end of time. Spain was the firſt free, and the moſt free of any european kingdom, and yet the ſpaniſh government in the end became the moſt abſolute and deſpotical in Europe. It did not degenerate: on the contrary, it always had in it the ſeeds of tyranny, and the abſolute dominion of one monarch is nothing but the fruit of thoſe ſeeds matured by time. Plauſible as all their theory of freedom was, there were in it two heterogeneous ingredients, or, to ſpeak more preciſely, one defect, and one exuberance. Firſt, the PEOPLE, they who are ſtrictly and properly ſo called, were not free (8). They were vaſſals and ſlaves to the gentry. Of courſe they were trained up to ſervility, and were ſtrangers to all the juſt reaſonings and fine feelings, which perſonal liberty and property inſpire. The ſecond errour lay in allowing the CLERGY to form themſelves into a CORPORATION diſtinct from other citizens, having rights to which other orders of their countrymen had no claim. They were the clergy of one party, too. By ſlow degrees this evil roſe to its preſent intolerable pitch. At firſt monks and eccleſiaſticks aſſociated. Next they acquired property, and became lords of territory and of vaſſals. Then their abbots and biſhops roſe into rank. The genius of their polity led them to form foreign alliances, and their garb of wiſdom and ſanctity held them up as oracles to be conſulted. It was obſerved ſome time ago, that, when the twelve regents during an interregnum were framing a plan of government, they ſent ambaſſadours to conſult the Lombards (9). At the ſame time they alſo conſulted pope Adrian. Probably the Lombards adviſed them to form a ſcheme of limited monarchy; and the pope certainly exhorted them to defend the faith. They paid very little regard to the advice of the pontiff, for they expreſsly declared, that if a king violated their laws, they would diſcard him, and elect a guardian of them although he were an infidel. The clergy, as clergy, obtained no ſeats in parliament till about the year thirteen hundred (1). Before that time, the houſe conſiſted of only three eſtates, or, as they call them, Braços del regno, three arms of the kingdom. The clergy made the fourth. Soon after, in a parliament held in the cathedral of Saragoſſa, king Martin opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, a ſort of ſermon from theſe words, "This is the victory, that overcometh the world, even your faith;" and the archbiſhop of Saragoſſa anſwered in the name of the aſſembly in a ſimilar harangue from the words of the ſervile Egyptians to Joſeph: "Thou haſt ſaved our lives, let us find grace in the ſight of my lord, and we will be the king's [Pharaoh's] ſervants (2)." The diſcourſe, ſhort as it is, is loaded with quotations from ſuch politicians as Saint Iſidore, and Saint Auguſtine, and Saint Cyprian: but when princes diſgrace the diadem by preaching about faith, it is natural for the clergy to give ſtateſmen lectures on government. The maxims of the church, however, were ſo counteracted by the laws of the ſtate, that from the eighth to the ſixteenth century, it was poſſible for Jews, Mohammedans, and hereticks to live tolerably happy in the petty chriſtian ſtates of Spain.

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(6) Ibid. *p.* 589. *anno DCCCLXVIII.* Innico lege ad noſtros evocato, ac legibus, quas præſtatuerant, eidem oſtenſis, duriſſimum ſibi viſum tradunt, quod de Judice medio præcautum apparebat. Attamen re ipſa attentius conſiderata, et perpenſa, cum ſibi ultro regnum ab hoſtibus ereptum deferretur: nedum ipſas leges ſanxiſſe ferunt, verum noſtris novam aliam, ſive legem, ſive privilegium irrogaſſe hujuſmodi: Quod, SI. CONTRA. FOROS. AUT. LIBERTATES. REGNUM. A. SE. PREMI. IN. FUTURUM. CONTINGERET. AD. ALIUM. SIVE. FIDELEM. SIVE. INFIDELEM. REGEM. ADSCISCENDUM. LIBER. IPSI. REGNO. ADITUS. PATERET.

(7) Barth. Leonard de Argensola *La Primera parte de los annales de Aragon, que proſigue los de* Zurita. *Zarragoça.* 1630. . . . Vincen. Blasco de Lanuza *Hiſt. Eccles. y Seculares de Aragon, en que continuan los Annales de* Zurita. *Zarragoça.* 1622.

(8) Louis de Salazar y castro *Advertencias hiſtoricas ſobre las obras de algunos doctos eſcritores modernos. Madrid.* 1688.

Johan. Mabillon *de re Diplomatica. Pariſiis.* 1709.

Geo. St. Amand. *Eſſay on the legiſlative power of England.*

It is neceſſary, in the third place, juſt to glance at that claſs of men in Spain, who were called Mozarabs. When the Moors conquered Spain, many, as was obſerved before, fled into mountains: but Oppas, biſhop of the catholick church at Seville, and brother or ſon of king Witiza, made terms with the conquerours, and continued in his ſtation (3). He was ſuſpected of having invited the Moors into Spain. His family and himſelf had more liberal ſentiments than the monkiſh clergy, and they had abrogated penal laws againſt the Jews, and had encouraged them to ſettle in Spain. Oppas went into the mountains after his fugitive brethren, and endeavoured to convince them of the folly of reſiſting the Moors, and of the prudence of ſettling quietly under their government. He had no ſucceſs with them: but great numbers of catholicks, influenced either by his reaſons, or his example, or by ſimilar ſentiments of their own, continued in their habitations, and quietly conformed to the civil government of their new maſters. Theſe are the people, who are called Mozarabs. Several opinions prevail concerning the derivation of the name: but the moſt uſual is, that it ſignifies mixt Arabs, or catholicks living among the Arabians (4).

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(9) BLANCÆ. *p.* 588. Omnibus denique rebus circumſpectis, hanc fecerunt ſuorum omnium conſiliorum ſummam. Ut per legatos Adrianum II.... Pont. max. ac Longobardos conſulerent, quem modum ad diuturnitatem imperii magis aptum ſtatuendum eſſe cenſerent.

(1) IBID. *p.* 73. Olim ex tribus tantum ordinibus comitia conſtabant. His tribus ordinibus, anno MCCC, vel circ. quartus acceſſit, eccleſiaſticus. Hos quatuor ſolemus, *Los quatro Braços del reyno* nuncupare.

(2) IBID. *p.* 764. En la Eſgliſia de la ſeu de la dita ciutad de Zaragoça, El Sobredito ſenor Rey don Martin fizo ſu propoſicion, prendiendo por thema, hæc eſt victoria, &c. El tenor de la qual yes a tal. Buena Gent. Las parualas, &c.

IBID. E feyta la dita propoſicion el ſobredito muy reverunt Arcobiſco de Zaragoça por toda la dita Cort general, e quatro Braços de aquella reſpuſo a la propoſicion por el dito ſenor Rey feyta, prendiendo por thema, Salus noſtra in manu tua eſt tantum. reſpiciat nos dominus noſter, et læti ſerviemus regi. *Gen. xlvii.* 25. &c. Muy excellent princep, et reduptable ſenor. Las paraulas por mi propoſadæs, &c.

(3) RODERICUS *Tolet.*... J. VASÆI *Hiſpan. Chron. An. DCCXVII.*

The Mozarabs enjoyed as many of their rights and privileges under the mooriſh government as it was poſſible for a people to enjoy under an abſolute monarch, and ſuch as no abſolute chriſtian monarch ever allowed to diſſenters. At Cordova, where the king reſided, they had at leaſt ſix publick places of worſhip within the city, and more than ten monaſteries and churches in places adjacent (5). They had a regular ſucceſſion of biſhops, and they held ſeveral councils (6). Prieſts, and monks, and nuns walked about in publick in the habits of their orders (7). They kept publick ſchools (8). They abounded in wealth, and held publick offices of honour and profit under government (9). They were under the civil government of a Conde or Count of their own religion, who himſelf, or his vice-counts, or deputies held courts, and determined diſputes among themſelves (1). In return, they paid a tribute to the king, under whoſe protection they enjoyed all theſe rights.

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(4) Joan. Bonæ *Rer. Liturgic. lib. cap. xi.* 137. Cum Arabes Hiſpaniam pene omnem occupaſſent, Chriſtiani [*catholici*] Mixt-Arabes, et corrupto vocabulo Moz-arabes, id eſt, mixti cum Arabibus dicti ſunt. Quidam a Muſa [*Moſe*] Arabe, qui Toletum expugnavit, chriſtianos qui in ea civitate remanſerant, Muz-arabes dictos autumant: ſed prior etymologia præferenda, cui rerum Hiſpanicarum ſcriptores conſentiunt.

(5) Ambrosii Moralez *Cordubenſis regii hiſtorici vita Divi Eulogii. p.* 220. *Qui ſtatus chriſtianæ religionis Cordubæ ſub Arabum imperio D. Eulogii tempore fuit.* Operæ pretium fuerit catalogum hic jam ſacrorum locorum, qui Cordubæ fuere ex D. Eulogii præſertim libris apponere.

Intra urbem.
Baſilica S. Aciſcli
S. Zoyli.
S. S. Fauſti. Jan. & Martial.
S. Cypriani.
S. Geneſii.
S. Eulaliæ.

Extra urbem.
Monaſterium S. Chriſtophori.
Cuteclarenſe.
Tabanenſe, &c.

(6) De Aguirre *concil. Hiſpan. tom. iii. p.* 67. *Catalogus Toletanorum præſulum a tempore irruptionis Saracenorum in Hiſpaniam, ſive ab anno DCCXIV.*

(7) A. Moralez. *ubi ſup.* Sacerdotes, monachi, ſacræ virgines, peculiari veſte, legitimoque cultu amicti, detonſi etiam in publico conſpiciebantur.

(8) Ibid. In his, atque aliis multis templis, quæ nominare divus Eulogius non potuit, præterquam quod ſacra fierent, docendi quoque cura et erudiendi quam plurimos conſuetudo perſeverabat.

(9) Bernardini Gomesii *de vita Jacobi I. regis Aragonum. lib. xvii.* Neque enim Arriana perfidia, neque a Mauritanis religionis perturbatio impedirent, quominus ſacra Toletana ſedes conſtiterit, atque Muſarabico ſaltem Gothorum ritu, ſacra perpetuo fecerit: quin et aliis etiam oppreſſis Hiſpaniæ eccleſiis, non modo exemplo, et doctrina, oraculi vice, ſed facultate et opibus,

A detail of the affairs of the Mozarabs would be tedious, and foreign from the general deſign of this hiſtory. There are three articles, however, which deſerve a ſlight attention: their martyrs, their liturgy, and their morals.

It is not conceivable, that in ſuch circumſtances as were juſt now mentioned, there ſhould be any martyrs, properly ſo called. There were ſome Mozarabs, as well as ſome Jews, and ſome Mohammedans, who were courtiers, and if any of them fell a ſacrifice to the lawleſs paſſions of the reigning deſpot, they only ſhared the fate of others, whoſe imprudent ambition impelled them to tread ſuch dangerous ground. Religion was out of queſtion; they were not martyrs (2). There were others, who pretended that the clergy ought not to be taxed. They argued, that eſtates given to the church were oblations to God, and the ſaints, in their repreſentatives the monks, who were appointed general receivers by heaven; that it was ſacrilege to profane ſuch oblations to ſecular purpoſes; and that it was the moſt infernal of all kinds of ſacrilege to apply the property of the ſaints to the ſupport of infidels; and they added, all the ſaints in heaven would revenge the crime (3). The Mohammedan financiers did not underſtand this logick, and they levied the taxes equally. The mozarabick commiſſioners thought the pretended ſaints revilers, who ſhould not enter into the kingdom of God, they therefore took the ſide of the

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opibus, ſolatio etiam atque ſubſidio fuerit. Adde quod divina largiente manu, tam ingens, propeque incredibilis eidem facta fuit decumarum, aliorumque cenſuum acceſſio, et incrementum, ut cunctas totius orbis eccleſias una ipſa ſuperet: Archiepiſcopo ſcilicet, dignitatibus, canonicis, aliiſque ſacerdotibus, et ſacrorum miniſtris, hoc unum in templum oratum, et ad ſacra facienda convenientibus ad ſexcentorum millium nummum aureorum ſummam quotannis inter ſe, pro cujuſque muneris ratione, dividentibus.

(1) Moralez. *ubi ſup.* Comitum dignitas ſemper Cordubæ inter Moçarabes perſeverabat. Publico exceptorum munere iidem fungebantur Chriſtiani, atque inter Tyrones regios regiis annonis veſcebantur ... ut intelligere debeamus, Gothorum more comitem Cordubæ Moçarabibus chriſtianis datum, qui eis præeſſet. Jus inter eos diceret, et controverſias aliquas leviores, neque ad publicam regis majeſtatem, fiſcumve regium pertinentes, decideret.

Petri Pantini *de dignitatibus et officiis regni, ac domus regiæ Gothorum comment.* Comes. Comes ſanciarum ... Comes theſaurorum ... Comes patrimonii .... Comes civitatis Toletanæ .... Comes notariorum .... Comes Spathariorum .... Comes cubiculi .... Comes ſtabuli ... Comes exercitus ... Comes ſacrarum, i. e. largitionum.

(2) *Martyrologium Roman. cum not.* Baronii *opera et ſtud.* Joannis Solerii. *Antverpiæ.* 1714.

Bollandi ... Henschenii ... Papebrochii. *Acta Sanctorum.*

(3) Moralez. *ubi ſup.* Novis etiam tributis chriſtiani Moçarabes onerabantur. Adeo ut de oblationibus omnium eccleſiarum partem ſolvere, novo tributo excogitato, cogerentur. Quod Samſon de Servando chriſtianorum Cordubæ comite, ſed nefario homine, loquens, his verbis deplorat. Exinde omnes baſilicas urbis prædictæ tributarias fecit eſſe: et impurus hoſtis de puriſſimis oblationibus fidelium in uſus templi collatis dominici theſauros fiſci inhiatus eſt ampliare.

Moors, juſtified their conduct by ſcripture, and made impartial aſſeſſments (4). The monks excommunicated the commiſſioners, called their mild maxims, though expreſſed in the literal words of ſcripture, hereſy, and fomented riots, in ſuppreſſing which ſome ſuffered, and the ſurvivors put them in a liſt of martyrs, and publiſhed their merits to the world, as if they had ſuffered for conſcience ſake. King Abdoulrahman was ſo juſtly offended at this cruel ſlander on his mild government, that he ordered the mozarabick biſhops to ſummon a council at Cordova, and to wipe off the ſcandal, which their ſeditious brethren had brought on all chriſtians, by cenſuring the conduct of the late inſurgents, and by iſſuing an order that they ſhould not be worſhipped as martyrs (5). Hiſtorians call this a ſatanical council, and condemn the biſhops, who obeyed the monarch, as apoſtates and falſe apoſtles. There was a vagabond monk, now called Saint Eulogius, a diſciple of an abbot, one father Hope-in-God, who publiſhed a memorial in barbarous ſtyle in defence of theſe martyrs, and filled with invectives againſt government, and the commiſſioners, and all other chriſtians, who denied that rioters were martyrs (6). This took ſo well with the bulk of the Mozarabs, that they elected him archbiſhop of Toledo, an honour which he never enjoyed, for he was impriſoned, and executed for ſedition. There were many enthuſiaſts, who ran up and down to make proſelytes, ruſhing into the preſence of judges in their courts, interrupting buſineſs, execrating the mohammedan doctrine of one God, and proving the trinity by curſing Mohammed, and chanting about martyrs and miracles. The muſſulmen thought them drunk or mad, and they were obliged to confine ſome, and puniſh others: but all were deemed ſaints, and moſt were dubbed martyrs (7). Of ſuch materials are martyrologies made!

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(4) Alvarii *vita* S. Eulogii.... Eulogii *martyris opera. cum ſcholiis* Amb. Moralez. *Memoriale Sanctorum, lib. i.* Sunt autem plerique fidelium, et (heu proh dolor) etiam ſacerdotum, temere horum confeſſorum gloriam adimere non verentes, qui jubent eos non recipi in catalogo ſanctorum; inuſitatum ſcilicet, atque prophanum aſſerentes hujuſmodi martyrium. Quippe quos nulla violentia præſidalis fidem ſuam negare compulit, nec a cultu ſanctæ piæque religionis amovit, ſed propria ſe voluntate diſcrimini offerentes, ob ſuperbiam ſuam (ut dicunt) quæ initium eſt omnis peccati, interempti, ſuarum patricidæ effecti ſunt animarum. Præceptis etiam evangelicis eos arguendos eſſe credunt, quibus dicitur, *diligite inimicos*, &c. Mat. v. 43. 44. 45. Luc. iii. 14. 1 Pet. ii. 21. 22. 23. 1 Cor. vi. 9. 10. Hæc, et his ſimilia, ore peſtifero contra Dei milites proferentes multorum corda pervertunt: quia verba hæreticorum ut cancer ſerpunt in mentes humilium, &c.

(5) Concil. Cordubense *an. DCCCLII. Not.* Severin. Binii. Pſeudoepiſcopi qui convenerant, habito conventu Satanico, martyrium prohibuerunt, cultumque Sanctorum martyrum ſuſtulerunt.... Impium Synodale decretum non tantum refutavit, et improbavit doctiſſimo ſuo commentario, quem memoriale Sanctorum inſcripſit, Eulogius, verum ipſa dei ultio in regem mox ſequuta oſtendit.

(6) Eulogii *vit. ut ſup.* Abbatem Speraindeum ſæpius inviſebat ... qui ipſo tempore totius Bœthicæ fines prudentiæ rivulis dulcerabat.

Ibid. *Schol. De vocabulis fictis et novatis, et toto D. Eulogii ſermone.*

(7) Eulogii *Mem. præfat.* Inter Sanctos haud dubie principatum obtinet Sanctus Iſaac monachus. Qui priore Tabanenſi cænobio in forum deſcendens judicem adiit. Vellem, inquit, Judex,

The Mozarabs made uſe of a liturgy in divine ſervice, concerning which learned men have thought it worth while to write many volumes (8). Some think the Goths had a liturgy before their pretended converſion, and that the original was an arian compoſition. Others ſuppoſe, Leander began, and Iſidore finiſhed the preſent liturgy for the purpoſe of obtaining an uniformity of worſhip, as the councils held in the time of Reccared had ordered. Dr. Geddes ſays, "In the beginning of the ſixteenth century, the mozarabick liturgy was printed by cardinal Ximenes (9). But we are certain of that cardinal's having made ſome alterations in it. The copy, which he had of the mozarabick liturgy, was deſtroyed, and with it all the reſt, if there were any more at that time: there not being, that I can hear of, after much enquiry, a manuſcript copy of the mozarabick liturgy any where to be met with." The preſent is a very contemptible compilation, not worth the inveſtigation of criticks. There was, certainly, a mozarabick liturgy, and ſucceſſive popes took great pains to get it laid aſide in favour of the Roman office: but the kings could not gratify them, for it had been confirmed by many councils in Spain. It was in the eleventh century, in the pontificate of Gregory VII. and in the reign of Alphonſus VI. who had lately conquered Toledo, that the roman ritual was generally received. The clergy were obſtinate, and it was determined to try the merits of the two miſſals by a combat and then by caſting both into a fire. The mozarabick triumphed in both. The natives clamoured, and the old prieſts triumphed: but queen Conſtance, who had been uſed to the roman ritual, prevailed, and, in ſpite of the miracle, obliged the clergy to uſe it (1). She was a princeſs of France, and the ladies of that houſe were remarkable for conqueſts of this kind. Probably they were very handſome. "The mozarabick liturgy, however, ſubſiſted in ſix pariſhes in Toledo as late as the fifteenth century, but is now reſtrained to the ſingle

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Judex, cultor fidei ſtrenuus fieri, ſi modo tu non differes ordinem, rationem que ejus mihi exponere.... Judex ad Sanctum Iſaac converſus ait: forte madidus vino, aut freneſi captus...., ad quem venerabilis Iſaac intrepida reſponſione ait. Ego quidem, Judex, nec vino madidus, nec quolibet morbo ſaucius ſum: ſed zelo juſtitiæ conflagrans. Tunc Judex carceri illum tradens, protinus regi cauſa ejus innotuit, &c.

(8) JOANNIS PINII *Liturgia Mozarabica. Tractat. Hiſtorico-chronologicus de liturgia Hiſpanica, Gothica, Iſidoriana, Mozarabica, Toletana mixta. Romæ* 1740.

ALPHONSI ORTIZ. *Miſſale mixtum dictum Mozarabes. Toleti.* 1500...... *Ejuſdem Breviar. mixt. Toleti.* 1502.

EUGENII DE ROBLES *Breve Suma y relaçion de l'officio Gothico Mozarabe, en la capilla de Toledo. Toledo.* 1604....: *Ejuſdem* ROBLESII *de vita et geſtis* FRANCISCI XIMENII *S. R. E. Card. cap. xxxiii. apud* AGUIRRE *concil. tom. iii. p.* 260.

(9) *Miſcellaneous tracts, vol. iii. p.* 32.

(1) *Coſſartii not. in Concil. Leyrenſe.* Nonnulli obſervant Hiſpaniarum principes Romanos ritus Francarum conjugum ſuaſa admiſiſſe. Nam et apud Alphonſum vi Caſtellæ regem id effeciſſe Conſtantiam conjugem certum eſt: et Raymundum Berengarium Barcinonenſem comitem in eo Almodi conjugi obſequutum eſſe, multorum eſt conjectura. Addere potuiſſent, et Ermiſendam Ramiri Aragonum regis uxorem, quo rege decreta primum cæremoniarum illa mutatio fuit, Francam quoque fuiſſe.

chapel of S. Euſtatia, in the cathedral, where Cardinal Ximenes, unwilling that his church ſhould loſe all remembrance of its ancient forms, made a foundation of thirteen prieſts and three clerks, who officiate every morning according to the mozarabick manner (2)." One proof among many of the nullity of that uniformity, which the church of Rome hath committed ſo many crimes to procure, but which no mortal power can effect.

Very little can be ſaid in favour of the morals of the Mozarabs. The government was not in their hands, and the natural conſequences followed. Bigots and enthuſiaſts raved againſt hereſy in harmleſs books, which nobody took the trouble to read (3). The Moors wiſely allowed this liberty or licentiouſneſs of the pen, well knowing that much venom diſcharged itſelf this way without any damage to men of ſenſe, and with ſome advantage to the revenue. The caſe of Elipand, archbiſhop of Toledo in the latter end of the eighth century, proves that the Mozarabs, having no lord over conſcience, thought and wrote freely on religious ſubjects. The jeſuit Mariana in his hiſtory of Spain laments this: but others rejoice, that a biſhop might write againſt opinions received in his own community; that an abbot named Beatus, and a youth named Etherius might write againſt him; and that no damage was done to ſociety by the diſpute (4). The reflections of the learned James Baſnage are very judicious (5). "This affair, ſays he, may ſerve to inform princes and prelates, that it is not an eaſy matter to eradicate errour. Indeed, divines yield to the authority of princes, and are affected with the fear of puniſhment: but they continue to think as before, and do not readily renounce favourite opinions. This hiſtory is an example. Several learned men wrote againſt Felix and Elipand. The emperour took the ſide againſt them. Two popes anathematized them. The councils, which were held againſt them, often compelled Felix, who lived under the dominion of the emperour, to abjure his opinion. His abjurations were feigned, for he abjured them at his death. On the contrary Elipand, although he lived among Saracens implacable enemies of the whole chriſtian faith, continued to his death in deſpiſing the authority of the emperour, the pope, and the councils, and a delegation of biſhops ſent to him out of France, as well as the influence of Alcuin, who at that time enjoyed mines of wealth, had a retinue of twenty thouſand ſlaves, and a ſort of omnipotence in the empire. VANÆ SINE VIRIBUS IRÆ."

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(2) H. Swinburne, *Eſq; Travels through Spain, 1775, 1776, page 323.*

(3) Evantii *Archidiac. Tolet. Epiſtola. An. DCCXXX.* Exſurgentes in quibuſdam Cæſarauguſtæ partibus reperiſſe vos adſeritis Chriſtianos, qui dicunt immundum fieri hominem alicujus animalis ſanguinem comedentem, neſcientes, nec intelligentes præcepta priſca. &c.

Eulogii *Opera*.... Alvari *Epiſtolæ*.... S. Isidorus.... Gennadius.... Idelphonsus.... Matamorus.... *aliique de viris illuſtribus Sanctæ Eccleſiæ Catholicæ.*

(4) *Lib. vii. cap. viii.* Silebant eccleſiaſtica concilia. Proceres et populus pro ſe quiſque, ut collibitum erat, ita vitam inſtituebant, atque de rebus divinis nullo prohibente pro voluntate, proque arbitratu ſinguli ſentiebant: quæ magna pernicies eſt.... veteris incendii ſcintillæ in Hiſpania Elipando et Felice ſuſcitatæ ſunt, Chriſtum affirmantibus qua parte certe homo eſt, Dei filium adoptione eſſe.

Etherii *et* Beati *adverſus* Elipandum. *Lib. duo. inter lection. antiq.* Canisii. *edit.* Basnagii. *tom. ii.*

(5) Ibid. *Obſerv.* Basnagii. *p.* 296. Inde diſcant tum principes tum eccleſiæ præſules, errores non facile eradicari. &c.

There were among the Mozarabs many men of liberal ſentiments. Eulogius, who pretended to diſprove what was objected againſt the conduct of his ſaints and martyrs, hath put down the arguments of his opponents, who were both gentry and clergy, and the texts urged by them in ſupport of what they affirmed. His anſwers are futile, and their arguments prove that his opponents underſtood religion much better than he. The monks, and their gentry, however, had a great number of tenants, and tradeſmen, and dependants, and as the latter attended publick offices of devotion, they ſtood forth under the direction of their maſters, and paſſed for the bulk of the Mozarabs (6). The religion of theſe people lay in applauding and clapping their maſters the actors, who played their parts ſo as to excite the pity of other chriſtians, the contempt of Jews, and the hearty abhorrence of the Moors, who for their ſakes rejected chriſtianity itſelf. In contemplating the little ſpaniſh kingdoms, the eye of an hiſtorian fatigued with beholding a ſucceſſion of crimes turns away from monaſteries, and miracles, and martyrs, and a thouſand other fine things, which are exhibited inſtead of virtue: but in obſerving the Mozarabs, who were the ſame ſort of people, and of the ſame religion, and in the ſame country, the eye is refreſhed with a mixture of liberality and virtue, juſt as it is in a landſcape of rocks and deſerts interſected with rills and vallies. No probable reaſon can be aſſigned for this, except that in the mooriſh governments the frantick inventions of the monks were not ſupported by the reigning princes: but in the chriſtian ſtates they very often were.

The laſt claſs to be obſerved is that of independent chriſtians. The grave writers of the Magdeburg eccleſiaſtical hiſtory diſplay a daſh of wit in their account of the hereticks of the tenth century (7). Theſe hiſtorians, following the old plan, wrote an hiſtory of the church, that is, of the catholick party, and they reſerved, as uſual, a chapter for hereticks. That of the tenth century doth not fill half a column of a ſmall folio page, and inſtead of the accuſtomed long liſt of hereticks, there is this information. "Reader take notice. All hereticks have fled out of this chapter, and have hid themſelves in prelates and monks." The ſame writers ſay, in another chapter of the ſame century, that when the emperour John Zimiſces removed the Manicheans from the dioceſe of Antioch, and ſettled them at Philippopolis, he acted as injudiciouſly (the reader will pardon the gipſey proverb) he acted as injudiciouſly as if he had cleanſed his head of vermin only to give them a lodging in his hoſe (8). From Philippopolis they ſpread themſelves into the weſt, and diſſeminated hereſy through all Europe; for as cardinal Baronius very truly obſerves, Greece was the mother and the nurſe of hereticks. It is very eaſy to reconcile this ſeeming contradiction as far as it regards Spain. Manicheans, Arians, Priſcillianiſts, Donatiſts, Sabellians, Photinians, and Bonoſians abounded in all that part of Spain, which was governed by the Mohammedans: but there were no hereticks in thoſe ſtates, becauſe the law created no ſuch crime as hereſy. The inhabitants were Moſlems, Jews, and Chriſtians: but government took no cognizance of parties among chriſtians. In the chriſtian ſtates, ſome of the kings were not of the catholick church, but Arians; others, who were called catholick, becauſe they were of that community, made old gothick laws and not ſynodical canons the rules of their actions; all the laity were in a ſtate of perpetual war, and of the clergy ſome ſerved in the army, and others ſlept in barbariſm; the great landholders were almoſt independent of the king, and treated him more as an equal than as a ſuperiour, doing what they pleaſed, and allowing their vaſſals to do what they pleaſed on their own eſtates: the collecting of armies for war, and the peopling of depopulated cities after it, with many other circumſtances compelled the kings to allow entire liberty of conſcience (9). Add to all this that the clergy had no legiſlative exiſtence in the ſtate till the beginning of the fourteenth century. All that can be expected, therefore, in the authentick records of thoſe times is; that hereticks ſhould be mentioned incidentally, and ſo they are. It is very credible, that ſome orders, which are found in ancient ſpaniſh records, and which are now publiſhed as canons made in councils for the government of the church, were mere local rules, like thoſe made at courts leet, or courts baron, and operated only on the tenants of the monaſteries, and of the biſhops who made them. In ſome dioceſes ſlaves were ordained archdeacons, and if they diſobeyed orders, they were chaſtiſed by flagellation (1). Some princes, and ſome judges, and ſome noblemen, ſigned ſuch canons, becauſe they thought them juſt and proper for the place, and perhaps alſo becauſe the lands were held of them as lords paramount: but ſuch ſignatures did not give them the force of law on other eſtates (2). Some ſignatures imply a paramountſhip veſted in a lady in her own right, and which probably induced the ſubſcriber to write himſelf vice-count, as being her repreſentative (3). Hence alſo it is, that deeds, and grants, and canons are enforced only by anathemas, which operated no civil inconvenience (4). It was the want of civil coercion, that put them on inventing anathemas of a ſingular kind. For theſe, and for many more ſuch reaſons, there is very little ſaid in the early part of this period concerning hereſy: and yet it is abſolutely certain, that ſuch as were afterward called hereticks, in great numbers, inhabited the country. If eccleſiaſticks had never created a virtue called orthodoxy, the world would never have heard of a crime called hereſy.

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(6) ZURITA *Anales. tom i. cap.* I. Deſta manera ſe entregaron brevemente muchas ciudadas y caſtillos, cuyos moradores permanecieron con ellos, y de los nombres de *nueſtra* religion: y de ſu gente y ſecta fueron deſpues llamados Moçarabes.

(7) *Hiſtor. Eccleſ. per viros erudit. Magdeburgenſes. Baſileæ.* 1567. *cent. x. cap. xi.* Sciat igitur Lector, omnes hæreticos ex hoc capite fugiſſe, atque in prælatos, ac monachos pontificios ſeſe abdidiſſe.

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(8) *Cap. v. De hæreſibus.* Præſul Antiochenus contentus eſt ut e ſua vicinia profligentur hæretici, ne ſuis oviculis noceant: verum politicus magiſtratus, cui quidem externa poteſtas erat commendata, tam pertinacibus hæreticis in alia civitate locum præbet, ubi impune blaſphement Dominum, et oviculas Chriſti corrumpant. Perinde igitur facit, ac ſi pediculos a capite tolleret atque in ſuas caligas collocaret, ut vulgo dicitur.

(9) Luc. Marin. Sic. *De reb. Hiſpan. lib. vii.* Alfonſus i. non immerito catholici nomen accepit, propterea quod Ariana ſecta relicta, qua Gothi omnes infecti erant, celebrato concilio, catholicam fidem, chriſtianamque [catholicamque] religionem ſequebatur, et oppida multa, templaque chriſtianis [catholicis] reſtituerat, et magnis donis ornaverat.

Roderici Santii *Hiſt. Hiſpan. Par. iii. cap. iii.* Alfonſus, dictus catholicus, fuit filius Petri Ducis Cantabriæ, de genere Recharediglorioſi regis Gothorum, qui ante cladem Hiſpaniæ hæreſin Arianam extirpavit. Veluti enim fide et opera Conſtantini Magni preciſa eſt hæreſis Manichæorum in oriente: ſic in occidente eadem religione et fide Alfonſus Arianam hæreſin extirpavit.

Greg. Lopez Madera. *Excelencias de la monarquia y regno de Eſpana. Madrid.* 1625.

Ant. Olibani *de Jure fiſci.* Cum autem Uſatici Barcinonenſes, de quibus agimus, ſint ſumti ex legibus Gothicis, quæ in curiis Barcinonæ, et aliis curiis totius provinciæ obſervabantur . . . hinc efficitur, multa eſſe diſpoſita et ſancita jure Uſaticorum, vel Gothico, contra diſpoſitionem juris Romani. . . . Leges Gothicæ cum reliquiis chriſtianorum in montibus fuerunt aſſervatæ.

Rod. Tolet. *De reb. Hiſpan. lib. viii. cap. i.* Cœpit urbs regia repleri populis, abundare neceſſariis, inſigniri armis, diverſificari linguis, variari cultibus. . . . Et quia diverſarum nationum varietas diverſitate morum, linguarum et cultuum diſcrepabant, de voluntate principis in eadem urbe ejuſdem urbis pontifex morabatur, ut diſſidentium varietas per ejus induſtriam ſedaretur.

In the year ſixteen hundred and ninety three, cardinal Joſeph Saenz de Aguirre publiſhed at Rome, in four folio volumes, a collection of all the councils of Spain. This ineſtimable work contains, beſide the councils, a great many notes and diſſertations, and copies from ancient manuſcripts of deeds, charters and letters; and if ſome be ſpurious, as Du Pin and others ſuppoſe, yet they were not mutilated by his eminence, who was a very upright man, and the far greater part are confeſſedly genuine, and abound with curious anecdotes tending to elucidate the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of Spain. In the preface to the firſt volume, which is addreſſed to his catholick majeſty, Charles ii. the author reports the victory which ſucceſſive councils had obtained over the ſucceeding hereſies which had infeſted Spain; and he particularly mentions thoſe of Arius, Sabellius, Novatus, Macedonius, Apollinaris, Priſcillian, Neſtorius, Eutyches, Elipand, and many more (5). Agreably to this narration, there is a beautiful copper-plate print prefixed to each volume, in order to repreſent to the eye at once the intention of the work, and indeed of all councils. It is to elevate prieſthood into imperial dignity by deſtroying good citizens under the name of hereticks. At the bottom, with diſtorted features, huddled together like fiends in the burning lake, all ſprawling and tortured with agonies lie Manes, Sabellius, Priſcillian, Arius, Marcion, Pelagius, Eutyches, and Neſtorius. Above in a circle ſtand a groupe of biſhops and monks, dreſſed in the grand and ſplendid habits of their orders, ſeveral having mitres on their heads, and books in their hands, and all encircled with a glory, and looking as happy as if nothing were the matter below. In the middle ſits Saint Leander holding in his lap a book, and liſtening to his brother S. Iſidore, who holds another, while S. Julian in front waits to preſent him with a third, and S. Ildephonſus with a fourth. Behind S. Toribius chuckles, S. Braulio ſimpers and liſtens, S. Valerius ſtares, and old Hoſius biſhop of Cordova, and preſident of the council of Nice, muſes, and holds his peace. This is a true repreſentation of the manner of making canon law. Hereticks are thruſt out, the laity and the inferiour clergy are not let in, a few weak, dependent, or mercenary men are titled and dreſſed, and ſet round to grace the ſhow, while one or two artful men carry into execution deſigns the moſt iniquitous in the name of Almighty God, and the whole catholick and apoſtolick church. Yet after all, this repreſentation is deceptive. Councils never ſuppreſſed hereſy in Spain: but the inquiſition did. Before the inſtitution of that court innumerable hereticks reſided in Spain.

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(1) Concilii Ovetensis *Can. iii. Anno DCCCLXXIII.* Eligamus Archidiaconos, boni nominis viros, qui per monaſteria et parochitanas eccleſias eundo, bis in anno concilia celebrent, et lolium exſtirpando, gregi Domini prædicationis ſemina miniſtrent, ipſaque monaſteria ſive eccleſias ita diſponant, quatenus nobis fideliter rationem reddant. Si vero quiſpiam eorum negotium ſibi commiſſum indigne et fraudulenter tractaverit, ſi forte eccleſiæ ſervus exſtiterit, a dignitatis honore publice remoto, ſeptuaginta ei flagella conferamus, et initio ſervitioque infimo redigamus et ad gradum priſtinum nullo in tempore revocemus.

(2) *Conventus Epiſcoporum apud monaſt. Rivi-pullenſe. An.* 1032. *apud* Aguirre. *tom. iii. p.* 201. S. Poncii Bonifilii Marci præpoſiti, et judicis Barchinonenſis, qui hæc quæ ſupraſcripta ſunt juſta ſciens, ſubſcripſit. Arnallus Judex. Bonfilius Sacerdos. Vivas levita, ſacerdos et judex. Ego Gualterius, Romanæ eccleſiæ cardinalis et legatus, quicquid continetur in privilegiis et in dotis *hujus* eccleſiæ laudo et confirmo atque corroboro.

(3) Ibid. Guifred gratia Dei Comes. Willelmus comes gratia Dei. Berengarius Raymundi, Ermeſſendis gratia Dei comitiſſa, S. Fulconis vice comitis, S. Wifredi vice comitis, S. Seniofredi vice comitis.

(4) *Plura vide apud* Aguir. *ubi ſup. Exemp. grat.* Concil. Legionens. *An.* 1023. Quiſquis ex noſtra progenie, vel extranea, hanc noſtram conſtitutionem ſciens frangere tentaverit, fracta manu, pede et cervice, evulſis oculis, fuſis inteſtinis, percuſſus lepra, una gladio anathematis, in æterna damnatione cum diabolo et angelis ejus luat pœnas.

Concil. Ovetens. *ut ſup. can.* 12. Si quis autem noſtrum ſe obliviosus concilii unitate ſubtraxerit, a vera et integra ſocietate Sanctorum ſegregatus, pariterque anathemate cum Juda Domini proditore, cum diabolo et angelis ejus in perpetuum ſit damnatus.

The chriſtians called hereticks are diviſible into two claſſes. One lived diſperſedly all over Spain; as Manicheans, Priſcillianiſts, Bonoſians, Felicians, and probably ſome of every ſort, both among the Moors, and the catholicks: while the other reſided chiefly by themſelves in Catalonia at the foot of the Pyrenean mountains (6). In very early times the Alani, a tribe of warlike Germans, ſettled in Thrace. In the year two hundred forty two, they defeated the emperour Gordian near Philippopolis, he attacked them in order to drive them out of the country, but victory decided in their favour (7). In the beginning of the fifth century the Alani ſettled in Spain. Their home was called Alankerk, that is the Alani church (8). In time they mixed with the Vandals, and other Goths, and being the ſmaller party loſt the ancient name of their tribe, and were known by the general national denomination of Goths. When the Moors ſubdued Spain, the deſcendants of theſe people inhabited that part which lies at the foot of the Pyrenean Mountains, then called Goth-Alania, and now Catalonia (9). It ſhould ſeem they were a ſort of little republick, protected by the Saracens, with whom they were in league, as they were alſo with their neighbours on the other ſide of the mountains in Narbonenſian Gaul, for they and their allies were all unitarians, as their anceſtors had always been (1). It is impoſſible here to inveſtigate an hiſtory enveloped in ſo much obſcurity as this: but, in general it may be remarked, that it was generally the policy of hereticks, who choſe local ſettlements, to inhabit the borders of kingdoms, that when they were perſecuted in one city they might flee to another, as the church had been inſtructed by the Lord.

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(5) Los concilios y epiſtolas decretales, y otros eſcritos, que ſalen en eſta obra, fueron el deguello de todas las heregias, y errores, que inquietaron la ygleſia en ſus tiempos. El venerable Oſio Obiſpo de Cordova, que con los demas prelados Eſpanoles ſe hallo en el concilio Eliberitano cerca de Granada, fue quien deſpues preſidio en nombre de San Sylveſtre papa al primer concilio univerſal Niceno, y en el condeno las dos capitales y contrarias heregias de Sabelio y Ario, pronunciando el primero contra ellos el ſymbolo de la feè. . . . Los errores de Macedonio, Apolinar, Priſciliano, Neſtorio, Eutyches, y otros hereſiarcas antiguos, fueron ſolemnemente condenados en los concilios de Toledo, Sevilla, Braga, y Galicia. &c.

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(6) BARON. *Annal. A. MXVII.* Apud Toletum inventi ſunt Manichæi.... Et per diverſas occidentis partes Manichæi exorti, per latibula ſeſe occultare cœperunt, decipientes quoſcumque poterant.

GREGORII *Papæ vii. epiſt. iii.* [*apud* LABBEUM *lxiv.*] *Ad* ALPHONSUM *Caſtellæ, et* SANCIUM *Aragoniæ reges. An. M. LXXIV.* Poſtquam veſania Priſcillianiſtarum diu pollutum, et perfidia Arianorum depravatum, et a Romano ritu ſeperatum, irruentibus prius Gothis, ac demum invadentibus Saracenis regnum Hiſpaniæ fuit, non ſolum religio eſt diminuta, verum etiam mundanæ ſunt opes labefactatæ.

MICRÆL. *Hiſt. Eccles. lib. iii.* Felix Arianam hæreſin in Hiſpaniam paſſim diſſeminavit.

(7) MASCOV. *Hiſt. Germ. v.* 32.

(8) JOAN. VASÆI *Hiſpan. Chron. An. ccccxxii.* Ab Alanis Alanqueram patriam ſuam dictam non inſcite putat Damianus a Goes, dictam vero Alanqueram corrupto vocabulo pro Alankerquam, hoc eſt Alanorum phanum.

(9) PAULI OROSII *preſb. Hiſpan. adv. paganos. lib. viii. cap. xl.* Interea ante biennium Romanæ irruptionis, excitatæ per Stiliconem, gentes Alanorum, ut dixi, Suevorum, Vandalorum, multæ cum his aliæ Francos proterunt, Rhenum tranſeunt, Gallias invadunt, directoque impetu Pyrenæum uſque perveniunt, cujus obice ad tempus repulſæ, per circumjacentes provincias refunduntur.

VASÆUS *ubi ſup.* Alani Gothis miſti Gothalaniæ nomen dederunt provinciæ, quæ nunc Cathalonia dicitur.... Alani indomiti, nec alieni patientes imperii, a Gunderico deſciſcunt, et Carthaginenſem provinciam ac Luſitaniam repetunt, et ſine rege terras eas incolunt, vectigales tamen Romanis.

LUC. MARIN. SICUL. *lib. vi. De Gothorum adventu in Hiſpaniam.* Gothi et Alani, qui hodie Cathalani dicuntur, in Hiſpania conſederunt, de quibus et eorum rebus geſtis ſummatim dicemus.

(1) SANDII *Enuc. Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. iii. An. DCCXXXII.* Conſtat, qui Arianorum in Hiſpania reliqui, Galliaque erant, eos in Francos conjuraſſe, junctiſque copiis conſultaſſe inter ſe, qua ratione bellum ineundum, gerendumque ſit. Porro junctis Saracenis, obſidibus utrinque cautum, ne Gothi Eudonis exemplo amicitia, ſocietateque decedere poſſent, neve Saraceni in Arriana Viſigothorum templa ſacrilegio, ruiniſve, aut in liberos conjugeſque libidine vel ferro, aut alia indignitate odium diſſentientis religionis explerent.

Near the middle of the eighth century many thouſands of theſe people, with their wives, children, and ſervants, under cover of a large army of Saracens commanded by Abderames, emigrated over the Pyrenees from the ſpaniſh to the french foot of the mountains (2). The country called Navarre is divided by the Pyrenees, the one ſide belonging to France, the other to Spain. The emigrants were called Vaſcones, now Gaſcons. Theſe are the people, whom ſome hiſtorians call Wiſigoths and Arians, and who, they ſay, were in alliance with Eudo, duke of Aquitain, and his ſons, and aſſiſted them along with the Saracens in their wars againſt Charles Martel (3). Other hiſtorians affirm, that theſe people were not Wiſigoths and Arians, becauſe Goths and Arians were extinct an hundred and fifty years before. True it is, the names had fallen into diſuſe, but the deſcendants of Goths and Arians ſubſiſted under the name of Catalonians, inhabited the country about the Pyrenees, and inherited the political and religious principles of their anceſtors. The emigrants did not carry away with them all the ſpirit of freedom; love of civil liberty remained, and never did a people ſtruggle more zealouſly for that than the Catalonians, for in every period of their hiſtory a ſort of enthuſiaſm for freedom blazes out. So lately as the latter end of the fifteenth century, ſome of their preachers taught the nobleſt principles of civil polity: as that popes and emperours had no right to temporal dominion in foreign ſtates; that people were not made for magiſtrates, but magiſtrates for people; that where intereſts claſhed, the ſafety of the ſtate ought to be preferred before the intereſt of an individual; that the kings of Aragon were not abſolute lords of the principality of Catalonia, but were elected by the people, and bound by contract, confirmed with an oath, to govern by laws made by the people; and that the violation of theſe laws was a breach of the contract (4). With diſcourſes compoſed of ſuch maxims friar John Chriſtoval Gualbes, a native of Barcelona, harangued his countrymen, the Catalans, while a ſyſtem of tyranny under the name of religion was diffuſing its poiſon into the laws of the ſtate, of which contagion in proceſs of time political freedom died. The ſtate of theſe chriſtians will be more particularly conſidered in a future article, along with that of their brethren in the kingdom of Navarre.

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(2) *Annal. Francor. apud* VASÆUM. *an. DCCXXIX.* Eudo dux Aquitanæ, victus fugatuſque a Carolo Martello rege Francorum, Sarracenos ex Hiſpania contra illum in auxilium ſuum evocat. Qui numero ad quadringenta hominum millia, cum uxoribus, liberis ac ſervis, duce Abderamene, tanquam in certas ſedes ex Hiſpania in Vaſconiam venere.

(3) IBID. *An. DCCXXXIII.* Ex annalibus Francorum, ubi neſcio qua antoritate legitur, Veſogothos et Arianos in auxilium vocatos, cum Ariana hæreſis in Hiſpania fere centum quinquaginta annis ante fuerat extincta, et etiam Gothorum, ſive Veſogothorum nomen jam tum deletum extiterit, et quæ ſupererunt illorum reliquiæ, tuendis ſuis finibus tantam haberent negocii, ut alienos infeſtare non liceret. Proinde non Veſegothos illic, neque Arianos, ſed Sarracenos legendum judico.

(4) ZURITA *Anales. tom. iv. lib. xvii. Rey don Juan II. cap. xlii.* Andavo comoviendo, e incitando los pueblos contra el Rey en ſus ſermones, un religioſo de la orden de los predicadores, natural de Barcelona, que ſe llamava Fray Juan Chriſtoval Gualbes. . . . Que los Reyes de

It remains only now to obſerve the ſtate of baptiſm in Spain in this period.

Catholicks of both claſſes, thoſe in the chriſtian ſtates, and thoſe called Mozarabs, adminiſtered baptiſm by immerſion, ſingle or trine, and generally ſingle. During the greater part of this period they baptized new born infants only in caſes of exigence. The uſual practice was to inſtruct before they baptized. The word infant, as in other countries, is vague: but circumſtances often determine it in favour of children of ſome growth. For example. In court ſtyle, infant is uſed for the children of the royal family. In hiſtory, infant is uſed for perſons at man's eſtate; and parvulus for a youth of eleven years of age. Of examples innumerable two ſhall ſuffice to prove that the word in general is to be underſtood of minority. Peter II. king of Aragon, was ſlain in the fortieth year of his age, and left a ſon, afterward James I. about four years of age (5). The prince was committed to the guardianſhip of a cardinal legate of Rome, whoſe authority over his perſon and eſtate was to continue as long as his INFANCY (6). By the way, pope Honorius adviſed the cardinal to take care of his royal pupil, and to watch his eſtates leſt his vaſſals ſhould be infected with hereſy. The guardian did not fail to train up James to his hand. He was taught to believe that God and his mother ſpoke to him through the prieſts, and called him to fight only the battles of the Lord and the church, who were both one as man and wife are (7). For more than half a century this child of God and the church kept killing and cutting out, and when at his death the ſhares of the clergy were reckoned, it was proved that he had founded, endowed, or adorned about two thouſand ſacred edifices, all plunder, but all conſecrated to the honour of the virgin mother

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de Aragon era ſenores de aquel principado con ciertos pactos: y no abſolutamente, como parecio en la elecion de rey don Hernando, al qual, y a ſus ſuceſſores tomava por reyes: pero con condicion, que el por ſi, y por ellos juraſſe de guardar las leyes comunes y privadas, y ſus eſtatutos, y conſtitutiones, y uſages.... q el bien de la republica deve ſer perferedo a la utilidad del principe... q no era meneſter tener recurſo al papa, o al emperador, &c. como a juez ſoberano, porq ninguno dellos tenia dominio temporal en aquel principado, &c.

(5) Hieron. Blancæ *regum Aragoniæ ſeries. Pet. ii.*

(6) Honorii *Papæ Epiſt. ad B. Apoſtolicæ ſedis legatum in Hiſpaniæ. an. M.CC.XX.* Habet in ſua protectione regem Jacobum I. Aragoniæ, et omnem ditionem ſuam, dum INFANS eſſet .... terras ſuas, præſertim cum infectæ non ſint hæretica pravitate, non patiaris ab aliquo impugnari.

(7) Bernardini Gomesii *de vit. et reb. geſt.* Jacobi I. *lib. xvii.* Nunc alio me vocat idem cæleſtis pater, qui non alia, quam *ſua* bella me gerere vult.

of God (1). This is a memorable infant. He died at the age of ſeventy-two: but it is yet a queſtion whether he was ever out of his minority.

The ſecond infant was named Dominick, a boy of the choir of the cathedral of Saragoſſa, about ſeven years of age. The catholicks tax the Jews with the crime of ſtealing and crucifying him. A falſe charge: but a very plauſible pretence, among people, whoſe religion lies in believing, without examination, whatever their guides affirm, for enriching the church two ways: the firſt by maſſacreing and plundering the Jews; and the other by making a martyr of the deceaſed. Little Dominick became a mine of wealth to the cathedral; the acts of his martyrdom are preſerved among the archives of the church; miracles without end have been wrought at his tomb; orators have pronounced and poets have verſified his noble deeds; the chief of which is that he was a choriſter, and ſung the praiſes of the virgin mother with other hired boys in the cathedral (2).

The catholicks, in all countries, both in cathedral and monaſtical churches, always formed bands of boys, who were called choriſters, children, or infants of the choir. There are canons for the regulation of them, intitled of the offices and exerciſes of infants (3). Over them a maſter was appointed, and it was his buſineſs to prepare them firſt for baptiſm by inſtruction, and afterward for the ſervice of the choir by teaching them to chant. There is yet extant a letter of Alcuin to the children of the church of S. Martin, who were then under the tuition of chriſtian maſters, and were preparing for the choir. When they became choriſters, they were called ſymphoniſts, harmoniſts, or ſinging boys (4). This well-contrived method of educating children for nothing contributed very much to the increaſe of the catholick party. Poor pagans were induced to ſend their children. Poor chriſtians had a ſtrong temptation to ſend theirs. There was a chance of their being elected choriſters, and there was a high probability that children, who were baptized into a profeſſion of believing the trinity at ſeven or nine, before they were admitted into the choir, would continue in that profeſſion through life. A previous attention to theſe facts explains many articles in the hiſtory of the ſpaniſh catholicks. There is among their archives an ancient contract between king Sanctius and ſeven catholick biſhops (5). One ſtipulation on the part of the biſhops is, that they would catechize, baptize, and ordain officials in their churches without receiving any money for ſo doing. There is in the council of Lerida, a canon, which expreſsly declares, that if a catholick had cauſed his children to be baptized by hereticks, he ſhould be incapacitated for making an oblation to the church (6). It hath been elſewhere obſerved, that the putting of a child under the tuition of the monks was called an oblation to God. The next canon forbad the members of the church to eat with the anabaptiſts. Nor let it paſs unnoticed, that in ſome dioceſes ſunday ſchools were kept by the clergy in the churches for the purpoſe of inſtructing the children of the world, for the others were the children of the church. Theſe little worldlings are the PUEROS and PARVULOS of the canons (7).

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(1) BLANCA. Delubris ad bis mille in Deiparæ virginis honorem ædificatis illuſtratam, &c.

(2) BASNAGE *Hiſt. des Juifs. liv. ix. ch. xvii.*

VINCENTIUS BLASCO. *Periſtephanon Aragoniæ*...... TAMAIO SALAZAR *Martyr Hiſp. Aug.* 31.

Affigunt ligno INFANTEM cantare ſuetum
Virginis et matris laudes, ſervire choroque
Metropolis noſtræ ſubtili voce Domingum.

(3) AGUIRRE *Concil. tom. iv. Conſtitut. Valentinæ.* De his ad quæ tenetur magiſter cantus *infantium* deputatorum ... circa officium et exercitium *infantium. page* 177.

(4) BASNAGII *not. in loc. Theſaur. tom. ii.* 1. *p.* 454. Pueri monaſterii dicuntur aliquando Symphoniaci, de iis multa habet Evrardus, apud D'ACH. SPIC. *tom. xii. p.* 166. At hic de *Symphoniacis* non agitur, ſed de *pueris* aliis, qui ab ineunte ætate in monaſterio verſabantur. Duplexque eorum ordo, alii enim offerebantur juniores a parentibus ut tonderentur et vitæ monaſticæ conſecrarentur. Alii vero erant *nutritii*, qui ſcilicet educabantur in monaſterio, vel quod eis pauperibus aut ſpem aliquam facientibus alimenta ſubminiſtrarentur.

To theſe may be added the form of celebrating marriage (8). In the year twelve hundred and ſeventy, Don Sancho, ſon of Alphonſo king of Caſtille, was married to Guillelma, daughter of Gaſton, viſcount of Bearn. The contract of marriage runs thus. I the infant Sancho take you Donna Guillelma to be my wife, and promiſe that I will always have and hold you for my lawful wife. And I Guillelma take you the infant Don Sancho to be my huſband, and promiſe that I will always have and hold you for my lawful huſband. Witneſſes, Infant Don Ferrand. Donna Conſtantia.

This ſenſe of the word was not peculiar to Spain, it was the ſame in all countries in the middle and lower ages: and to ſpeak preciſely, infant or child in LAW was put for a minor: and infant or child in the CHURCH was put for ſuch as were under ſeven years in monaſteries or ſuch as were admitted into the choirs of conventual churches, or for children within their ages. Thus Willibald, the writer of the life of S. Boniface, employs the firſt chapter in ſetting forth how he ſerved God in his INFANCY, and in the ſecond how he proceeded after the ſeven years of his infancy were expired (9). Thus in England in the titles of old plays, the publick were informed, that the comedy called, A mad world my maſters, was acted by the children of Paule's: that the comedy called, Ram alley, or Merrie tricks, was acted by the children of the king's revels: that the moſte excellent comedie of Alexander, Campaſpe, and Diogenes, was played before the queene's majeſtie on twelfeday at night, by her majeſtie's children, and the children of Paule's (1).

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(5) CONCIL. PAMPILONENSE *apud* AGUIRRE. *tom. iii. page* 195. *an. M.XXIII.* Promittam præterea ſecundum inſtituta canonum catechizare, baptizare, cunctum ordinem chriſtianitatis dare, et diaconos, atque preſbyteros, cunctoſque gradus eccleſiaſticos ſine pretio ordinare.

(6) CONCILIUM ILERDENSE. *an. DXXIV. xiii.* Catholicus qui filios ſuos in hæreſi baptizandos obtulerit, oblatio illius in eccleſia nullatenus recipiatur . . . . *xiv.* Cum rebaptizatis fideles religioſi nec in cibo participent.

(7) JOANNIS MATTHÆI GIBERTI *Epiſc. Veronæ Conſtitutiones. Veronæ* 1589. *tit. iv. cap.* 20. *De congregandis et erudiendis pueris in eccleſiis.* Deploranda quidem noſtræ tempeſtatis calamitas. . . . Diebus dominicis et feſtivis *pueri*, et alii in ætate tenera conſtituti, qui diebus hujus modi (prout ætas illa in malum prona eſt) ad ludos, rixas, et alia illicita divertere conſueverunt, in eccleſiis convenientes chriſtianæ religionis rudimenta, aliaque ad ſalutem neceſſaria doceantur: omnes et ſingulos rectores et capellanos . . . hortamur . . . ut invigilent *parvulos* ipſos eiſdem diebus in eccleſiis congregando, diſciplinis ſanctiſſimis imbuendo . . . ut librum interrogatorii præceptoris diſcipuli, quem imprimi fecimus, ſibi familiarem reddant. . . . Jam viderint quamplures ſeculares huic operi manum appoſuiſſe; a quibus ſe in hoc genere vinci, cederet in dedecus non modicum ordinis dericalis.

(8) *Ex Membran. D.* D'HEROUAL *apud* ACHERIUM. *tom. viii. page* 245. *Contractus matrimonii inter Sancium, &c. an. MCC.LXX.* Ego Infans Sancius accipio vos domnam Guillelmam uxorem meam, et promitto quod ſemper habebo et tenebo vos pro mea uxore legitima. Et Ego Guillelma accipio vos domnum Infantem Sancium in meum maritum, et promitto quod ſemper habebo et tenebo vos pro meo marito legitimo. . . . Teſtes hujus rei Infans Domnus Ferrandus: Domna Conſtantia Abbatiſſa, &c.

In the language of councils, canons, and books of divinity, other chriſtians in Spain are denominated, either with a view to their opinions, hereticks, or with regard to their diſcipline, ſchiſmaticks; and as there was one article of diſcipline, in which they all agreed, they are frequently named from that. This article was baptiſm. They all held, that the catholick corporation was not a church of Chriſt, and they therefore rebaptized ſuch as had been baptized in that community, before they admitted them into their own ſocieties. For this reaſon they were called in general Anabaptiſts. In a council held at Lerida, in the archbiſhoprick of Tarragona, it was decreed that ſuch as had fallen into the prevarication of anabaptiſm, if they ſhould return to the church, ſhould be received as the council of Nice had enacted (2). The biſhops there had agreed that proſelytes returning from the Novatians and others, who held the doctrines of the church, and baptized in the name of the trinity, ſhould be admitted by laying on hands: but that ſuch as came from antitrinitarians, who had been baptized only in the name of Chriſt, ſhould be rebaptized. Other parties made no ſuch diſtinctions; they baptized converts from pagans and jews, they rebaptized all catholicks; and they baptized none without a perſonal profeſſion of faith. They called themſelves chriſtians; they cenſured the fraud and folly of thoſe, who impoſed on the world by calling themſelves catholicks, and who ought rather to call themſelves Cyprianites, being the apoſtate followers of that pretended ſaint; they quoted abundance of ſcripture to prove that a new teſtament church conſiſted of only virtuous perſons, born of water and the ſpirit; they ſeparated from the catholicks on account of the impurity of their church; they deſpiſed councils, and expreſſed their aſtoniſhment, that chriſtians ſhould approve of ſuch ſuperficial writings as thoſe of Cyprian, and others called fathers; and they took the new teſtament for the rule of a chriſtian's faith and practice (3). Toribius, a ſpaniſh catholick biſhop, ſays, they had a moſt blaſphemous book in the higheſt reputation among them, which was entitled Memoria Apoſtolorum, which falſified the doctrine of Chriſt, and ſet aſide the whole law of the old teſtament, and the moſaical account of the creation (4). Mr. Beauſobre hath proved againſt all reaſonable objection, that S. Toribius miſrepreſents the affair (5). Spaniſh hereticks reverenced the old teſtament, and quoted it, and what they chiefly contended for was, that the levitical œconomy of church government was aboliſhed by Jeſus, and that when the catholicks revived it, they expelled the pious, and formed a worldly corporation, which had little more of chriſtian than the name (6). They reproved them for calling themſelves ſaints, while they exerciſed the violent paſſions of anger, and malice, and revenge againſt all who differed from them: to which one Saint Pacianus, biſhop at Barcelona, replied: we only follow the example of bees, guarding the honey with the ſting (7).

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(9) S. WILLIBALDI *vita* S. BONIFACII. *inter* CANISII *Lection. antiq. edit.* BASNAGII. *tom. ii. cap. i. Qualiter in infantia Dei ſervitium inchoavit. cap. ii. Qualiter adoleſcentiæ, &c.* Poſtquam igitur infantiæ ſeptem evoluuntur anni, puerilis adveniente decore ætatis; etiam mira in eo ſcientiæ prævaluit fortitudo.

(1) *Collection of old plays, vol. ii. vol. v. London,* 1780.

(2) CONCILIUM ILERDENSE. *an. DXXIV. can. ix. De his qui in prævaricatione rebaptizati.* [marg. rebaptiſmi] *delapſi ſunt.*

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(3) S. PACIANI *Epiſc. Barcin. ad* SYMPRONIANUM *Novatianum. Epiſt. i. De Catholico nomine.* Sed ſub apoſtolis, inquies, nemo catholicus vocabatur. Eſto, ſic fuerit, vel illud indulge.... Ego forte ingreſſus populoſam urbem hodie cum Marcionitas, cum Apollinariacos, Cataphrygas, Novatianos, et cæteros ejuſmodi comperiſſem, qui ſe chriſtianos vocarent; quo cognomine congregationem meæ plebis agnoſcerem, niſi catholica diceretur?... Chriſtianus mihi nomen eſt, catholicus vero cognomen.

Ejuſdem Epiſt. iii. contra tractatus Novatianorum. ad SYMPRONIANUM. Proponis, et recte quidem, eccleſiam eſſe populum ex aqua et ſpiritu ſancto renovatum, ſine negatione nominis Chriſti, templum et domum Dei, columnam et ſtabilimentum veritatis, virginem ſanctam caſtiſſimis ſenſibus, ſponſam Chriſti ex oſſibus ejus et carne, non habentem maculam neque rugam, integra evangeliorum jura ſervantem. EPH. vi. 26. 27.... 1 COR. xii. 12. 13.... 2 COR. vi. 14, &c. Quis hoc noſtrum negat? Quin etiam addimus, eccleſiam eſſe reginam, in veſte aurata et variegata: PSAL. xlv. 13. 14. fæcundam vitem in lateribus domus Domini. PSAL. cxxviii. 3.

IBID. *Ep. ii.* Cypriani epiſtolas mihi placere miraris?... Cyprianum Sanctum vocas, et populum ejus Apoſtaticum?

(4) S. TURIBEI *Aſturicens. Epiſc. Epiſtola.* Ex libris Apocraphis Manichæi et Priſcillianiſtæ, vel quæcumque illis eſt ſecta germana, omnem hæreſim ſuam confirmare nituntur: et maxime ex blaſphemiſſimo illo libro, qui vocatur memoria Apoſtolorum, in quo ad magnam perverſitatis ſuæ auctoritatem doctrinam Domini mentiuntur: qui totam deſtruit legem veteris teſtamenti, et omnia quæ S. Moyſi de diverſis creaturæ factoriſque divinitus revelata ſunt.

(5) *Hiſt. de Manicheiſm.*

(6) S. PACIANI *Ep. iii.* Eli Sacerdos, ais, loquitur et dicit, ſi vir in virum peccaverit, &c. 1 SAM. ii. 25.

(7) *Ejuſd. Epiſt. ii.* Iraſci me ais: abſit. Simulari ut apem credo, quæ interdum aculeo mella defendit.... Amas me? Non læſi: ſcio. Sed tunc demum amares, ſi non diverſa ſentires, atque operi meo blandus accederes.

FROM THE CONQUEST OF THE MOORS TO THE PRESENT TIME.

The laſt period of the hiſtory of Spain, from the conqueſt of the Moors to the preſent time, exhibits a ſeries of events as intereſting as any that ever appeared in the annals of mankind. In a political view glorious but ineffectual ſtruggles for conſtitutional freedom. Charles V. gave civil liberty its death wound, and that unfeeling tyrant Philip II. by a thouſand acts of treachery and cruelty, put a period to its exiſtence. Two accurate and elegant hiſtorians have placed this fatal cataſtrophe in the moſt inſtructive point of light (8). Religious liberty had received and ſurvived many a ſtab, but the maxim of guarding the honey with the ſting produced the inquiſition, which, like a ſavage beaſt, with unrelenting barbarity, and without ſhedding one tear, tore out the vitals of it. This bloody triumph of catholiciſm was the ruin of literature and trade; it ſtagnated the genius, and changed the character of the whole nation. The following account is ſo juſt, and the reflections ſo natural, that it cannot but edify the reader.

“ The court of inquiſition, which, although it was not the parent, has been the nurſe and guardian of ignorance and ſuperſtition, in every kingdom into which it has been admitted, was introduced into Spain by Ferdinand and Iſabella, and was principally intended to prevent the relapſe of the Jews and Moors, who had been converted, or pretended to be converted to the faith of the church of Rome. Its juriſdiction was not confined to the Jews and Moors, but extended to all thoſe who, in their practice or opinions, differed from the eſtabliſhed church. In the united kingdoms of Caſtille and Aragon, there were eighteen different inquiſitorial courts; having each of them its counſellors, termed apoſtolical inquiſitors; its ſecretaries, ſerjeants, and other officers; and beſides theſe, there were twenty thouſand familiars diſperſed throughout the kingdom, who acted as ſpies and informers, and were employed to apprehend all ſuſpected perſons, and to commit them for their trial, to the priſons which belonged to the inquiſition. By theſe familiars, perſons were ſeized on bare ſuſpicion; and, in contradiction to the common rules of law, they were put to the torture, tried and condemned by the inquiſitors, without being confronted either with their accuſers, or with the witneſſes on whoſe evidence they were condemned. The puniſhments inflicted were more or leſs dreadful, according to the caprice and humour of the judges. The unhappy victims were either ſtrangled, or committed to the flames, or loaded with chains and ſhut up in dungeons during life. Their effects were confiſcated, and their families ſtigmatized with infamy.

This inſtitution was, no doubt, well calculated to produce an uniformity of religious profeſſion; but it had a tendency likewiſe to deſtroy the ſweets of ſocial life; to baniſh all freedom of thought and ſpeech; to diſturb men's minds with the moſt diſquieting apprehenſions, and to produce the moſt intolerable ſlavery, by reducing perſons of all ranks in life to a ſtate of abject dependence upon prieſts: whoſe integrity, were it even greater than that of other men, as in every falſe religion it is leſs, muſt have been corrupted by the uncontrouled authority which they were allowed to exerciſe.

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(8) DR. WILLIAM ROBERTSON's *Hiſtory of the reign of the emperour* CHARLES V.
DR. ROBERT WATSON's *Hiſtory of the reign of* PHILIP *the ſecond, king of Spain. London*, 1777.

Such nearly were the ſentiments which even the Spaniards entertained of this iniquitous tribunal at the time when it was erected (9). But not having had experience then of its pernicious effects, and conſidering it as intended for the chaſtiſement of jews and infidels, they only murmured and complained; till the yoke being wreathed about their necks, the moſt ſecret murmurings became dangerous, and often fatal to thoſe who uttered them.

By this tribunal a viſible change was wrought in the temper of the people; and reſerve, diſtruſt, and jealouſy, became the diſtinguiſhing character of a Spaniard. It perpetuated and confirmed the reign of ignorance and ſuperſtition. It inflamed the rage of religious bigotry, and by the cruel ſpectacles to which, in the execution of its decrees, it familiarized the people, it nouriſhed in them that ferocious ſpirit, which, in the Netherlands and America, they manifeſted by deeds that have fixed an everlaſting reproach on the ſpaniſh name.

Authors of undoubted credit affirm, and without the leaſt exaggeration, that millions of perſons have been ruined by this horrible court (1). It was the chief inſtrument by which Ferdinand, Charles and Philip ſubverted the conſtitutional civil liberty of Spain. Moors were baniſhed, a million at a time. Six or eight hundred thouſand Jews were driven away at once, and their immenſe riches ſeized by their accuſers, and diſſipated among their perſecutors; while thouſands diſſembled, and profeſſed themſelves chriſtians, only to be haraſſed in future (2). Hereticks of all ranks and of various denominations were impriſoned, and burnt, or fled into other countries. The gloom of deſpotiſm overſhadowed all Spain, and at firſt the people reaſoned, and rebelled, and murdered the inquiſitors. Then the aged murmured and died. The next generation fluttered and complained, but their ſucceſſors were completely tamed by education, and Spaniards are now trained up by the prieſts to ſhudder at the thought of thinking for themſelves. That honour to his country, and to human nature, the good Mr. Howard, ſays, when he ſaw the inquiſition at Valladolid, "I could not but obſerve, that even the ſight of it ſtruck terrour into the common people as they paſſed. It is ſtiled, added he, by a monſtrous abuſe of words, the HOLY and APOSTOLICK court of inquiſition (3)."

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(9) Dr. Watson's *hiſt. vol. i. b. iv. page* 91.... Marianæ, *lib. xxiv. cap. xvii. Inquiſitores Caſtellæ dati*.... Zurita, *p. iv. lib. xx. cap.* 49. *Del Santo officio de la general inquiſition cotra la heretica pravedad. cap.* 65. *De la meurte del bieneventurado Pedro Arbues de Epila inquiſidor del regno de Arragon.*

(1) Reginaldi Gonsalvii Montani *Sanctæ inquiſitionis Hiſpanicæ artes aliquot detectæ ac palam traductæ. Heidelbergæ* 1567. O millies deteſtandæ barbaries, quum reſtituere unquam non poſſis, ecquid tandem orbi pendes pro tot clariſſimis luminibus a te extinctis?

Philippi a Limborch *hiſt. inquiſitionis, cui ſubjungitur liber ſententiarum inquiſitionis Tholoſanæ, ab anno.* 1307, *ad an.* 1323, *cum fig. Æneis, Amſt.* 1692.

Ludov. a Paramo *de orig. et progreſs. Officii ſanctæ inquis.*

Nicol. Eymerici *Director. inquiſitorum. cum commentariis* Franciſc. Pegnæ. *Romæ* 1587.

(2) Basnage. *hiſt. des Juifs. liv. ix. cap. xxv.*

Swinburne's *travels through Spain. let. xxii. p.* 164. Hiſt. of Granada, by Abi Abdalah ben Alkalhibi Abſaneni: an Arabic manuſcript in the library of the Eſcurial.

A bare narration of the exploits of the inquiſition hath ſhocked the world, and the cruelty of it hath become proverbial. So it hath affected even ſuperficial obſervers: but ſuch as trace effects to their cauſes make four reflections, that merit attention. One on ſynods; a ſecond on eſtabliſhments; a third on papal religion; and a fourth on the inſeparable connection between a free government and temporal proſperity. Each is brief, becauſe each is ſelf-evident, and needs no proof.

Synods of three or four poor biſhops, framing creeds and canons for conſcience, and attaching to a breach of them ideas of guilt, differ from the inquiſition only as a ſpark of fire differs from a city in a blaze (4). There were many ſuch ſynods in the early and middle ages of ſpaniſh eccleſiaſtical hiſtory. Having then, as clergy, no ſecular power, they only diſtinguiſhed the pretended offenders by ſentimental characters, and denounced harmleſs anathemas againſt them: but when their ſucceſſors obtained ſecular dominion, and the inquiſition came, it was nothing in the world but an anſwer to their prayers, the actual accompliſhment of their devout wiſhes. The language uſed to be, when they could do no better: If any perſon, king, nobleman, prelate, prieſt, monk, or any of inferiour rank native or foreigner, ſhall at any time deny this creed, or diſobey theſe canons, may he be numbered with Judas, Dathan and Abiram; may all his limbs be broken; may his eyes be plucked out; may his entrails be torn out of him; may he be ſmitten with the leproſy, and other diſeaſes from the crown of his head to the ſole of his foot; and may he ſuffer the pain of eternal damnation with the devil and his angels! (5) When the inquiſitors

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(3) *The State of the Priſons in England and Wales, with preliminary obſervations, and an account of ſome foreign priſons and hoſpitals, by* JOHN HOWARD. F. R. S. *3d edit. Warrington.* 1784. *Sect. iv. p.* 161.

(4)

CONCIL. GERUNDENSE.	*An. DXVII. . . . . . .*	*Epiſcoporum vii.*
CONCIL. COMPOSTELLANUM	*DCCCC. . . . . . .*	*Epiſc. viii.*
CONCIL. BARCINON.	*DCCCCVI. . . . .*	*Epiſc. vii.*
CONCIL. AUSONENS.	*MXXVIII. . . . .*	*Epiſc. iii.*
CONVENTUS RIVIPOL.	*DCCCCLXXVII.*	*Epiſc. v.*
CONVENT. ARULENS.	*MXLVI. . . . . . .*	*Epiſc. iii.*
CONVENT. HELEN.	*MLVIII. . . . . . .*	*Epiſc. iii. &c.*

(5) CONCIL. LEGIONENSE. *An. MXII.* Quiſquis ex noſtra progenie, vel extranea, hanc noſtram conſtitutionem ſciens frangere tentaverit; fracta manu, pede, et cervice, evulſis oculis,

inquiſitors of the holy office condemned the memory of Arnald, viſcount of Caſtelbo, and ordered his bones to be dug up; when they paſſed the ſame ſentence on his daughter, Ermeſenda viſcounteſs of Caſtelbo; when they impriſoned almoſt ſeven years Caranza, archbiſhop of Toledo, for publiſhing an heretical catechiſm; when they burnt thirty, ſixty, ninety, hereticks at a time; when they hung their tribunals with ſcarlet, ſtained the walls of their torture-rooms with human blood, adorned their parlours with pictures of executions, of ninety ſeven perſons conſuming to aſhes in the flames; when they made hereſy a capital crime, and conceived a court of only three or four perſons for the trial of the criminal, the inquiſitor, one or two ſecretaries, and the priſoner; when they conducted all this infernal polity in the name of Jeſus, and under the banner of the croſs, while they clothed the wretched ſufferers with habits and caps on which were repreſented devils and flames: what did they more than finiſh and colour a picture of which the moſt ancient and ſanctimonious ſynods had given them a ſketch; a picture when finiſhed ſo dreadful, that even the artiſts ſhuddered at the ſight of their own work! An inquiſitor calls it, HORRENDUM ET TREMENDUM SPECTACULUM: but liberal men have hardly words to expreſs their abhorrence of it. "The dreadful ceremony," ſays an excellent writer, "is more repugnant to humanity, as well as to the ſpirit of the chriſtian religion, than the moſt abominable ſacrifices recorded in the annals of the pagan world (6)." Theſe abominable ſacrifices, theſe horrible ſpectacles, theſe diabolical cruelties all originated in the affixing of ideas of guilt to mere mental errours, or, in other words, in making faith and not virtue the mark of a good man. There was a poor fellow at Seville, who had the misfortune to marry a girl of remarkable beauty (7). A prieſt (for prieſts have paſſions) decoyed her from her huſband, and kept her for his miſtreſs. One day the huſband fell in with ſome company of his own rank, who were talking of purgatory: "I am in it," exclaimed he jocularly, "and ſhall continue there as long as that ſcurvy knave keeps my wife." The ſacred gallant heard of this, and lodged an information in the holy office againſt the poor man for holding

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oculis, fuſis inteſtinis, percuſſus lepra, una gladio anathematis, in æterna damnatione, cum diabolo et angelis ejus luat pœnas.

Concil. Ovet. *DCCCLXXIII.* Si quis autem noſtrum ſe obliviofus concilii unitate ſubtraxerit, a vera et integra ſocietate ſanctorum ſegregatus, pariterque anathemate, cum Juda Domini proditore, cum diabolo et angelis ejus in perpetuum ſit damnatus. &c.

(6) Zurita *Anales p. i. l. iii. cap. lxxv.*

Luis Cabrera. *La Hiſtoria del rey de Eſpana Don* Phelippe *ii. Madrid.* 1619.

Jean de Ferreras *Hiſt. d'Eſpagne. par M.* d'Hermilly. *Paris.* 1742. *An.* 1559. *&c.*

Emanuelis Minianæ *Continuat. Hiſt.* Marian. *lib. v. cap. xi.*

J. Howard. *as above.*

Dr. Watson's *Hiſt. of the reign of* Phil. *ii. vol. i. book iv. p.* 95.

(7) R. Gonsalv. *ut ſup. p.* 192. Erat Hiſpali homo quidam pauper. &c. . . . Ob illud tantulum verbum miſer capitur, detruditur in inquiſitoriis ergaſtulis. &c. . . . Atque hæc eſt *illa* Hiſpanica inquiſitio, quæ tam acriter fidem chriſtianam aſſerit, ab hæreſibus religionem purgat, in hæreticos animadvertit!

erroneous opinions concerning purgatory. In fine, the prieſt ſung maſs and kept the lady, the man was impriſoned for many years, and probably lay there for life, and the holy office confiſcated his little property. This is not the only court, which winks at vice for the ſake of orthodoxy.

It was the alliance between the catholick party and the ſtate, in which the eſtabliſhment of each by the other was the chief, if not the only condition, that wrought the ruin of Spain. The firſt anathemas were denounced by ſuch a wrong-headed man as Gregory the wonder-worker, or by a few biſhops as wiſe and as wonderful as he: but they wrought no more civil inconvenience than the curſing and ſwearing of ſix pawnbrokers over their prey and their cups in a night cellar (8). When a few enthuſiaſts, brethren and ſiſters, got together in a meadow, and held a council abroad, (which was not uncommon in early times) and when they agreed neither to pray for an heretick, nor to eat or drink with him, nor even to ſpeak to or kiſs him; it was all very well: the brethren had a right to diſpoſe of their prayers, and the fair ſex of their favours as they thought proper (9). The holy kiſs was in faſhion then in Spain (1). It was the eſtabliſhment of this party, that produced the evil. If it be ſaid, a ſtanding army forced the inquiſition on the Spaniards: it ought alſo to be obſerved that there was a time when the mooriſh kings of Spain had two hundred thouſand ſoldiers in actual pay, and a ſtock of an hundred thouſand horſes for their own uſe, and for mounting their cavalry in time of war, and yet they never employed this power to ſupport an inquiſition, becauſe they had no church eſtabliſhed by law (2). Happy would it have been for Spain, if Ferdinand, Charles and Philip, if they muſt have been abſolute, had adopted the mohammedan polity.

The inquiſition hath fully diſplayed in the eyes of the whole world the temper and ſpirit of the papal religion. Tertullian ſomewhere ſays, Chriſtians were often called not Chriſtiani, but Chreſtiani, from the ſweetneſs of their tempers. There is in corporate bodies, as well as in individuals, a general temper and diſpoſition. Jeſus was mild. His apoſtles were GENTLE, as nurſes that nouriſh children. All churches imitating theſe examples are peaceable. The church of Rome is ſo conſtituted as to produce bad diſpoſitions, and by an aſtoniſhing addreſs to convert ſuch diſpoſitions into virtues, and to elevate the men who diſplay the moſt and the worſt into the higheſt rank of temporal and eternal glory (3). By the exerciſe of the whole circle of human crimes, the chief of which was the introduction of the inquiſition, did Ferdinand ii. obtain of the pope, for himſelf and his ſucceſſors, kings and queens of Spain, the title of CATHOLICK (4). By a ſeries of ſuch actions as all free ſtates execrate did friar Francis Ximenes, archbiſhop of Toledo, whom Ferdinand at his death appointed regent of Caſtile, obtain the rank of a cardinal, and the reputation of the firſt ſtateſman in Europe, along with that of a ſaint and a worker of miracles: by extending the prerogative; by depreſſing the nobles; by forming a body of troops depending on the crown; by inſpiring queen Iſabella with the deſign of the cruel expulſion of the Jews; by depraving and hardening the youthful heart of Charles V. when it relented and pitied the miſerable ſufferers, with the wicked maxims of the inquiſition; and by doing every thing that a man of his rank could do toward enſlaving his country by making the people vaſſals to the king, and putting the king into the keeping of that fox, the pope (5). When his panegyriſts ſet forth his ſanctity, by telling, that he wore the frock of a friar under his archiepiſcopal robes; that in the height of his preferment he lived upon alms; that he walked on foot, and ſlept on the ground, and never quitted the rules of his order: if they mean to give theſe either as the virtues of a ſtateſman, or as apologies for his treaſonable practices againſt the free conſtitution of his country, they add inſult to oppreſſion, and provoke the indignation of mankind (6).

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(8) S. Gregorii *Thaumaturgi Duodecim capita de fide et Anathematiſmis. . . . Expoſitio fidei, quam per* REVELATIONEM *a beato Joanne Evangeliſta, mediante Dei genetrice Maria Virgine, accepit. . . . apud* Canisii *lectiones antiq. Præfat.* Canis. Gregorii Anathematiſmi ſunt duodecim, quos S. Cyrillus Alexandrinus imitatus videtur ſuis adverſus Neſtorium et Neſtorianos Anathematiſmis. . . . Eoſdem Thaumaturgi Anathematiſmos imitatus videtur S. Nicephorus, patriarcha Conſtantinopolitanus. &c.

(9) Synod. Helenens. *in prato Tulugienſi. An. MXXVII. xvii. Kalend.* Junii convenit Oliba pontifex Auſonenſis, ad vicem Behengarii Helenenſis epiſcopi; una cum Udalchero, et Gancelino, et Ellemaro, Gauzberto, et cæteris præfatæ ſedis canonicis, cœtuque ſacrorum ducum, caterva quoque fidelium, non ſolum virorum, ſed etiam fæminarum, convenerunt autem in comitatu Roſſilionenſi, in prato Tulujes.

Cap. v. Et ut noveritis omnes quale peccatum ſit jungi excommunicatis: nullus chriſtianus debet manducare cum eis, vel bibere, neque oſculum ejus porrigere neque cum eis loqui, niſi de ſatisfactione. &c.

(1) Concil. Compostell. *MXXXI. cap. i.* Æquum eſt, ut omnibus intra galeriam ſtantibus pacis oſculum ſibi invicem tribuere.

Concil. Compostell. *MLVI. Can. i.* Ad omnes Miſſas, dum dixerit diaconus, *inter vos pacem tradite,* omnibus intra eccleſiam ſtantibus pacis oſculum ſibi invicem tribuatur.

(2) Swinburne. *Let. xxii.*

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(3) MAT. *xi.* 29.... I THESS. *ii.* 7. 10. 11.... JAMES *iii.* 17.

(4) ZURITA *Anales. p. v. lib. ii. del Rey don* HERNANDO. *cap. xl. An. M.CCCC.XCVI.* En fin deſte ano el papa, con el colegio de Cardenales, acatando las ſingulares obras, y grandes beneficios, que el rey avia hecho en el aumento dela religion chriſtiana, y en el enſalçamiento de nueſtra ſanta fe catholica amparando la autoridad, y dignidad de la ſede Apoſtolica, y por ſus excelentes virtudes, y por los exceſivos trabaios, q avia padecido en la conquiſta del reyno de Granada, peleado contra los infieles, y atendido, q por ſu gra prudencia fuero los judios expelidos de ſus reynos, cuya converſacion, y morada en ellos era muy pernicioſa, y conſiderando aſſi miſmo, que los monaſterios de religioſos, y religioſas, por ſu cauſa ſe reformava en una regular obſervancia, teniendo reſpeto a todas eſtas obras ta ſingulares delibero, q fueſſe enſalçado con otro titulo mas ſenalado, q excelente: y q por la cancellaria Romana fueſſe llamado CATOLICO.

(5) JACQ. DE MARSOLLIER *Hiſt. de l'Inquiſition. Cologne* 1693.

ESPRIT FLECHIER *Hiſt. de Cardinal* XIMENES.... ROBERTSON'S CHARLES V. *vol. ii. book i.*

ALVARI GOMECII *De reb. Geſt. a* FRANCISCO XIMENIO. *lib. iii. Literæ ſummi pont. Julii. ii. cum rubro galero ad Ximenium miſſæ.* Dilecte fili, Salutem et apoſtolicam benedictionem. Inducti præclaris meritis et virtutibus tuis, contemplatione etiam cariſſimi in Chriſto filii noſtri Aragonum, Siciliæ regis catholici, qui hoc a nobis per literas et oratores inſtantiſſime petiit, hodie in conſiſtorio noſtro ſecreto, S. R. E. Cardinalium conſortio, et collegio te aggregavimus, ſperantes quod eidem S. R. E. cujus tam honorabile membrum es, utilis eris et honorificus, *illiuſque authoritatem pro viribus conſervabis, et augebis.* Datis Romæ apud ſanctum Petrum ſub annulo piſcatoris. Die xvii. Maii. M. D. vii. Pontificatus noſtri anno quarto.

The life of Gregory Lopez, the firſt hermit in the ſpaniſh dominions in South America, is a true repreſentation of one large claſs of men, whom the catholicks call ſaints. Lopez was a native of Madrid, born on the feſtival of S. Gregory the miracle-worker, and called Gregory, as uſual, in catholick countries, in honour of the ſaint (7). Lopez would never tell who were his parents, and therefore his biographer, Francis Loſa one of the prieſts of the cathedral church in Madrid, very logically concludes that he was of a noble family, and concealed the dignity of his houſe for reaſons of humility. He was totally deſtitute of all literature, as many ſaints have been: but this was a proof of his being inwardly taught by the ſpirit of God. He ran away from his parents, and lived at his eaſe along with an old hermit in the Pyrenean mountains, who probably wanted a boy to collect eggs and poultry in the adjacent hamlets: but this was obeying a divine call. When he was about nineteen Madonna of Guardaloupe, the mother of God, inſpired him to viſit Mexico in South America. Thither he went, retired into the country, wattled together a cell, ſaid his prayers, combated the devil, who owed him a ſpite, and followed him from the Pyrenees, conquered Satan, told his beads, fell into fits of deſpair, roſe into raptures, was aſſiſted by angels to ditch round his garden, and lived a life of mortification on quails, rabbets and figs, which his charitable neighbours the Indians gave him. In proceſs of time, having acquired the reputation of eminent ſanctity, he returned to Spain, repeated his abſurd auſterities, and by them; by a knack of quoting ſcripture by chapter and verſe; by converting Don Ferdinand of Cordova, who was firſt melancholy and then raving mad, from the pride of inheriting the titles and the fortune of his noble parents, whoſe eldeſt ſon he was, to the godly purpoſe of transforming himſelf into a prieſt; by inculcating ſervility, and chanting the praiſes of the church; and by working miracles after his death, did Lopez obtain the honour of ſaintſhip. Similar virtues conſtitute the merit of almoſt all the ſaints (8).

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(6) Basnage *Hiſt. des Juifs. liv. ix. chap. xxix.* J'admire tous les jours comment un heros (*le Cardinal Ximenes*) qui foule aux pieds ſa profeſſion religieuſe, qui ne nourrit dans ſon cœur que *des vertus cruelles et mondaines*, qui juſqu'a la fin de ſa vie ne charge ſa tete que de reflexions politiques, et meurt de chagrin d'etre eloigné des affaires, trouve chez les eccleſiaſtiques des panegyriſtes outrez.

(7) Francois Losa *Vie du bienheureux* Gregoire Lopez. *trad. par. Mr.* Arnauld d'Andilly. *Paris* 1674. Ce grand ſerviteur de Dieu, qui peut paſſer pour un miracle de grace, naſquit le quatrieme jour de Juillet. 1542. . . . Cette mort arriva le ſamedy a midy du 20 jour de Juillet de l'annee 1596. auquel jour la ſainte religion des peres Carmes celebre la feſte de S. Elie, premier fondateur de la vie ſolitaire, que Gregoire Lopez avoit pratiquée ſi parfaitement.

(8) Alfonsi ab Orozco *Declamationes in omn. feſt. Sanctor. Ad illuſtriſs.* D. D. Didacum Covarruvias a Leyva, *Epiſcop. Segobienſ. Salmanticæ*, 1575.

Orators, abbots, biſhops, nobles, cardinals, and even the king, Philip iv. became advocates to pope Urban viii. for the canonization of Gregory Lopez: and, it muſt be allowed, his claims are as valid as thoſe of any ſaint in the calendar. Such diſtracted ſaints as Don Ferdinand are objects of pity. Such idle vagabonds as Lopez ought to be ſet to work. Such as the old tutor of Lopez, who taught him the art of trading in poultry and fortune-telling ought to be provided for, on account of their age, in hoſpitals. Such bloody men as S. Dominick, ought to be confined in Bedlam. Such as Ximenes ought to be expoſed and diſmiſſed from publick offices, for the reign of ſuch is the ruin of liberty, as the Aragoneſe found by woeful experience. The policy of the papal court canonizes drivellers to keep idiots at bay: but the ſtrength of the cauſe lies in ſuch men as Ximenes; for, after all, there is but one ſingle virtue that merits the rewards of the church, and that is to contribute to the eſtabliſhment or increaſe of its authority, as Pope Julius well expreſſed it in his letter to Ximenes, when he aſſociated him in the cardinalſhip. In all countries, where popery hath been eſtabliſhed, the moſt execrable citizens have been canonized for its ſaints, and had Philip and Mary ſucceeded to re-eſtabliſh it in this country, the nation, no doubt, before this time, would have worſhipped ſaint Stephen of Wincheſter, and ſaint Edmund of London, whoſe ſurname was Bonner.

The effects, the fatal and invariable effects of deſpotiſm on temporal proſperity are no where more conſpicuous than in Spain. What an ancient prophet ſaid of an eaſtern army of banditti may with great truth be applied to the eccleſiaſticks of the catholick church: "Before them the land is as the garden of Eden, and behind them a deſolate wilderneſs (9)". In the times of the Moors the city of Granada and its environs unfurled the beauties of an earthly paradiſe (1). The city, thronged like an hive, was a ſtorehouſe of plenty. There the wealthy Jews diſtributed raw ſilk to the manufacturers, who returned it wrought, and received and enjoyed the fruit of their labour. There the farms and villages and hamlets of twenty miles round met with a ready ſale for corn, and figs, and raiſins, and every ſpecies of fruits freſh or preſerved. Thither the miners conveyed ſilver and gold, the precious produce of the mountains, and there ſpecie was in greater plenty than in any country of Europe. Every ſtreet had its fountain, and every houſe its pipe of water. Here huge warehouſes richly ſtored, or royal arſenals lifted their heads, and there the magnificent houſes of merchants, magiſtrates, officers of the army, and manufacturers filled the eye with objects of art, opulence and eaſe. Eighty thouſand families inhabited the city, and they frequently ſent out armies of thirty thouſand foot and ten thouſand horſe. The country round was divided into little freeholds all clad with verdure and vegetable productions: or into gardens and vineyards in the higheſt cultivation: or into large farms, where flocks and herds, and herbage and corn rewarded the induſtrious huſbandman: or into country ſeats, in the adjacencies of which were villages and towns. Within the city ſtood moſques, and churches and ſchools; and within ſight of the walls were reckoned fifty colleges and places of worſhip, and above three hundred water-mills. Over all, the royal palace of the Alhambra built with red bricks, on a high hill ſtood, the ſilver towers glittering like ſtars among the trees. Then there were no hereticks at Granada. In the ſame ſtreet a man might ſee, without wondering at the ſight, the ſnug monk trudging along with his crown ſhaven and in the habit of his order; the muſſulman ſailing in his ſtriped robes of perſian ſilk or cotton; the rabbi plodding in the diſplay of his ſilver beard; the nun tripping in her weeds and her vail; and the honeſt manichean carrying home his work to Aaron the Jew. "Alas!" exclaims a modern traveller, "the glories of Granada have paſſed away with its old inhabitants; its ſtreets are choaked with filth; its aqueducts crumbled to duſt; its woods deſtroyed; its territory depopulated; its trade loſt; in a word, every thing except the church and the law in a moſt deplorable ſituation (2)." Bleak and blaſted hills covered with ruins every where excite the curioſity and the pity of the obſerver. The clergy comfort themſelves under the loſs of all by boaſting that Granada hath the dignity of being an archiepiſcopal ſee, that moſques are converted into churches, and that the want of popular affluence is amply ſupplied by the number and the ſanctity of the prieſts (3). It is a very ancient maxim with the monks, that plunder taken from infidels may conſcientiouſly be applied to the uſe of the church; that to endow the church is to enrich God; that all prohibitions of robbery are to be explained of the goods of the ſaints, and not of thoſe of the wicked, who know not the uſe of property: and agreably to theſe principles many donors expreſsly declare in deeds of endowment, that the donations were taken from the Moors (4). It was for this that the monks, a ſort of

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(9) Joel *ii.* 3.

(1) Abi Abdallah *in* Swinburne, *Let. xxii.*

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(2) SWINBURNE... TWISS. *page* 233.

(3) MARIANÆ *Hiſt. Lib. xxv. cap. xvi.* Inclytum non tam divitiis, quam ſacerdotum numero probitateque.

(4) GAUFREDI MALATERRÆ *monachi rer. geſtar.* ROBERTI VISCARDI *ducis. Lib. ii. vi. vii.* Comes, ſapienti uſus conſilio, totam prædam, quam cœperat, S. Andronio, ad eccleſiam ſuam reedificandam juxta Rhegium dandam propoſuerat. Ne videatur hoc factum, quod prædam Deo obtulerunt, contrarium canonicis ſanctionibus, propter illud, quod dicitur, qui immolat victimam ex rapina, vel ex ſubſtantia pauperis, quaſi qui victimat filium in conſpectu patris: cum hoc potiſſimum accipiendum ſit dictum de ſubſtantia pauperis Chriſti; de quibus et alibi dictum eſt; beati pauperes ſpiritu; quoniam ipſorum eſt regnum cælorum, non eſſe ſcimus: qui Deum nec ore nec corpore confitetur. Sed quod aufertur, Deo offerre, haud abſurdum videtur: nam acceptis ingrati utuntur, a quibus ipſe largitor non cognoſcitur.

AGUIRRE *Concil. tom. ii. an MCCXXXVI. Votum a* JACOBO *Aragonum rege debellatore factum de locupletanda Valentina eccleſia annuis redditibus, ſi eam urbem a Maurorum jugo liberaret. Anno. MCCXLI.* JACOBUS *Aragonum rex, cognomento bellator, votum ſolvit, et eccleſiam Valentinam annuis reditibus ditat.*

An. DCCCXXX. Ex SANDOVALIO. ADEPHONSI *Script. in favorem Eccles. Lucens.* Ego

ſervus

ſpiritual ſutlers followed the armies, ſupplied the camp with omens and divinations, and obtained in return a part of the plunder, or, as the deeds expreſs it, a preſent to God and his mother.

It would be eaſy, and not incurious, nor altogether unedifying, to go up to the ſpring heads of deſpotiſm, the court of Spain and the conclave of Rome, to turn again and trace each downward in all its meanders, to obſerve where the two currents run in ſeparate ſtreams, where they fall into one and roll along together, where they part again, how they meet, and on what they ſpend their force. The ſubject is voluminous: a hint or two ſhall ſerve.

The eſtabliſhment of the clergy, and the wealth ariſing from endowments produced a viſible revolution in the manners of eccleſiaſticks, whoſe examples corrupted and depraved the morals of the people. The monks left off working, and the ſecular clergy preaching, and both, like men who have acquired a fortune by trade, commenced gentlemen, and ſet off to enjoy themſelves. New gentry are uſually awkward at firſt, and therefore make at once a glorious ſhow of extravagant finery and total want of taſte.

The clergy uſed to appear dreſſed in fine ſhirts plaited and ruffled both at the hands and the necks. They had rings on their hands, and their faces were clean ſhaven except the upper lip, on which they wore their whiſkers like the laity (5). Their hair was long and dreſſed. Some wore a ſort of hunting or jockey-caps, called monteras. Others had hats cocked in the form of wings. Their breeches were puckered or ſlaſhed. Their ſhoes were of red leather. Their veſts and cloaks were ſattin, or ſilk, plain or damaſk, of green, purple, blue, violet, and various colours, interwoven with gold or ſilver thread. Their girdles were richly embroidered; and when they were ſaying maſs, they put on ſurplices adorned with rich needle-work, and which trailed along the ground. Many of theſe fine things were bought with the publick money, and were kept in monaſteries and churches, and let out to the laity (6). Miſtreſſes many of the clergy kept, many were gameſters,

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ſervus omnium ſervorum Dei Adephonſus Rex Froylani regis filius.... Veniens ad Lucenſem urbem cum omni exercitu, et ibi me in Eccleſia S. Mariæ Deo orationibus commendans, altera die progreſſus ſum ad pugnam....et omnium Sarracenorum cervices ad terram proſtravi, ac delevi Iſmaelitarum inducias, interfecto ipſo principe. Peracta itaque pugna cum victoria Luco revertens, *Deo, ejuſque genetrici*, gratias referre ſtudui, ac votum quod promiſeram reddere non diſtuli.

(5) Concil. Toletanum. *an. M.D.LXXXII. Decret. xxxiv. De habitu clericorum.* Graviter fert hæc ſancta Synodus clericorum luxum.... Prohibet ne utantur ſubucularum extremis oris ad collum manuſque criſpatis, aut femoralibus turgidis vel inciſis.... Neque togas interiores, quas ſotanas vocant, ex damaſo raſo aut villoſo ſerico conficiant.... Neve ullum genus veſtium auro vel argento intexto.... Neque pileolos venatorios, quos *monteras* vocant, aut galeros brevibus alis in altumque aſſurgentes.... Annulis abſtineant.... ne barbam tondeant, ſuperiori labro laicorum more intonſo.... veſtes ſint non caudatæ.... In eccleſia lineis, hoc eſt, ſuperpelliceis induantur, non acu pictis et pretioſis, &c.

(6) Constitut. Eccles. Valentinæ. *an. M.D.XXXVI.* Erardo de la Marcha card. Arch. ejus vicarius generalis, et reverendum capitulum ſtatuerunt, et ordinarunt: Quod

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and moſt kept a bountiful table, and fared ſumptuouſly every day. They drank wine in their own parlours, and ate grapes at the Lord's table. Like other ſpendthrifts, they became poor, and happy was that church, which could procure a relick to attract the crowd. Here was a phial with five of the tears which Jeſus ſhed over Jeruſalem. There was a hair of the virgin Mary. Yonder was a bit of the ſkin of St. Barnabas. In one place were two joints of a finger of St. Luke. In another was a likeneſs of Jeſus on a handkerchief with which he wiped his face. On feſtival days, the relicks were ſet forth, the images of the ſaints were dreſſed out, the country came in, the oratours ſpouted, the mob ſtared, the gentry paraded, and the wiſe and the weak contributed to pay for the ſhow (7). In ſome churches and monaſteries, while prayers were ſaying in the choir, a tragedy or comedy, interlarded with ſinging and dancing, was performing in one antichapel, while in other flagellants were quarrelling and drinking or making love, with whips in their hands chaſtiſing themſelves for their ſins (8). When theſe cuſtoms had anſwered their ends, and taught the crowd the way to church, the prelates, being aſſiſted by the ſpirit of God in council, framed canons, which brought the prieſts into order; they ſtripped them of their finery; ordered them to ſhave their upper lips and their crowns; to wear black ſhoes and grave habits of a decent faſhion; reſtrained the colours of the church to five, white, red, green, violet and black; forbad exceſſive eating, drinking, and gaming; obliged them to do duty by turns, which ſome of them had

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de cætero Subſacriſta ſedis non poſſit commodare cuiquam extra eccleſiam pannos auro contextos, neque cappas, neque pallia, neque veſtimenta ſacra, neque . . . ornamenta aurea ſive ſerica etiam in partes ſecata . . . exceptis pannis de *brocat*, qui eccleſiæ donati ſunt a Chriſti fidelibus, &c.

(7) Constit. *Eccles. Valent. an. M.CCCC.XX.* Margareta regina Aragonum . . . miſit in reliquiis duos articulos digitorum beati Lucæ. Item os quoddam corporis beati Matthiæ apoſtoli. Item particulam pellis beati Bartholomæi apoſtoli, &c.

(8) Concil. Tolet. *M.D.LXXXII. Decret. xxxvii.* Comœdiæ, tragœdiæ, etiam de argumentis ſacris, et quicumque hiſtrionum ludi, choreæ quoque, et ſaltationes, quas noſtri *danzas* vocant, dum divina celebrantur officia, intra templum agi non permittantur, cum experimento compertum ſit, populum, quem ad pietatem maxime ſacris temporibus et locis excitari convenit, earum rerum ſpectaculo, et auditione, atque promiſcuæ multitudinis concurſu plerumque depravari.

Select collection of old plays. vol. i. 2d edit. London, 1780. *Mr.* Dodsley's *preface, Spaniſh theatre, page xxx.*

Concilium Valentinum. *an M.D.LXV. Seſſio v. cap. xviii. De flagellantibus ſe.* Cum in iis potiſſimum diebus, quibus præcipua noſtræ fidei myſteria in eccleſia celebrantur, oporteat divinum cultum purum in primis ac incorruptum eſſe; et ab iis, qui feria quinta in cæna Domini et antemeridiano tempore feria ſexta in Paraſceve ſe publice flagellare ſolent, pleraque ſcandala oriantur; cum eo tempore, quo jejunandum eſt, epulationibus et compotationibus plerique eorum ſe dedant; quandoque etiam pro divinis laudibus blaſphemiæ, et divini nominis execrationes audiantur, divinumque officium et ſacræ conciones ab eis perturbentur, et quod gravius eſt, ſub hac ſpecie boni in eorum nonnullis mens mala lateat, qui hoc devotionis et ſanctitatis prætextu ad quædam flagitia abutuntur: iccirco hæc omnia perpendens Synodus, &c.

wholly neglected; prohibited comedies, tragedies, and ſandangos in churches; forbad them to take uſury, to frequent taverns, to ſing and dance at feaſts, and, among a thouſand other regulations, ordered that they ſhould have no women in their houſes, unleſs it were a ſiſter, an aunt, a niece, or one old maid; and that no prieſt ſhould profeſs himſelf a conjurer (9). O quantum eſt in rebus inane!

The ſame character of the wild and prepoſterous, proceeding from the ſame cauſe, an arbitrary and wanton exerciſe of power under the ſhrewd pretence of religion, is evident in the arts and ſciences of this glorious country: a country abounding with artiſts, all crippled by the influence of a vile ſyſtem of ignorance and ſuperſtition, compounded of the moſt groſs and vulgar errours of the dregs of the people in the darkeſt periods. Of all the deſcendents of Adam an enthuſiaſt is the moſt ridiculous, and of all enthuſiaſts a ſacred fanatick in holy orders is the moſt perverſe. Such geniuſſes fancy themſelves inſpired to dupe whole nations of wiſe and brave men, under pretence that all mankind, except themſelves, are infants committed to them to be nurſed, or, as they love to expreſs it, as SHEEP to be fed or ſtarved, fleeced or ſlaughtered, as the ſhepherds in their great wiſdom ſhall ſee fit. Theſe gentry got uppermoſt in Spain, and, in ſpite of all the glare which a profuſion of wealth throws over the arts, artiſts groan for freedom from the barbarous hands of ſuch maſters. Two examples may ſuffice.

Spain hath produced at leaſt two hundred capital painters, and pictures are innumerable: but the religion of the country narrows the field of fancy, and keeps wholly out of ſight moſt of the fineſt ſubjects of hiſtory-painting, while it brings forward a ſet of unintereſting beggars called ſaints, whoſe idle pranks, real or feigned, repreſented in beautiful colouring, occupy places due to actions of magnanimity and virtue worthy of imitation by all poſterity. A traveller ſhould not fall languid at the ſight of an hiſtory painting; he ſhould catch fire, and return a wiſer and a better man. An artiſt let alone would produce ſuch effects, but when the fatal hand of ſuperſtition guides his pencil, it aims at nothing more, for it knows nothing nobler, than to make a devotee ſnivel. Even Italy with all its fine ancient models is vitiated with this bad taſte, and Spain is much worſe (1). To ſay nothing of pictures of St. Auguſtine pulling a beam, which a bungling carpenter had cut too ſhort, by miracle to its proper length, or of the flaying alive of S. Bartholomew, or of the virgin Mary ſqueezing milk out of her breaſts for the relief of the ſouls in purgatory, or of St. Nicholas in bed cauſing roaſted partridges to fly away alive, becauſe it was a faſt-day, or of the three perſons in the trinity, or of Chriſt ſtanding on the baſin of a fountain and ſpouting blood from his five wounds; or of many more of the ſame kind; there is one in the Eſcurial which deſerves notice. One of the fineſt pictures in Spain, perhaps in the world, is that called Madonna, or our lady of the fiſh, in the old church of the Eſcurial, painted by Raphael (2). Never did the eye behold a finer piece, if a judgment may be formed by the plates. There is, however, in this as in others of Raphael's paintings an anachroniſm. How could a man of his true taſte in a picture of the transfiguration place two franciſcan monks on the top of mount Tabor, not far from Chriſt, Moſes, and Elias? "My aſtoniſhment ceaſed," ſays a connoiſſeur, "when I was informed that he painted that picture by order of a community of capuchin friars (3)." The preſent picture was painted by order of a community of nuns, The ladies gave him the following perſonages: Chriſt, the virgin Mary, St. Jerom, Raphael the archangel, and his young pupil Tobias. "None but Raphael could have formed ſo extraordinary and beautiful a picture from a ſubject ſo ſteril and unconnected:" but Raphael could not perform impoſſibilities, and the anachroniſm is a take-off, that can never be removed. Had the ſtate provided huſbands for the devout ladies, and ſettled the manſion and the farms on the painter, all free from the ſuperintendence of a prieſt, he would have enjoyed the luxury of being Raphael alone, and his works would have been as perfect as his taſte. Ah! who can help deploring the fate of thoſe artiſts, whoſe workſhops face a court of inquiſition!

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(9) SYNOD. VALENT. *an. M.D.XC. De coloribus.* Cum Eccleſia Romana quinque dumtaxat coloribus utatur in paramentis altaris, celebrantis et miniſtrorum, in officio miſſæ, juxta differentiam feſtorum quæ celebrantur, videlicet albo, rubro, viridi, violaceo et nigro, &c.

Conſtit. Valent. M.CCCC.XCVII. Præpoſitus ſeu capellanus major poſſit et valeat unam tantum ancillam antiquam, ſeu pediſequam pro ſuo honeſto ſervitio habere.

AGUIRRE. *tom. iii. p. 7. tit. xiii. De clericorum regulis.* Non licere clericos magos, vel incantatores eſſe, aut philacteria facere.

(1) TURNBULL's *Collection of paintings and ſculptures*.... GROSLEY's *Obſervations on Italy*. ... DR. MOORE's *Travels*.... BARETTI ... TWISS ... WALPOLE's *Anecdotes of painting*.

The army of Philip II. defeated the French, and won the battle of St. Quintin on the tenth of Auguſt, in the year fifteen hundred and fifty-ſeven. The tenth of Auguſt is the feſtival of St. Lawrence, who, they ſay, was broiled alive on a gridiron at Rome in defence of the catholick faith. In memory of the battle, Philip vowed to conſecrate a palace, a church, and a monaſtery to the honour of St. Lawrence, the patron of the day. For this purpoſe he employed immenſe ſums, and erected the Eſcurial, the largeſt palace in Europe. This immenſe quarry conſiſts of ſeveral courts and quadrangles, all diſpoſed in the ſhape of a gridiron, the bars form ſeveral courts, and the royal family occupy the handle. "Gridirons," ſays one who examined it, "are met with in every part of this building; there are ſculptured gridirons, painted gridirons, iron gridirons, marble gridirons, wooden gridirons, and ſtucco gridirons; there are gridirons over the doors, gridirons in the yards, gridirons in the windows, gridirons in the galleries. Never was inſtrument of martyrdom ſo multiplied, ſo honoured, ſo celebrated: and thus much for gridirons. I never ſee a broiled beef-ſtake without thinking of the Eſcurial(4)." The monaſtery ſupports two hundred monks of the order of St. Jerom. The church contains forty altars in forty chapels. The great altar is decorated with fifteen bronze ſtatues, to which is an aſcent by ſeventeen jaſper ſteps. There are eight organs, one of which is of ſilver, which are all performed on together, on ſolemn feſtivals. There are eleven thouſand relicks, among which, the ſpaniſh account ſays, " there are one hundred and three heads, above twelve hundred arms and legs, and the ſhoulder blade of St. Lawrence in a ſilver caſe. There is a thigh of the ſame glorious martyr; it is entire, but the hair is ſinged, the holes which were made in it by the prongs which turned him on the gridiron are very viſible. There is one of his feet, the toes are entire, though contracted: between two of them is a ſmall cinder, which in the eye of piety ſhines like a carbuncle. There is a ſilver ſtatue of St. Lawrence, which weighs eighteen arrobas (of twenty-five pounds each) ornamented with gold, to the weight of eighteen pounds: he holds in his hand one of the very bars of the gridiron on which he was broiled." This is genuine catholick influence over the arts. The ſame obſervations might be made on manufactures, poetry, muſick, and all other arts and ſciences, all debaſed and perverted by ſuperſtition (5). Superſtition hath committed a rape upon taſte, and could a jury of ancient greek or roman artiſts be raiſed from the dead to judge the criminal, they would paſs a ſentence of baniſhment for the crime. St. Lawrence and his gridiron would go into eternal oblivion, and ſome reſtorer of the arts would ſucceed to his place. If men of genius ever look up to ſuch drivellers as ſaints, their hearts will be depraved as well as their fancies, for they will place religion in doing what they did, and not in the practice of virtue.

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(2) TWISS, *page* 111.
(3) JOHN HENRY, *Eſq; in* TWISS.

Comical aſſociations in wild confuſion, without any of thoſe aſſortments, which reaſon and religion, propriety and taſte require, took place in the ſacred polity of Spain. The biſhoprick of Toledo is the richeſt church preferment in the catholick world, except the popedom. The chancellorſhip of the kingdom of Caſtile is annexed to the ſee, and the two yield to the incumbent an hundred thouſand pounds ſterling a year, beſide an immenſe patronage. How dangerous to freedom is ſuch an union! How certain are the conſequences, when this great officer is under oath to the pope, a foreign prince. What a place for a monk to fill! Titles of honour and additional offices of power and wealth conferred by a foreigner are yet more eccentrical, impolitick, and injurious to freedom. For example, the edict for a provincial council at Toledo in the year fifteen hundred and eighty-two begins thus: " Gaſpar de Quiroga, cardinal preſbyter of the holy church of Rome, of the title of Saint Balbina, archbiſhop of Toledo, primate of all Spain, high chancellor of the kingdom of Caſtile, and in all the kingdoms and dominions of his catholick majeſty inquiſitor-general of heretical pravity and apoſtacy: to all and ſingular the moſt reverend biſhops;" and ſo on (6). The printed liſts of the ſpaniſh army ſay it conſiſts of above an hundred and thirty thouſand men: but it is a matter of doubt whether the regular troops exceed the number of fifty thouſand (7). The army is a mere handful compared with the troops in actual pay under ſuch an eccleſiaſtick as cardinal Quiroga. There are more than an hundred thouſand monks and nuns, and if to them be added the chapters of an hundred and eight cathedrals, the members of three hundred and twelve colleges, the governours and officers of two thouſand and eight hoſpitals, the pariſh prieſts of more than twenty-one thouſand cities, towns, and villages, the officers of all the courts of inquiſition, and of the chancery of Caſtille, along with the dependents of all theſe, there will appear nothing extravagant in ſuppoſing that the influence of this great man extends immediately over half, and mediately over the whole kingdom (8). Great as he is, too great for the people, the nobles or the crown, he is nothing but a tool to the pope, and in caſes where the intereſt of the king claſhes with that of the pontiff, he is obliged to turn the ſcale againſt his country and his king, and ſacrifice both to the ſacred tyranny of Rome. When the council abovementioned firſt met, the Marquis de Velada, as deputy from the crown, was preſent, and his name was mentioned in the acclamations at the cloſe. This was intended to preſerve a ſhadow of the primitive diſcipline, when the laity aſſiſted in making eccleſiaſtical law. The gradation is curious. A new-teſtament church conſiſted wholly of brother citizens. When their teachers became a clergy, the church-meetings were made up of them and the laity, the laity many, and the clergy few, poor and dependent. When the laity had endowed and elevated the clergy, the latter multiplied themſelves till they out voted the laity. In proceſs of time, the laity ſent deputies, preſbyters and deacons. The clergy artfully incorporated theſe into their own body, and the houſe became all clergy. When kings ſaw the danger of allowing this corporation legiſlative power, they inſiſted on a right of preſiding in councils, and often exerciſed it in perſon, or by deputies, as guardians of the rights of the people. This not being perfect independence, the houſe invented a thouſand artifices to get rid of this troubleſome member, whoſe buſineſs it was to watch their motions, and curtail their power. Precedents were all againſt them, however, they got over the difficulty by roundly affirming, that indeed princes had been preſent in ſome councils, but it was only to ſubſcribe creeds, and

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(4) Twiss, *page* 99.

(5) *Appendix. N. v.* Don Juan de Sedano. *El. Parnaſo Eſpanol. Madrid.* 1768.

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(6) Aguirre. *tom iv. p.* 202. *Edictum Generale convocatorium.*

(7) Swinburne's *travels, p.* 24. . . . Twiss's *travels, p.* 225.

(8) Twiss, *p.* 336. . . . Printed liſt of the year 1764.

Cities, towns, and villages	21221.	
Cathedrals	108.	
Monaſteries	2052.	containing 67777 monks.
Nunneries	1028.	containing 34651 nuns.
Colleges	312.	Total 102428 uſeleſs beings.
Hoſpitals	2008.	

guard the fathers from the inſults of hereticks or infidels (9). In the preſent caſe, pope Gregory XIII. had cautioned cardinal Quiroga beforehand to take care of this point, and as his eminence had not done ſo, when the acts of the council were ſent for the approbation of the pope, he ordered cardinal Boncompagni to write to him to expunge the name of the marquis, and by no means to ſuffer the acts of the council to appear with the dangerous precedent of the name of a deputy from the crown (1). This was putting Quiroga into a diſagreable ſituation: it was obliging him to embroil himſelf either with the court of Spain, or with that of Rome. He wrote a letter to the pope filled with precedents to apologize for what he had done, and proved, that from the days of Reccared to the preſent time kings or their deputies had always ſat in councils (2). It would be tedious to go through the diſpute. Suffice it to ſay: the college of cardinals and the pope prevailed over all Quiroga's reaſons and precedents, and he was ordered to expunge the name of his majeſty and his repreſentative out of the original record, that no traces of ſuch a precedent ſhould remain in the archives. In vain the cardinal remonſtrated, that he could not alter any thing privately as his holineſs had adviſed him, for the acts were publick to all the council, and had been read by many, and the king had received and peruſed a copy; that he could not diſtribute copies without printing, and it was againſt the law to print without a licence from the crown, and that could not be obtained unleſs the copy agreed with the original; that he durſt not ſet the king publickly at defiance, and he did not think it prudent to attempt it, for that although his majeſty was a zealous catholick, yet he was very jealous of his prerogative; that this was the way to provoke kings to annihilate councils; and that after all the precedent would operate nothing in future (3). The pope ſent the acts to the cardinals at the council of Trent, and they, all his creatures, affected to feel the difficulties of their brother Quiroga, and cardinals Caraſa and Boncompagni amuſed him with expedients, but did not depart a hair's breadth from the line drawn by the pope (4). In the end, his holineſs iſſued a diploma directed to cardinal Quiroga, in which he ordered him to eraſe from the original the name of the king's deputy, and prohibited the printing of the acts and decrees of the ſynod with the name (5). If it be aſked, where was the mighty Philip II. during the three years of this tranſaction: Philip the moſt jealous and artful of mankind; Philip who with oceans of South American wealth and vaſt armies of men at command, from his cloſet wrote orders that ſet all Europe in a flame; where was he? The proper anſwer is; he was ravaging Portugal, ſupporting a civil war in France, trying to ſecure to himſelf what he held unjuſtly, the kingdom of Navarre, endeavouring to bring the Netherlands under his yoke, meditating an invincible armada to ruin England, and found every ſcheme impracticable without the aid of his faithful allies the clergy and the pope (6). He therefore winked at this invaſion of his prerogative. But where, it may be inquired further, where were the people? Some were in pay fighting foreign battles. Others were tenants and dependents of the clergy at home. The provincials were impoveriſhed by taxes, and diſarmed, and the haughty Catalonian was not allowed even a knife. "In each publick houſe there was one chained to the table for the uſe of all comers (7)." The truth is; all ranks of men had been overreached and cheated under godly pretences by a rich corporation that never repents, and never dies, and is equally a ſtranger to juſtice and mercy. So true is that ſaying of an apoſtle; "They ſpeak great ſwelling words of vanity, they promiſe men liberty, while they themſelves are the ſervants of corruption."

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(9) D. Card. Boncompagni *Epiſt. ad* D. Card. Quirogam. *Sep.* 10, 1584. Interfuerunt nonnullis conciliis provincialibus antiqui reges, ſed non alia de cauſa, quam ut reciperent fidem, et patres ab immanitate infidelium ſeu hereticorum tuerentur.

(1) Gregorii XIII. *Epiſt. ad* Card. Quirogam. *Oct.* 30. 1581. Volumus te etiam hortari, ne ulla omnino in re patiaris hanc ipſam libertatem lædi, aut minui, &c.

D. Card. Boncompagni *Epiſt. ad* D. Card. Quirogam. *Sept.* 10, 1584. Nunc autem ne res tranſeat in exemplum aliis provinciis et regnis, jubet Sanctiſſimus D. N. in publicatione facienda poſtremo hujus concilii Toletani expungi, etiam in ipſomet originali, mentionem legati regii, qui præſentiam ſuam in eo legitur exhibuiſſe pag. 6. in 1 act. ibi: *et ipſius nomine preſente admodum illuſtri Gomezio de Avila, Marchione Velada*, &c. atque eadem ratione omitti illa verba pag. 55. in gratiarum actionibus: *perilluſtri Marchioni legato regio.* Hæc habui, quæ Sanctitatis ſuæ juſſu et nomine D. V. illuſtriſſimæ ſignificarem, &c.

(2) D. Card. Quirogæ *Epiſt. ad* D. Card. Xyst. *Nov.* 15. 1584.

(3) Dicam nunc cur legati nomen ex actis concilii ſine magnis incommodis (meo quidem judicio) deleri non poſſit. Nam aut ſecreto id ſuaviterque faciendum eſt, ut Amplitudinis V. illuſtriſſimæ literæ ſignificant, aut publice. Secreto qui fieri poterit? &c.

By what means the good parent of mankind in a future revolution of human affairs will effect the emancipation of this people time only can diſcover. At preſent the inquiſition may be ſaid to be in poſſeſſion ſolely and excluſively of the preſs, and all the uſual avenues of information are guarded with a moſt ſuſpicious eye. There is no article to which the ſpaniſh clergy have ever paid more attention than that of books. Thoſe of hereticks have been deſtroyed. Others have been forged. The records of councils have been garbled, and mutilated; hiſtories have been corrupted; and ſuch books as are permitted to be read by the people are all prepared to keep them in ignorance, and to lengthen out the preſent tragi-comical farce. The ſame policy prevails in all their foreign ſettlements, and ſo expert are the examiners of books in the two offices of the inquiſition at Mexico, and at Lima in Peru, that their brethren the inquiſitors in old Spain have been improved in the art by their maxims (7). Whoever takes the trouble to examine the modern councils of South America, and the acts of the ſeveral inquiſitions abroad and at home, the reviſals by the court of Rome, and the licenſes, dedications and concluſions of books, and ſermons, and compares them with ancient monuments of a ſimilar kind, before the invention of printing, will be fully convinced that ſervility was always the ſpirit of popery; that ſervility was inculcated for the ſake of obtaining dominion, and that the name of religion was nothing but a cover thrown over the one invariable deſign of obtaining an immenſe revenue for eccleſiaſticks to ſhare, under the protection of an imperial pontiff, to whoſe office of dignity and wealth every labourer in the vineyard hoped to ſucceed (8). Hence the miſerable

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(4) *Correctiones concil. Tolet. iterum examinati a D. D. Cardinalibus Concilii Tridentini interpretibus, prout eas miſit D. Cardinalis S. Xyſti. Jun.* 10. 1585. . . . pag. 4. *eſt catholicæ majeſtati et nobis*; dicendum: *viſum eſt*. . . . pag. 6. *invitante* Philippo rege; dicendum: *excitante et favente.*

(5) *Diploma* GREGORII XIII. *Pont. Maximi, ad* D. CARDINALEM QUIROGAM, *ut deleatur nomen legati regii ex concilio provinciali.* Quod igitur tum tibi ſignificari curavimus, hoc nunc his literis MANDAMUS, ut ex ARCHETYPO IPSO facias omnibus in locis omnem legati regii mentionem deleri, neque aliter iſtius ſynodi acta aut decreta typis imprimi, aut exire patiaris. Dat. Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum ſub annulo piſcatoris die 26 Januarii MDLXXXV. Pontificatus noſtri anno decimo tertio.

(6) DR. WATSON'S *Hiſt. of the reign of* PHILIP II. *vol. ii. books xviii. xix. xx. ann.* 1583, 1584, 1585.

(7) SWINBURNE, *pag.* 62.

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(7) Ludov. a Paramo *De orig. inquiſit. lib. ii. tit. ii. cap. xxi. De inquiſitionibus Indiarum.* Nec me præterit quanto ſtudio ac ſolicitudine in hac inquiſitione [*Mexicana*] propoſitionum qualificatio, librorumque examen exerceatur: uti enim ex animadverſionibus et cenſuris a Mexicana inquiſitione ad ſupremum generalis inquiſitionis tribunal denuo deſtinatis excepimus, adeo ſolicite huic operi incumbunt, ut præter hujus ſupremi tribunalis approbationem, quæ ſane valde perpendenda eſt, extent recentes notæ, quibus libri quidam in Hiſpania valde recepti poſſint ac debeant omnino expurgari.... Librorum primus qualificator hujus inquiſitionis fuit ex prædicatorum familia frater Dominicus de Salazar, qui archiepiſcopus Philippinarum mortuus eſt.

(8) Concilium Limanum. *An. MDLXXXII*.... Beati Toribii Mogrovexi. *Archiep. Limani. Catechiſmus minor et major in ſynodo Limenſi approbatus.* Hæc Synodus maturo conſenſu deſignavit aliquas perſonas doctas, religioſas et expertas, qui componant catechiſmum generalem pro omnibus his provinciis, *ipſos onerando*, quod quoad ſubſtantiam et ordinem, quantum poſſent ſequerentur catechiſmum ſanctæ memoriæ Pii. v.... Synod. Limens. *MDLXXXIV*. Concil. Mexicanum. *MDLXXXV*. &c. *apud* Aguirræ *concilia tom. iv. ...et Collectionem Labbeanam. tom. ult.*

Joannis de Solorzano Pereira *Diſputationes de Indiarum jure, ſive de juſta Indiarum occidentalium inquiſitione et retentione. Matriti.* 1629.

Don Augustin de Zarate *Hiſt. de la conqueſte du Perou. Paris* 1742.

Garcilasso de la Vega *Hiſt. des Yncas....avec l'hiſt. de la conqueſte de la Floride. trad. par* J. Baudouin *et* Richelet. *Amſt.* 1737.

Cypriani Herreræ B. Toribii *vita Romæ MDCLXX.*

Privilegia Indis per Romanos pontifices conceſſa.... R. P. Josephi Acosta *Epiſt. ad illuſtriſs.* D. Ferdinandum a Vega, *regii Senatus Indici præſidem.... Illuſt. Card.* Carafa *Epiſt. ad D. Archiepiſcopum civitatis regum*.... Joannis De la Serna *Archiep. Mexican. Univerſo ſtatui eccleſiaſtico provinciæ Mexicanæ præloq.* Concil. Mex. *MDLXXXV.*

In titulis. Superiorum permiſſu.... *et ad fines.* Omnia ſub correctione S. Romanæ, catholicæ, et apoſtolicæ eccleſiæ.

Defenſorium curatorum contra eos qui privilegiatos ſe dicunt. [*Impr. An. MCCCCLXXXIII.* ſed abſque ulla indicatione.] N. Nomine patris et filii et ſpiritus ſancti. Amen. Incipit propoſitio ricardi archiepiſcopi armachani primatis ybernie facta in conſiſtorio coram domino papa et dominis cardinalibus ac prelatis ad utilitatem cleri et populi chriſtiani ſuper materia mendicitatis ac privilegiorum contra fratres de ordinibus mendicantium quibuſcunq; apud auinionem octaua die menſis nouembris anno domini milleſimo tricenteſimo quinquageſimo ſeptimo. Cuius quidem propoſitionis

miſerable ſtate of literature in Spain. There is in the papal church a ſpecies of literature unconſtitutional, and were it encouraged it would diſſolve the whole frame. This is a free critical inveſtigation of the holy ſcriptures, a trying of popular notions by the ſtandards of reaſon and revelation: this is never allowed, for this is unconſtitutional. All other branches of literature, to a certain point, are, if not congenial to the conſtitution of the church, yet not directly deſtructive of it. This accounts for an apparent contradiction in the ſtate of ſpaniſh theological ſcholars. Cardinal Ximenes was the firſt European, who publiſhed a polyglot bible. It was printed in ſix folio volumes at Complutum, now called Alcala in new Caſtile. It contains the ſcriptures in four languages, hebrew, chaldee, greek and latin. It was firſt publiſhed in fifteen hundred and fourteen, and the three following years (9). The greek of the new teſtament is printed, as it is written in ancient manuſcripts, without accents. The whole is undoubtedly a noble work, and does honour to the nation, and to his eminence, who ſpared neither pains nor coſt to execute it: but this grand work is diſgraced with epiſtles, and prologues and prefaces of bleſſed St. Jerom, who was a wretched expoſitor of ſcripture, and a total ſtranger to ſound canons of criticiſm. Benedict Arias Montanus is another ſpaniard, to whom linguiſts have great obligations. Several places contend for the honour of his birth, as the greek cities did for that of Homer. He was the ſon of a poor gentleman, and was educated by the charity of ſome citizens of Seville. He acquired the knowledge of ſeveral languages, and underſtood greek, latin, ſyriack, chaldee, arabick, hebrew, french, dutch, german, engliſh and italian. Having made himſelf known by ſeveral learned works, he was employed by Philip ii. to print the ſecond polyglot, which he executed in eight folio volumes, and publiſhed at Antwerp in fifteen hundred ſixty nine, and the three following years (1). This capital work contains the polyglot of Cardinal Ximenes, and a chaldee paraphraſe on part of the old teſtament, which the cardinal had laid up in the library of the univerſity at Complutum, not judging it proper to print it for particular reaſons. Montanus incurred the diſpleaſure of the court for publiſhing it. The work contains alſo a ſyriack verſion of the new teſtament with a latin interpretation, and the latin verſion of Pagnin, corrected by Montanus: to all which are added grammars, vocabularies, and various diſſertations. Great numbers of men of eminent literature of various kinds hath Spain produced, mathematicians,

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propoſitionis thema fuit hoc. Nolite iudicare ſecundum faciem: ſed ſecundum iuſtum iudicium iudicate. Johanis ſeptimo capitulo. Pater ſanctiſſime. In principio mei ſermonis proteſtor, quod, non intendo aliquid aſſerere aut temere affirmare quod fidei obuiet chriſtiane aut doctrine catholice quod etiam non eſt intentionis mee deſtructionem ſeu quaſſationem ordinum mendicantium approbatorum ab eccleſia aut a ſummis pontificibus confirmatorum expetere: aut etiam ſuadere.

(9) *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta*, &c. *ſtudio, opera, et impenſis Cardinalis* FRANCISCI XIMENES *de Ciſneros. Compluti de Brocario.* 1514. 1515. 1517.

(1) *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta*, PHILIPPI *ii. Hiſpaniarum regis juſſu edita ac impreſſa; cura* BENEDICTI ARIÆ MONTANI. *Antuerpiæ*, 1569. 1572.

antiquarians, hiſtorians, poets: but no critical divines, for the religion of the country affects critical literature as it does every thing elſe, it either wholly blaſts it, or ſelects the part that doth not hurt the eſtabliſhment, and throws the reſt away (2).

In the ſeventeenth century Dr. Nicholas Antonio, a native of Seville, and beneficed in that church, laid the plan of that capital work, which contains an account of all the ſpaniſh authors, who flouriſhed from the reign of the emperour Auguſtus to the year one thouſand ſix hundred and ſeventy, or thereabouts. In the proſecution of this work he ſpent his ſalary and his life. He procured a library of his own of thirty thouſand volumes; and availed himſelf of others both at home and abroad. His whole compilation conſiſts of four folio volumes; the two firſt of which he publiſhed at Rome; where alſo cardinal D'Aguirre publiſhed the other two after his deceaſe (3). Thoſe publiſhed firſt contain the authors of the laſt one hundred and ſeventy years, and thoſe publiſhed by the cardinal contain thoſe of the firſt fifteen hundred. Were theſe writers divided into two claſſes; the one pagans, jews, moors and hereticks; and the other catholicks; and contraſted either as members of ſociety or as authors, the contraſt would be much to the diſadvantage of the latter. The works of Marcus Antoninus, Seneca, Quintilian, Martial and Lucan, (to ſay nothing of jews, arabs or hereticks) are as far ſuperiour to books about relicks, and miracles, and the immaculate conception of the lady mother of God, as the morals of the emperour Trajan were to thoſe of pope Alexander vi. It is lamentable to ſee the genius of one of the firſt kingdoms in Europe ſo miſerably perverted and degraded by ſuperſtition.

Hereſy is a very portable commodity; a wiſe chriſtian zeal is a noble diſpoſition; the joy of communicating knowledge is ſecond only to the pleaſure of acquiring it: and in defiance of all the precautions of Spain, hereſy hath made its way into that country, and, what is more delightful, it hath croſſed the great South ſea, and appeared at Mexico and Peru (4). The inquiſitors are more jealous of the engliſh than of any other nation, and they have cauſe, for, bad as Britons are, they abhor ſlavery, and a genuine britiſh ſoul that hath imbibed the ſpirit of the goſpel glows with a paſſion to manumit all mankind (5). The firſt execution by the inquiſition at Mexico was in the year fifteen hundred ſeventy-four. There were eighty penitents, and one was an engliſh heretick.

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(2) AGUIRRE *Concil. Hiſpan. tom. iv. Præfat. Catalogus Oratorum, Præſulum, Doctorum, concionatorum nationis Hiſpanicæ.*

(3) NICOLAI ANTONIO *Bibliotheca Hiſpana nova ſeu Hiſpanorum qui ſive latina, aut populari, ſive alia quavis lingua ſcripto aliquid conſignaverunt. Romæ.* 1672.

Bibliotheca Hiſpana Vetus.... Ed. D. JOS. SAENZ CARD. DE AGUIRRE. *Romæ.* 1696. *pag. xxxvii. Monita quædam de opere et ipſius auctore.*

Præfat. x. At eo ipſo tempore, quo infidelium populus philoſophica omni florebat doctrina, ſterileſcere viſus eſt, fateor, Chriſtianæ Hiſpaniæ campus.

(4) CONCIL. MEXICAN. *an. M.D.LXXXV. lib. v. tit. iv. De hæreticis.... Synod. iv. celebrata in oppido Sancti Jacobi de Yauras-bamba. M.D.LXXXVI. cap. i.* Omnes in poſterum Indorum parochi ſolicitam curam gerant, ut ſemel ſingulis annis coram congregatis Indis legant libros baptizatorum, confirmatorum, et matrimonio junctorum, ne dicti Indi prætendendo ignorantiam, Baptiſmum, confirmationem, vel matrimonium, vivente priore conjuge, iterato ſumant.

A little before the reformation cardinal Ximenes, without deſigning to do ſo, had ſown the ſeeds of a revolution in religion in Spain: firſt by publiſhing his polyglot; and next by wreſting the people out of the hands of the barons. Before his time the king was little more than chief baron, and the nobles exerciſed an arbitrary power, almoſt independent of the crown, on their own eſtates: but this artful miniſter with a view to depreſs the nobles, and under pretence of reſiſting the Moors of Africa, who made frequent incurſions into Spain, ordered every city of Caſtile to enrol a certain number of its burgeſſes, and to exerciſe them on ſundays and holidays in the uſe of arms. To encourage private men to enliſt he offered them an exemption from all taxes, and he engaged to provide officers at the publick expence. The nobles ſaw his deſign was to raiſe a ſtanding army dependent on the crown, and of courſe to reduce their power to inſignificance. They did not heſitate to pronounce him a bloody tyrant, who was betraying the liberties of his country (6). They held councils, ſent deputies to demand an explanation, and actually reſiſted him: but all in vain. The people of Valladolid gave him the greateſt trouble: but in the end he ſurmounted every difficulty, and taught his ſucceſſors how to ſubdue all to the will of one. During this conteſt between the monarch and the ariſtocracy, the people made a momentary excurſion into the borders of religious freedom.

Moſheim ſays truly, that before the riſe of Luther and Calvin, there lay concealed in almoſt all the countries of Europe perſons who adhered tenaciouſly to the principles of the modern dutch Baptiſts (7). Nothing is clearer in regard to Spain. Eccleſiaſtical tyranny originated in endowments. When a monk had obtained leave to erect a cell on a lord's waſte, others like himſelf aſſociated with him. The company cultivated the ground ſet out by the lord, and freely taught his vaſſals what they knew of religion, which was a compound of enthuſiaſm and judaiſm, chriſtianity and vulgarity. When they had obtained the reputation of being learned, which was eaſily acquired among people who knew nothing, they were entruſted with the education of one or more of the lord's children, whom they knew how to manage ſo as in a courſe of years to get a part, or the whole of his property. Having gone out and tired himſelf with fighting, and all the crimes attendant on that courſe of life in his youthful days, having aſſaſſinated ſome and outlived others of his family, he would be carried into the monaſtery in his old age to die in quiet amidſt forms of ſanctity, and ſettle his eſtate on the houſe. The abbot then built a church, roſe into a biſhop and a feudal lord, and his dioceſe and his tyranny were of equal extent. Hence came the ſynodical canons of flagellation, which ordered, that the vaſſals ſhould be whipped not into reaſon but faith (8). When a neighbouring lord ſolicited the accuſtomed aid in war from the epiſcopal lord, it was often granted by the latter on condition the former acceded to the religion of the biſhop and the lordſhip, and in preſſing caſes there was no time to parley, the lord accepted the terms, in whole or in part. Hence came thoſe ſynodical remonſtrances, which were laid before temporal lords, beſeeching them not to allow Jews and Moors openly to practiſe their religious rites on their eſtates (9). The prelates had no coercive power beyond their own eſtates, hence they complain they were tired of making laws, which nobody obeyed, becauſe nobody compelled obedience, and therefore they deſiſted from holding ſynods. Even after kings acceded to the hierarchy, and allowed ſynodical law to operate on their own vaſſals, there were many, who did not hold of the crown, and who continued to allow religious liberty on their own eſtates. It was a maxim with the catholicks to avoid the mention of hereſy in their ſynods, leſt it ſhould create a deſire in any to inquire what it was (1).

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(5) Ludov. a Paramo. *ut ſup. lib. ii. tit. ii. cap. xx. De inquiſitione Inſularum Fortunatarum vulgo Canariæ.* Hæc inſula pulcherrimo portu celebris, a plurimis nationibus frequentatur, præſertim ab Anglis, Gallis Britannis, Luſitanis, ac Cantabris, qui in eam merces adſportant, indeque ſaccarum et vinum, quorum illa inſula ferax eſt, referunt; qua de cauſa portus ille non ſine hæreticæ peſtis periculo ob *Anglorum* præſertim aſſiduam ac frequentiorem navigationem eo fidei propugnaculo opportune defenditur.

Ibid. *cap. xxi. De inquiſitionibus Indiarum. anno* 1574. qui tertius erat poſt inquiſitionis Mexicanæ initium, actus primus fidei habitus eſt . . . octoginta pœnitentes circiter erant. . . . In quo duo hæretici, alter *Anglus*, Gallus alter, relaxati ſunt, &c.

(6) Alvar. Gomecii *de reb. Geſt. a* Francisco Ximenio. *lib. vi.* Dici non poteſt quantum hæc novi exercitus inſtitutio ſeditioſos homines male habuerit. . . . Hæ voces ſpargi ſunt cœptæ. Quorſum hæc inſolens exercitus forma? Quid hæc nova armorum oſtentatio? An tædebat Ximenium pacis? An homo ſanguinarius, et Martem ſpirans, tantam concordiam et tranquillitatem iniquis oculis conſpiciebat? . . . Antonius Rogius Granatenſis antiſtes, qui ſenatui regio præerat, aliquotque item amici ſenatores, Ximenium tyrannum appellabant, &c.

(7) *Eccles. Hiſt. cent. xvi. ſect. iii. part ii. chap. iii. 2. The moſt probable account of the origin of the Anabaptiſts.*

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(8) *Hiſtory of the flagellants. London*..... CONCIL. LIMAN. *i. cap. vii. Indorum crimina ad forum eccleſiaſticum ſpectantia, corporali potius, quam ſpirituali pœna eſſe punienda.*

(9) CONCILII TARRACONENSIS. *M.D.XCI. cap. iv. Dominis temporalibus injungitur, ut in locis ditionis ſuæ probibeant a Saracenis Machometi nomen publice invocari.* Viennenſi conſtitutioni licet dominus rex paruerit, ſicut princeps catholicus et fidelis: tamen quidam in noſtra provincia Tarraconenſi, quæ ſua ſunt quærentes, non quæ Jeſu Chriſti, prædictam prohibitionem minime ſervarunt: quinimo adhuc in eorum locis audita fuit ſacrilega invocatio, ſicut prius. .. Monemus et hortamur in Domino præfatum dominum regem, et quoſcumque alios dominos temporales noſtræ provinciæ, *ut* ob divinam reverentiam, et ut ex hoc æternæ beatudinis præmia conſequantur, *probibeant* Judæis et Sarracenis ſub eorum dominio ſimul cum chriſtianis degentibus, ne diebus dominicis, et feſtivis, quibus a ſervilibus operibus abſtinent chriſtiani, in plateis, vicis, aut aliis locis publicis ſervilia, ſeu mechanica opera coram chriſtianis publice operentur.

(1) CONCIL. COMPOSTELL. *an M.D.LXV. act ii. decret. xxxii.* Puris fidelium auribus adeo inviſum eſſe debet hæreticorum nomen, qui adverſus fidei veritatem perfidas linguas exacuerunt,

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They forbad preachers to quote even their good arguments leſt the people ſhould entertain a favourable opinion of the authors. This was prudent, but not practicable in Spain. In fourteen hundred and twenty-nine, the laity were ordered not to diſpute about the catholick faith, but to believe what the prieſts told them (2). In fifteen hundred and twelve, Don Didaco-Deza, archbiſhop of Seville, opened a ſynod with a ſermon, in which he referred to chriſtians not in communion with the catholick church, and whom he calls a church of malignants (3). In fifteen hundred ſixty-five, Don Chriſtopher Roxas de Sandoval, biſhop of Cordova, held a provincial council at Toledo, and apprized the fathers of the danger of the ſubverſion of the whole company in conſequence of the ſucceſs of that ſingular wild beaſt Luther, after whoſe example multitudes had altogether broken the yoke, and burſt the bonds of their God (4). The truth is, the news of the reformation in Germany, and the revolution in the Netherlands, animated the friends of freedom and virtue in Spain, who were alſo emboldened and multiplied by the acceſſion of many of high rank both in church and ſtate. They decried the popular religion, aſſembled in ſeparate ſocieties to worſhip God, in which mechanicks and women taught, and ſtruggled to ſet conſcience free for more than forty years. The inquiſitors of thoſe times ſay, and they ſay truly, if they had not come in to the aid of the church at this critical moment, in ſpite of all the power of the emperour Charles v. all the policy of his ſon Philip II. all the learning of the univerſities, all the influence of the hierarchy, and all the treaſures of Mexico and Peru, dyers and coblers would have preached the catholick religion clean out of Spain (5).

Ferdinand,

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ut ſi fieri poſſit, numquam eorum memores ſimus per labia noſtra. Ea igitur cura divini verbi prædicatoribus eſſe debet, ut fidei dogmata chriſtiano populo neceſſaria luculenter proponant, ſtudioſe confirment ſcripturarum teſtimoniis, patrum ſententiis et rationibus pro vulgi captu interim adductis. Hæreticorum vero ſectas vel argumenta, quæ pro illis fiunt, nulla ratione in populari frequentia referantur, cum hæc in audientium ſubverſionem, potius quam ædificationem vergere compertum ſit, nec illorum execranda nomina commemorentur.

(2) Concil. Tarracon. *cap. i. De fide catholica diſputare laicis interdicitur.*

(3) Concil. Hispal. *Præſide Archiepiſcopo* D. Didaco Deza. Horum conſortium propheta ſe gloriatur vitaſſe, dicens, non ſedi cum concilio vanitatis, et cum iniqua gerentibus non introibo: odivi eccleſiam malignantium, et cum impiis non ſedebo.

Prolog. Nos D. Didacus Deza, divina miſericordia archiepiſcopus ſanctæ eccleſiæ Hiſpalenſis, conſiderantes, quod longum tempus effluxit abſque eo quod fuerit celebratum concilium provinciale in hac noſtra Archi-diœceſi, propter quod, quamvis Archiepiſcopi bonæ memoriæ prædeceſſores noſtri, moti ſancto zelo et deſiderio antiquitus fecerint, et ordinaverint plures laudabiles conſtitutiones, quia tamen non fuerunt publicatæ nec *obſervari mandatæ*, plures illarum oblivioni traditæ, et aliæ fuerunt violatæ, &c.... Anton. August. *Epiſc. Ilerdenſis Epiſt. ad* Laurent. Surium.... Hieron. Surita. *Epiſt. ad* Anton. Augustinum. *apud Aguirre. tom. iv.*

(4) Concil. Tolet. *M.D.LXV.* D. Christophorus Rogius de Sandoval ... *reverendiſſimis Epiſcopis, et clero.* Extremis etiam hiſce noſtris temporibus ſingularis ille ferus Lutherus, &c.

(5) Ludov. a Paramo. *lib. ii. tit. iii. cap. v.* Nullus eſt qui dubitet quin magnum incendium

Ferdinand, Charles v. and Philip ii. were great acquiſitions to the catholick church. Ferdinand ſettled the inquiſition in Spain. Charles encouraged it during his life, and at his death both by his will, and by a codicil annexed to it, recommended it warmly to Philip (6). Many execrable monſters have diſgraced the human ſpecies by wanton acts of cruelty, but hiſtory cannot exhibit a more finiſhed character of this kind than the dark and barbarous Philip. Not ſhocked at the rivers of human blood, with which his inſatiable butchers had flooded the Low Countries and South America, he took pleaſure in ſitting coolly to behold the horrid ſpectacle of a whole cluſter of his fellow creatures of both ſexes committed alive to the flames, for no other crime than that of chooſing their own religion. There, in a publick ſquare at Valladolid, in all the pomp of images, and banners and croſſes, on a theatre he ſat, attended by his ſiſter Joanna, his ſon Don Carlos, the prelates and the officers of his court, and when one of the victims, a nobleman, Don Carlos di Seſſa, as he was led paſt him by the executioners, reproved him for his cruelty, the tiger exclaimed, "I myſelf would carry wood to burn my own ſon, if he were ſuch a wretch as you." His viceroys at Mexico acted the ſame infernal part (7). Poſterity will ſuſpect, that theſe hiſtories favour of romance, particularly when they are informed of the inconſiſtency of theſe people. When the princeſs Elizabeth of Wolfembuttel, who had been brought up a proteſtant, publickly renounced proteſtantiſm, and embraced the catholick faith, in order to become queen of Spain, ſhe made, on her knees in publick, in the ſame breath, in a form drawn up by the prelates, a moſt ſolemn oath to Almighty God that ſhe acted freely, and without any conſtraint, and that ſhe would uſe all the power of the crown to compel her ſubjects to act as ſhe did (8). Will it

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dium in Hiſpaniarum regnis ætate noſtra excitatum fuiſſet, niſi hujus ſacroſancti tribunalis vigilantiſſimi patres illud ſumma diligentia adhibita, penitus reſtinxiſſent. Quid Hiſpania futurum erat, ſi illico antidotum oppoſitum non fuiſſet?

(6) PHIL. A LIMBORCH. *Hiſt. inquiſitionis. lib. i. cap. xxx. De inquiſitione in Hiſpania contra hæreticos.*

LUD. A PARAMO. *pag.* 278. Carolus v. Imperator officium S. inquiſitionis tam in teſtamento, quam in codicillo filio ſuo Philippo ii. commendavit.

(7) IBID. *p.* 301... Hic fidei actus [*in civitate Mexicana*] ab hora ſexta de mane uſque ad quintam veſperi duravit... Magno erecto theatro, qui univerſam prope fori aream occupans eccleſiæ contiguum erat, ubi aſtiterunt prorex, ac regius ſenatus, capitulum, ac religioſorum conventus, proregis, ſenatus regii, aliorumque plurium concomitantium caterva ſtipati.... Epiſcopus Tlaxalenſis concionem habuit, ac tam celebris fuit hominum conventio, actuſque ſolemnitas, ut qui viderant Pincianum [*i. e. Valliſoletanum*] famigeratiſſimum fidei actum, habitum 21. Maii. an. 1559. dixerint hunc illi non majeſtate, ſed regiarum perſonarum, qui in illo intervenerunt, præſentia eſſe inferiorem.

WATSON's *hiſt. of the reign of Philip ii. vol. i. b. iv. an.* 1559.

(8) *Memoires ſur la pretendue declaration de l'univerſite de Helmſtadt, touchant le changement de religion de la reine d'Eſpagne. A Rotterdam.* 1710. *Formulaire d'adjuration ſigné a Bamberg par la princeſſe, maintenant Reine d'Eſpagne.* 15. Cette foy, diſ-je que je reconnois aujourdhui librement et ſans contrainte, etre le ſeul veritable, et je ferai mon poſſible, pour quelle ſoit gardée, enſeignée, et prechée par mes ſujets, ou par ceux dont le ſoin m'eſt confie. Je le promets ainſi et

it not be ſuppoſed, either that the catholick kings and queens of Spain had never heard of Jeſus Chriſt, or that catholiciſm was a farce acted on a theatre to diſplay a total ſubverſion of that golden rule, which Jeſus ſaid was the ſubſtance of the law and the prophets: " whatſoever ye would that men ſhould do to you, do ye even ſo to them."

The conditions of mankind have a wonderful influence over their underſtandings. How far the merit or demerit of their actions is connected with their conditions God only knows. There were in Spain, as in Germany, and every where elſe, different claſſes of good men in different ſtages of religious improvement. There was a claſs of prelates and noblemen, who like the Lutherans, did wiſh to reform the church: but not to alter the conſtitution of it. At the head of theſe was the lord primate, doctor Bartholomew Carranza, archbiſhop of Toledo (9). He publiſhed a catechiſm, in which the inquiſitors pretended to find hereſy. He was a man of an amiable character, a zealous but prudent churchman, in high favour with Philip, whom he had attended into England, as he had alſo the emperour Charles in his dying illneſs: but neither his dignity nor his merit could ſave him: perhaps they accelerated his ruin. He was committed to priſon, his revenues were ſequeſtered, and he continued in confinement ſix years and ſeven months. In the end the pope called the cauſe before himſelf, the archbiſhop was carried to Rome. Doctor Anthony Marigno Pazos attended on the part of the inquiſitors, and, though the archbiſhop was diſcharged, yet in conſequence of his long impriſonment he died about ſix months after (1). The ſame ſentiments, which the archbiſhop had adopted, had been embraced by ſeveral dignitaries of the church, and by many of the nobility, as well as by monks and nuns: the nuns quitted their habits and married, the monks applied themſelves to ſtudy and piety in the monaſtery of St. Iſidore (2). The inquiſition made havock with theſe good people, and burnt both natives and foreigners, clergy and laity, noblemen, citizens, and mechanicks, in one common flame (3). They boaſted of a ſort of preſcriptive right to deſtroy, by proving, that an hundred years before, when Peter Diaz Coſtana and Francis Sancho a Fonte were judges of the court they had in the ſpace of two years committed fifty two hereticks to the flames, condemned an hundred and twenty, who had eſcaped, and brought an hundred and eighty three to repentance (4).

There

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et je le jure, moy Elizabeth Chriſtine. Ainſi Dieu ſoit il a mon aide, et ces ſaints evangiles de Dieu.

(9) ABRAHAMI BZOVII *Annal. Eccleſ. Antuerpiæ.* 1617. *Anno.* 1559.

(1) PARAMO. *pag.* 173.

(2) IBID. *pag.* 300. Multi utriuſque ſexus, virgines etiam nobiles, demum moniales aliquot, quæ una cum pudore Dei timorem exuerant, et ſacrilegas atque inceſtas nuptias cum hominibus perditiſſimis impudentiſſime celebraverant.

(3) THUANUS *apud* LIMBORCH. *Cap. xxx.* Garſias Arias primus in illud Iſidori ſodalitium ejuſdem religionis ſcintillas intulit. . . . In B. Iſidori collegio ſodales puriori doctrinæ, ut illi jactabant, in occulto ſtudebant.

(4) PARAMO. . . . THUANUS. &c. Joannes Pontius Roderici Pontii Bailelenii *comitis* filius

pro

There was a ſecond claſs, of the calviniſt kind, who went further than the firſt, and held ſeparate meetings. Of theſe Doctor Auguſtine Cazalla, canon of the church of Salamanca, and chaplain to Charles v. was the principal. The inquiſitors ſay, he was an eloquent preacher, but ſo weak-ſighted that he could not bear the bright light of the catholick religion (6). He cenſured pennance, and other rights of the church, and turned his own houſe into a conventicle, where many aſſembled in the night. He was joined by his own family, a nobleman named Don Carlos Cæſar, or Saſſi, mentioned before, and a doctor Perez, along with great numbers of inferiour rank. Many nuns aſſociated with this aſſembly, and the followers of Cazalla became ſo numerous in ſeveral places, that they threatened the ruin of all religion in Spain (7). The ſame ſort of congregations were formed at Seville by doctor Conſtantine and others (8). The holy office as uſual lent their friendly aid to ſtop this torrent of hereſy. Cazalla, his mother, five brothers, and many of his followers, were impriſoned. They ſay, he repented, however they burnt him and thirteen other perſons at Valladolid in the year fifteen hundred fifty nine. Eighteen more, along with the bones of ſome who died in priſon, were burnt at Seville the year after.

The laſt, but (if the virtue of the common people be of conſequence to the happineſs of ſociety) not the leaſt reſpectable claſs is that, which the inquiſitor ſays conſiſted of the dregs of the people, tinkers, coblers, dyers, butchers, and women, who in defiance of a long liſt of ſynodical canons, none of which they could read, mounted the pulpit and preached (9). The ſurly judges of the inquiſition, forgetting they were men, burnt ſome of theſe female oratours

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pro hæretico Lutherano pertinaci combuſtus eſt. . . . Chriſtophorus Loſada *medicus*. . . . Chriſtophorus Arellanius *monachus*. . . . Joannes Ægidius *concionator*. . . . Viginti octo ex præcipua regionis *nobilitate* palis allegati et cremati ſunt, ſpectante ipſo Philippo rege. . . Quatuor famoſi hereſiarchæ, Sigiſmundus Aiquer, doctor in utroque jure, advocatus fiſcalis regii Senatus Aragoniæ, natione *Sardus:* Gelaſius Dux *Belgicus*, manicarum opifex: Doctor Hugo Celſius, Juriſperitus, natione *Gallus:* Franciſcus Rol. Hiſpanus, Lutheranus; hos hæreſis criminis convictos S. Inquiſitio flammis addixit, ne malum ſerperet.

(6) PARAMO. *pag.* 300. *Doctor Cazalla cum multis aliis, tam viris quam fœminis, Pinciæ concrematur. Anno* 1559.

(7) Secuti ſunt Cazallam D. Carolus Cæſar, vir nobilis, Lucronii natus, et Magiſter Perez, Palentinus, atque alii infimioris notæ, multæ etiam moniales blanditiis et verborum technis fuerunt allectæ, adeoque diffundere cœperat hoc incendium, ut in periculoſiſſimam inter ſe conjurationem, Hiſpaniarum regnis breviſſimo tempore ruinam allaturam conſpirarent.

(8) Hiſpali Ægidius, deinde Conſtantinus, doctores theologi, et Hiſpalenſis eccleſiæ canonici ita in hæreſes ruerunt præcipites, ut venenum haurirent ſuaviter, et tanquam medicamentum ſalutare aliis etiam propinarent: eoſdem enim errores, quos Valliſoleti Cazalla, Hiſpali Conſtantinus et Ægidius edocebant.

(9) PARAMO. *p.*301. Fuerunt enim multi e fece Republicæ, ſutores, cerdones, tinctores, lanii, qui novi Lutheri evangelii, novi magiſtri, atque concionatores extiterunt. Immo vero eo progreſſa eſt aliquarum mulierculárum garrularum, atque impudentium procacitas, ut de ſacra ſcriptura diſputarent, doctiſſimos theologos ad certamen provocarent, aſſertiones aniles, et theſes ſeu potius deliramenta quædam publice defendenda proponerent.

at Valladolid; they had been nuns, and were committed to the flames in all the bloom of youth and beauty, while orthodox hags of the court ſat in ſplendour by the ſide of the king to behold the infernal ſacrifice (1). Catholick hiſtorians, not well verſed in the diſtinguiſhing characters of different ſects of proteſtants, confound all theſe ſufferers in one common maſs called hereticks: but the reformed know that this claſs was compoſed of ſuch as are now called either Independents, Baptiſts or Quakers, for theſe are the only chriſtians that diſallow the diſtinction of clergy and laity, and ſuffer illiterate mechanicks to teach; and the two latter were the only ſorts, who at the reformation allowed of the publick preaching of women. Dr. Paramo ſays, the ſingle ſect of the Anabaptiſts produced twelve ſects. Had he underſtood their affairs, he would have ſaid twelve independent congregations, or twelve aſſociations of congregations. He adds, that in places where they were allowed to multiply, you could not go into one of their houſes without obſerving that the huſband was of one opinion and the wife of another; the father held one ſentiment, the ſon another, and the very ſervants had a creed different from that of their maſters (2). He was ſhocked at this, and he did not know that in this freedom of believing according to their own convictions the Baptiſts placed their glory. A man educated as he was among conformiſts and creeds, where a dead midnight ſilence reigned in the name of faith; one who ſpent his life in taking depoſitions, extorting confeſſions, brow-beating hereticks, and ſentencing them to the flames; a man whoſe underſtanding was ſuffocated with canons and comments and quibbles; a man in favour with cardinals and kings, and fired with proſpects of preferment in a corporation boaſting of uniformity as the eſſence and glory of the cauſe: ſuch a man could not conceive it poſſible for families to be happy in variety of ſentiment. Like his countryman Don Quixote, he ſuſpected every thing that moved diſaffected to his flame, and ſought for the church, as the knight of La Mancha did for the lady Del Toboſo. The inquiſitors, he vowed, were the ſaviours of Spain (3).

No, neither the inquiſition with all its ſolemn horrours, nor any other conceivable puniſhment can change the nature of man, and compel him not to think for himſelf. Many years after all theſe ſeverities had been practiſed, there lived near the palace of the king an old man named Michael Piedroſa, who had for a long time called himſelf, in the language of the old teſtament prophets, a ſeer, and who had long uttered his opinions to others (4). Him at length the inquiſition found out, and they committed him to priſon for life. They deprived him of the ſcriptures, denied him pen and ink and religious correſpondence, and forbad him to hold any diſpute concerning the ſcriptures. In another populous city there roſe up a congregation, who called themſelves illuminated, and it is very credible that though ſome fled and found refuge in foreign countries, yet in remote parts of the kingdom many continued and eſcaped all the vigilance of the inquiſitors, eſpecially in the crowded trading ports, for a fact it is that in places extremely populous and full of the buſtle of trade, little ſocieties for devotion paſs unobſerved (5). The religion of ſuch people is not like that of catholicks and Jews; it doth not lay in the practice of ceremonies of publick ſhow; it conſiſts in a ſimple courſe of virtue in common life, and a ſocial adoration of Almighty God in any convenient place. They always recollect that the whole earth is a temple conſecrated to the ſervice of God; that the promiſe is made to every two or three gathered together in the name of Chriſt; and that the firſt chriſtian church was formed of a few obſcure men and women aſſembled together in an upper room (6).

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(1) Ibid. Ex iis, qui igni fuerunt traditi aliquot fuerunt moniales, juventute et pulchritudine florentes, quarum eo progreſſa eſt impudentia, et audacia, ut abſterſa illa, quæ illis innata, et propria eſt fœminarum verecundia, et neglecto apoſtoli Pauli præcepto, mulierem domi ſuæ in ſilentio diſcere jubentis, et in eccleſia loqui prohibentis, in ſuggeſtum aſcenderent, verbum Dei explicarent, et in concione de ſacra ſcriptura diſſererent.

(2) *P.* 325. Ex una anabaptiſtarum ſecta duodecim aliæ ſectæ emerſerunt, tam inter ſe pugnantes, ut quibus in urbibus illæ aliæque ſimiles peſtes graſſantur, vixdomum invenias ubi quod maritus credit, credat uxor, et quod paterfamilias amplectitur, filius ac famulus ſequatur, &c.

(3) *Pag.* 302. Si tam brevi tempore incendium non fuiſſet extinctum, brevi Hiſpaniarum regna conflagratura eſſe nemo eſt qui dubitet.

Two remarks of a different kind ſhall conclude this account of Spain: the one on the inquiſition; the other on the national character of the Spaniards.

Excluſive of the cruel puniſhments inflicted by the holy office, as it is called, it may be truly affirmed that the inquiſition is a ſchool of vice. There the artful judge, grown old in habits of ſubtlety, along with the ſly ſecretary, practiſes his cunning in interrogating a priſoner to fix a charge of hereſy. Now he fawns, and then he frowns; now ſoothes and then looks dark and angry; ſometimes affects to pity and to pray, at other times inſults and bullies, and talks of racks and dungeons, flames and the damnation of hell; one while lays his hand on his heart and ſheds tears and promiſes and proteſts he deſires not the death of a ſinner, but would rather he would turn and live, and all that he can do he will do for the diſcharge, ay for the preferment of his impriſoned brother; another while he diſcovers himſelf deaf as a rock, falſe as the wind, and cruel as the poiſon of aſps. Hereticks, objects of pity aſſuredly, learn in the ſchool of this tutor to prevaricate, and commence maſters of various arts (7). An open-featured harmleſs creature converts his honeſt face into a dark maſk, behind which he meditates equivocation and practiſes duplicity. The prevarication of hereticks is an old complaint of inquiſitors; they do not obſerve, that to hold a rod over conſcience is to call the crime into exiſtence. Happy anabaptiſt families, (if the inquiſitor will give an honour to them which is due to thouſands beſide) happy families and thrice happy churches, where diverſity of ſentiment is no blemiſh, for there prevarication is unneceſſary, and colluſion unknown.

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(4) Ibid. *pag.* 304. Hic poſtquam multos annos prophetæ nomen ſibi aſſumpſit . . . nec non et videntis, et prophetæ Dei ſibi nomen aſciviſſet, &c.

(5) *P.* 302. Poſt aliquot annos in oppido Lerena ſacerdotes inſurrexerunt ambitioſi, impuris libidinoſi, aurem popularem aucupantes, qui ſe a Deo illuminatos prædicando deteſtabiles errores diſſeminabant. Inquiſitorum tamen vigilantia deprehenſi, meritiſſimas pro gravitate criminum pænas luerunt, et Hiſpanias a graviſſimo, quod imminebat, periculo liberarunt.

(6) Psalm *xxiv*. . . . Exod. *xx*. 24. . . . Mat. *xviii*. 20. . . . Acts *i*. 13, 14.

Foreigners give the Spaniards the characters of pride and cruelty. The firſt is not a vicious pride, it is that innate ſenſe of dignity, which they have derived from their remote anceſtors, the magnanimity of freemen. If this diſpoſition be now ſilent and ſullen, it is becauſe the old ſpaniſh ardour for liberty is pent up, and hemmed in on every ſide by deſpotiſm. Reſtore to Spain free parliaments and juſt laws, and Blancas and Zuritas will live again.

Cruelty was not anciently the diſpoſition of Spain: it came in along with Ferdinand, and Charles, and Ximenes, and the inquiſition, and Philip II. Theſe were the real ſprings of action, and troops civil and ſacred did nothing but what they were ordered to do. It is truly obſerved by Mr. Voltaire, that "Philip's character was the cauſe of all the great events of the age, in which he lived (8)." And what was that character? Let facts determine. He was the moſt zealous catholick in the world, and a man of the moſt calm and deliberate cruelty: but he had no perſonal bravery. He was between two franciſcan friars in a chapel when the battle of St. Quintin was fought. He frequently embraced a crucifix while he was giving orders for a murder. The prince of Orange declared that he was a married man, when he eſpouſed his firſt wife: that he murdered his own ſon, and poiſoned his third wife: that he obliged the prince of Aſcoli to marry a woman with child by himſelf. He debauched the wife of his favourite Ruy Gomez. He ordered Perez to aſſaſſinate Eſcovedo, and after his cruel order was obeyed he perſecuted and tortured Perez, and delivered him up to the inquiſition for an heretick. Dr. Geddes has related the affair at large, and ſuch another ſcene of complex crimes in this one affair as Philip was guilty of is not to be parallelled in hiſtory (9). Not content with the cruelties of the inquiſition in Spain and America, he inſtituted an office of the ſame kind in the navy, and appointed prieſts to make catholicks of ſchiſmatical marines of all countries (1). "This was the man," adds

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(7) NICOLAI EYMERICI *Directorium inquiſitorum, cum commentariis* FRANCISCI PEGNÆ. *Romæ* 1587.... PARAMO. *pag.* 581. Hæretici variis artibus animi ſenſum tegere conantur. Hi enim per æquivocationem, per conditionis adjectionem, per retorſionem interrogationis, per fictam admirationem, per tergiverſationem, per digreſſionem a propoſito, per ſui ipſius juſtificationem, per ſimulationem corporei languoris, et amentiæ, et per ſanctitatis ſpeciem a ſcopo diverti ſperant.

(8) *General Hiſtory, chap. cxxxv. of Philip II. king of Spain.*

(9) *Miſcellaneous tracts. tom. iii.*

(1) LIMBORCH. *Hiſt. Inquis. cap. xxx.* Nec contentus Philippus crudelitatem hanc in terris exercere etiam inquiſitionem in triremibus inſtitui procuravit.

PARAMO.

Mr. Voltaire, "who talked of nothing but his zeal for religion, and who ſacrificed every thing to his zeal." He might have added, this was the man, who was ſo exactly turned to the wiſhes of moſt of the prelates of his time, that they had the face to propoſe his hideous character as a pattern of chriſtian zeal and love for the faith to poſterity (2). No, let not the generous ſpaniſh nation bear the ſhame: it was the church that inſpired the throne with cruelty under the name of zeal, and it was the throne that communicated it to the army and the populace of that generation under the name of loyalty. The barbarous treatment of the proteſtants in the Low Countries under the duke of Alva, the inhuman and indiſcriminate ſlaughter of the unhappy Indians in America, the invincible armada prepared to avenge the blood of Mary queen of Scots, merely becauſe ſhe was of the church, and to re-eſtabliſh the catholick faith in England, ought to be attributed to that horrible ſpirit which was inculcated for religion, and which led thoſe, who murdered above twelve hundred thouſand harmleſs Indians in Cuba, Jamaica, St. Domingo, and other iſlands, to hang them up by thirteens on gibbets in honour of the thirteen apoſtles (3). If ſuch butcheries had been practiſed by ſoldiers alone, the army ſhould bear the blame: but there were chaplains, and biſhops in the midſt of the carnage, and after the country was ſubdued, thither went inquiſitors by order of a cardinal biſhop, Don Didaco de Spinoſa, in cool blood to torture the reſt into catholick faith (4). Every body knows the anſwer of the Indian, named Haticu, to a franciſcan friar. The Indian was condemned to be burnt for not having brought in a ſufficient quantity of gold. The friar went to prepare him for his fate, and required of the Indian faith in the ſpaniſh creed as a condition, and offered heaven as a reward. Haticu aſked, "Do Spaniards go to heaven?" "Certainly:" ſaid the friar. "Oh, then," replied he, "do not let me go there."

Paramo. *pag.* 224. Ibi fuerunt reperti Armenii, ſcilicet Græci, Galli, Britanni, Flandri, Germani ſchiſmatici, ut merito rex noſter ad purgandos errores inquiſitores ad id obeundum munus, Romano pontifici Pio v. prius conſulto deputaverit.

(2) Ibid. Inter alia, quæ Philippi ii. regis catholici zelum, ac ardentem fidei chriſtianæ amorem magis ac magis commendant duo præcipua intuentibus luce clariora apparebunt, &c.

(3) Don Bartolomeo de las Casas. *Las Obras de. Sevilla.* 1552.... *Ejuſdem Narratio veriſſima regionum Indicarum per Hiſpanos quoſdam devaſtatarum, ex hiſpanico latine verſa. Oppenheim.* 1598.

Don Augustin de Zarata. *Hiſt. de la conqueſte du Perou. trad. de l'eſpagnol. Paris* 1742.

See an abſtract of the apology or vindication of the prince of Orange againſt Philip's proſcription. Appendix to Dr. Watson's *hiſtory, vol. ii.*

(4) Paramo. *p.* 240. Mexicanam inquiſitionem ab illuſtriſſimo domino Cardinali Didaco de Spinoſa, *generali inquiſitore Hiſpaniarum, anno* 1571. *miſſam eſſe comperimus.*

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

The Church of Navarre and Biſcay.

IN the patriarchal age of the world, when the people of the Eaſt had parcelled out the country into many ſeparate ſtates, ſome ſavage and others civilized, it is ſaid of the Hebrews, that they went from one nation to another, from one kingdom to another people (5). Not war, but feeding of flocks, and trafficking in peace was their plan. There is no new thing under the ſun. In the middle ages the ſame ſpirit prevailed all over the Weſt. Petty chiefs aſſumed independence, and formed a vaſt number of ſeparate kingdoms. Reputed hereticks, like the ancient Iſraelites, emigrated from place to place, abiding only where religious liberty could be enjoyed. This was the caſe with great numbers of the perſecuted chriſtians of Spain.

The Pyrenean mountains which ſeparate France and Spain extend from the mediterranean ſea to the atlantick, that is, above two hundred miles, and in breadth at ſeveral places more than a hundred. The ſurface is, as may naturally be expected, moſt wonderfully diverſified. Hills riſe upon hills, mountains over mountains, ſome bare of verdure, others crowned with foreſts of huge cork trees, oak, beech, cheſnut, and evergreens (6). In ſome places are bleak perpendicular rocks and dangerous precipices; in others beautiful fertile and very extenſive vallies adorned with aloes, chriſtthorn or wild pomegranate, enriched with olives, lemons, oranges, apples, corn, flax, and perfumed with aromatick herbs, and animated with veniſon and wild fowl. In ſome parts, cliffs and piles of rocks of awful and tremendous aſpect block up all further progreſs to the traveller, in others narrow paſſes winding through the dells lead from the kingdom on one ſide to that on the other. Numerous flocks of ſheep and goats enliven the hills, manufacturers of wool inhabit the vallies, and corn and wine, flax and oil hang on the ſlopes. There are inexhauſtible mines of the fineſt iron in the world, and the foreſts ſupply them with plenty of timber; there are whole towns of ſmiths, who carry on the manufacture of all ſorts of iron work, eſpecially for the uſe of the military and the navy, and their workmanſhip is extremely neat and elegant. This chain of mountains runs from ſea to ſea, one end is at the Bay of Biſcay, and the other at the Bay of Roſes, and the ſea ports about both are crowded with inhabitants, commerce plenty and wealth.

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(5) PSAL. *cv.* 13.

(6) MARIANÆ *Lib. i. cap. iii. Præcipui Hiſpaniæ montes et flumina*.... HIERONYMI PAULI *De Montibus Hiſpaniæ*..... JO. GERUNDENS. *Epiſc. Paralipom. Hiſpaniæ Lib. i. De citeriori. Hiſpania*.... BERNARDIN. GOMESII *Vita Jacob. i. Regis Aragon. Lib. viii. De Cantabris*... SWINBURNE.... POSTLETHWAYTE. *Biſcay.*

A ſpectator, taking his ſtand on the top of the ridge of theſe mountains, will obſerve, that at the foot on the ſpaniſh ſide lie Aſturias, Old Caſtile, Aragon and Catalonia; and on the french ſide Guienne and Languedoc, Toulouſe, Bearn, Alby, Rouſſillon, and Narbonne: places all remarkable in the darkeſt times for harbouring chriſtians called hereticks (7). An account of the french ſide belongs to an hiſtory of France. The preſent obſervations regard the ſpaniſh ſide, and principally Navarre and Biſcay.

Spain is divided into two parts, the upper and the lower, and it was formerly inhabited by forty three different claſſes of people (8). Upper Spain contains the provinces or kingdoms of Murcia, Valencia, Galicia, Toledo, Caſtile Old and New, Leon, Aragon, Navarre, Aſturias, Biſcay and Catalonia (9). Lower Spain was called Bœtica from the river Bœtis, now Guadalquivir. Upper Spain was named Celtiberia, from the Celts, the people who inhabited it, and Iberus, now the river Ebro. The Celts were divided into ſeveral tribes, of which the Vaſcons and the Cantabri were the chief (1). The latter ſubſiſt in the modern Biſcayners: and the former inhabited the country which is now called Navarre. Their language was aboriginal: their character was that of all tribes in ſimilar conditions, they were active and martial, cunning, brave and free (2). Pompey erected a city on the Pyrenees, in the country

of

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(7) Abraham Dubois *Geograph. Moderne. Leyde.* 1729. *Mod. Univ. Hiſt. vol. xxii. B. xix. C. iii.*

(8) *Hiſpan. Illuſt. Tom. i.* Jo. Margarini *Epiſc. Gerund. Paralipom. Lib. i. De provinciis Hiſpaniæ.* Habet igitur Hiſpania tres et quadraginta populos, regiones, et provincias. Turduli. Baſtani. Hani. . . Cantabri. Varduli. Vaſcones, &c.

(9) Andre Favyn. *Hiſt. de Navarre. a Paris.* 1612. *liv. i.*

(1) Plin. *lib. i. cap. iii.* Intus recedentes in radice Pyrenæi ſunt Auſetani, Itani, Jacetani, perque Pyrenæum Cerretani, decinde Vaſcones. . . Tacit. *hiſt. lib. iv. cap. xxxiii.* Vaſconum lectæ a Galba cohortes ac tum accitæ, dum caſtris propinquant, audito præliantium clamore, intentos hoſtes a tergo invadunt, latioremque quam pro-numero terrorem faciunt: aliis a Noveſio, aliis a Magontiaco univerſas copias adveniſſe credentibus.

(2) Lucii Marinei Sic. *De Reb. Hiſpan. lib. iv. De veterum Hiſpanorum lingua.* Primis totius Hiſpaniæ cultoribus et indigenis uſque ad adventum Carthagenienſium et Romanorum, qui tunc omnes latine loquebantur, eam linguam fuiſſe quidam autumant, qua nunc Vaſcones utuntur et Cantabri, qui tot ſæculis et temporum varietatibus neque linguam, neque mores, neque corporis cultus unquam mutavere. . . . Quatuor ſiquidem ſunt hominum ſpecies in Hiſpania duntaxat indigenarum, nulliuſque gentis externæ participantium, Galleci ſcilicet, Cantabri, Vaſcones, et Aſturiarum montani populi, quibuſcum neque Græci, neque Judæi, neque Carthagenienſes, aut Romani, aliæve gentes externæ commercium habuere.

Vocant Vaſcones

Terram - - -	Lurra - - plur. Lurrac	Hominem - - - -	Guizona.
Cœtum - - -	Cerua.	Mulierem - - - -	Emaztea.
Solem - - - -	Eguzquia.	Filium - - - - -	Semea.
Lunam - - -	Irarguia.	Filiam - - - - -	Alavea.
Stellam - - -	Izarra.	Amare - - - - -	Onerextea.
Nubem - - -	Odeya.	Dormio - - - - -	Lonaza.
Flumen - - -	Ibaya.	Video - - - - - -	Bacuſt.
Album - - -	Zuria.	Unum - - - - -	Bat.

Nigrum

of the Vaſcons, and called it Pompeiopolis. This became the capital of Vaſcony, and the people were called Pompilonenſians: In later times Vaſcony took the name of Sobrarba, or Sobralva; and the people were called Navarri, from Nava Erria, which in their language ſignified inhabitants of vallies. The people in time gave their name to the country, which was called Navarre, or the land of vallies, for in fertile vales ſurrounded, as with walls, with rocks hills and foreſts the natives reſided (3). They divided theſe into what they called Merindads, that is provinces or counties, where in perfect freedom they enjoyed the fruits of their induſtry (4). There are two paſſages from Guienne into Spain through Navarre, both famous in hiſtory: and both for the ſame reaſon called Ronzval, for the ſeveral names proceeded from this one. Theſe are the places intended by an inquiſitor when he denominated one party of chriſtians, whom he called hereticks, Ronzarians (5). The two vallies received the name from the manner in which the inhabitants cultivated them (6). They hung in ſlopes, and were too ſteep to admit of agriculture by cattle. The owners therefore very commendably applied manual labour, and from the inſtruments made uſe of, ſuch as ſpades, bills, broad hoes, and mattocks, called Ronzas, from the uſe of ſtubbing up thorns, to which they were ſometimes applied, the valley and the people obtained their names. Both were rendered famous by battles fought there: one by Charlemagne, in which he was defeated by the Vaſcons; and the other by Abderames the mooriſh king of Cordova, who was alſo defeated. At the end of this valley the kingdoms part, and the inhabitants of the next valley on the french ſide toward Bearn annually in June pay a fine or weregild of three cows to the inhabitants of Ronzval, by which they acknowledge they are feudatory

Nigrum - - -	Belza.	Duo - - - - - -	Bi.
Rubrum - - -	Gorria.	Tria - - - - - -	Iru.
		Quatuor - - - -	Lau.

(3) Favyn *pag.* 5. Quant a nom de Navarre, il eſt modern et recente. Les uns diſent qu'il vient de celui d'une petite riviere apellée Nava ou Navie.... Selon l'opinion des plus doctes il eſt compoſé de deux noms, l'un Navarrois ou Baſque, et l'autre Eſpagnol.

(4) *Le Meme. p.* 6. Elle eſtoit diviſée en ſix provinces, juriſdictions et gouvernements, qu'en Navarre, ils appellent Merindades, et les gouverneurs et Jurats, ou conſuls des villes, Merins.

(5) Reineri Sacctionis *contra Waldens. cap. vi. De nominibus ſectarum.* Runcarii [*Runçarii. i. e. Runzarii*] in magna parte concordant cum Patrinis.... Quia nolunt mentiri, ideo nunquam dant rectas reſponſiones.

(6) Ælii Antonii Nebrissensis *De Bello Navarienſi Præfat. De antiquitate, nomine, et ſitu regni Navarienſis.* Habet Navaria in Galliam Aquitaniam duas tantam Pylas, hoc eſt portas, ſive aditus, alteram per Runcatas valles, alteram per vallem Runcetanorum. Ronzas, hoc eſt Roncas, Hiſpani vocant vepreta runconibus inſtrumentis ſucciſa. Unde utræque valles illæ, quæ non aliam quam runcationis culturam admittunt, runcetæ poſſunt recte apellari, et populi hujuſmodi locorum incolæ Runcetani.... Cassiani Bassi ΓΕΩΠΟΝΙΚΑ. *Antea a quibuſd.* Constantino Porphyrogenito *adſcript. Edit.* Pet. Needham. *Cantabrigiæ.* 1704. *lib. ii. cap. xxiv. De ſarritione poſt ſationem, et herbarum runcatione.... Runça.* ηπριων. Plin.... Runco. Βολανιζω. Plin.... Runcatio. Βολανισμος. Plin.... Runcator. ο Βολανιστης. Columel, &c.

to the latter (7). " A noble inſtance," ſay hiſtorians, " of the martial, independant, and heroick ſpirit of theſe people (8)."

The ancient limits of Sobrarva or Navarre are difficult to aſcertain: but each of its ſides now, for they are nearly equal, extends about ninety engliſh miles: but till the year one thouſand and ſeventy ſix, Biſcay, with a part of Old Caſtile annexed to it, was a province of Navarre (9). Biſcay, anciently called Cantabria, is a diſtrict of about one hundred and twenty miles long, and about ſixty over. The Cantabrian mountains ſeem to be a continuation of the Pyrenees.

Deep dells encircled with inacceſſible mountains, to be entered only by narrow paſſes, and theſe unknown to all but the inhabitants, coverts in dark foreſts, and caverns known only to miners, naturally inſpire love of freedom, which riſes in proportion to a knowledge of the impoſſibility of being robbed of it by foreign armies. The inhabitants of theſe parts have in all ages been celebrated for their zeal for liberty. Even at this day, though the king of France hath the title of king of Navarre, and though the king of Spain ſends a viceroy, yet neither is benefited, for the revenue amounts only to forty thouſand pieces of eight, that is one piece of about five ſhillings for every family, and none of it goes out of the country, except what the viceroy may ſave, whoſe annual ſalary is about fifteen hundred pounds. Although Biſcay is ſubject to the king of Spain, he is only called lord of Biſcay; and both there and in Navarre civil liberty is more enjoyed than any where elſe in the ſpaniſh dominions. In Biſcay there never was a biſhoprick, in Navarre there was only one at Pampeluna, the ancient Pompeiopolis. Of councils records mention only one, which ſeven biſhops held, and that one thouſand thirty two years after the birth of Chriſt, at Pampeluna, and of which the converting of an abbot into a biſhop of Pampeluna was the whole buſineſs. Here the monks got foot hold by promiſing to catechize and baptize for nothing (1). In Biſcay the inquiſition never was: in Navarre it was introduced in the thirteenth century, but it had only a nominal exiſtence till the ſixteenth century, when new inquiſitors were created: but who, being happily counteracted by local cuſtoms, provincial ſtatutes, and the ſpirit of the inhabitants, were prevented from doing the miſchief they intended (2). For ſeveral centuries theſe mountaineers made no ſecret of deſpiſing the pope, and laughing at St. Peter's keys. It is very well obſerved by an accurate ſpaniſh hiſtorian, that when writers of thoſe times treat of biſhops and biſhopricks in thoſe parts, the reader ought not to confound ancient names with modern things, for in thoſe times either every church was a cathedral, and every rector a biſhop, or there were fewer biſhopricks than they ſuppoſe (3).

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(7) Petri de Marca *Limes Hiſpan. lib. i. cap. xiii.* 9. Roncalenſibus Baretuſii tradunt vacas tres pro weregildo. &c.

(8) *Mod. Univ. Hiſt. vol. xxii. pag.* 406. *note.*

(9) Estevan Garibay *Compendio Hiſtorial.... de todos los reynos de Eſpana. Amberes.* 1571. ... Petri de Marca *Hiſpanica. Edente Steph. Baluzio. Paris* 1688.... *Mod. Univ. Hiſt. vol. xxii. ut ſup....* H. Blancæ *Aragonens. Rer. comment. p.* 598. *Variæ de Suprarbienſis regni initiis ſcriptorum ſententiæ....* Ælii Anton. Nebrissensis *De Bel. Navar. Præfat.*

(1) *Concil. Pampilonenſe. apud* Aguirram. *tom. iii. Sanctii regis decretum.* Proh dolor!... Una enim de illis eſt hæc ſedes, quæ pene ſunt ſine nomine, vel quæ omnis honoris multatæ videntur ingloriæ.... Promittant catechizare, baptizare, ordinare ſine pretio....Facta charta, regnante Sanctio ſereniſſimo rege in Pampilona, in Aragona, in Supraarbe, in Ripa-corza, in omni Gaſconia, in Alaba, in cuncta Caſtella, in Aſturias, in Legione, ſive in Aſtorka.

To theſe mountains in all periods the ſons of freedom fled. Here the aboriginal native Celts found ſhelter, and to this hour ſubſiſt in Biſcay, and preſerve the manners and cuſtoms, the dreſs, and even the language of their anceſtors unmixed with either latin, french, or ſpaniſh, ſo that it is difficult to find a Biſcayner who can ſpeak the ſpaniſh tongue. Hither the Goths fled, when the Saracens over-ran Spain. In Sobrarva they formed that ſimple code of law, which was afterward called the ſobrarvan law, and which was the ground work of the laws of Aragon and other free ſtates; as hath been obſerved elſewhere. When travellers of taſte paſs over ſome parts of the Pyrenees, they are in raptures, and at a loſs for words to expreſs what they behold (4). The landſcape, ſay they, on every ſide is divine. More delightful proſpects never exiſted even in the creative imagination of Claude Lorrain. But ſurely of all the fine ideas that fancy and reaſon in union ever caught from a ſituation, that of Juſtiza, giving dominion to LAW, not to nobles, kings, or people, was one that did the higheſt honour to the human underſtanding; and this officer was an invention of the inhabitants of the Pyrenees, inſpired by the ſurrounding ſcenery. Even before the appointment of this officer, if the inhabitants felt the finger of oppreſſion, they in multitudes aſcended the ſummits of the adjacent hills, harangued their governours, demanded a redreſs of grievances, and threatened in caſe it were not immediately granted either to emigrate to ſome adjacent ſettlement, or to call in the aid of ſome neighbouring ſtate (5). Here in late ages they preſented bills of rights, and bound their kings by oath to govern according to law (6). Amidſt all the darkneſs with which the hiſtory of the pyrenean ſtates is covered, ſuch rays of light as theſe break out and illuminate the ſcene.

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(2) LUDOV. A PARAMO. *De Orig. Inquis. lib. ii. tit. ii. cap. xxii. De Inquiſitione regni Navarre.* Gregorius IX. anno ſalutis 1239 in Navarra creavit fidei cenſores, quibus injunxit ut juxta veterum canonum diſciplinam, ac juxta noviter ab eo condita ſtatuta, plurimorum hæreticorum, qui non ſecrete ſed palam, per inſignem eorum impudentiam, contra eccleſiaſticam libertatem ac Beati Petri claves debacchabantur, petulantiam, atque dementiam ſevere comprimerent, ac graviſſime vindicarent.... Reſcriptum in *Vaticano* repertum eſt!... Quo tempore in eo regno inquiſitio renovata ac reformata ſit apud neminem literis conſignatis reperi.

(3) ZURITA *Anales de la Corona de Aragon. tom. i. lib. i. cap. iii.* Eſcrive Pedro Tomich autor Catalan y otros que le ſigue que ſe proveyo por la ſede apoſtolica, que en Cataluna uvieſſe un Arçobiſpado y ſiete igleſias cathedrales en ocho ciudades, que fueron Tarragon la primera y metropoli, Euna, Urgel, Roda, q deſpues ſe mudo a Lerida, Tortoſa, Barcelona, Vie, y Girona. Pero todas eſtas igleſias, excepto la de Roda, fueron ya en los tiempos antiquos cathedrales, y preſidieron en ellas obiſpos, y es coſa muy averiguada que deſde los reyes Godos haſtala deſtruycion de Eſpana uvo ſilla cathedral en Ampurias, y preſidiero en ella ſus obiſpos.

(4) SWINBURNE's *Travels, chap. xliv.*

The hiſtory of Navarre is no further connected with eccleſiaſtical affairs than as being a free ſtate it afforded ſhelter to chriſtians in the middle ages, a brief ſketch therefore of its condition may ſuffice.

From the birth of Chriſt to the eighth century the Pyrenees and the countries at the foot on both ſides were inhabited by ſeveral nations, in the form of little republicks. In the middle of the eighth century, the ancient Celts having ſettled in Biſcay, the parts now called Navarre were chiefly occupied by three ſorts of people. The firſt were Moors, who had obtained ſome places by conqueſt. The ſecond were Goths, who had fled thither in hopes of enjoying their liberties civil and religious. The third were the Vaſcons, natives of the country. Each of theſe parties underwent various fortunes: ſometimes ſtanding alone, at other times connected by alliance or conqueſt with one another, or with the Franks: but at all times perfectly free. In the ninth century count Oznar revolted from the Franks, and being joined by the ſpaniſh Vaſcons laid the foundation of the kingdom of Navarre. Don Garcia Iniquez, or Ximenes, who was elected in eight hundred and fifty-ſeven, was, it ſhould ſeem, the firſt king of Navarre (7). In one period Navarre was united with the crown of Aragon, in another with that of France; at other times it was independent of both: but in the beginning of the ſixteenth century Ferdinand the catholick uſurped the dominion and ſeized the kingdom, which he procured to be annexed for ever to the crown of Caſtile, reſerving, however, to the people their ancient rights.

Navarre was of late years a little ſtate, in which Mariana ſays in his time, at the latter end of the ſixteenth century, there were about forty thouſand families (8). It lay between the two large and powerful kingdoms of France and Spain, and occupied what was called the port or paſſage between them, and conſequently it was always an object to both. Between the two the people of Navarre for ages preſerved their freedom, for either ſide would grant any terms as allies, and both kept ſpies and confidants at court, and made friends of all ſuch as had any influence on the ſtate. Great numbers of Jews and Moors, as well as diſſidents in religion, lived happily under the protection of juſt laws. They had free parliaments, which were the legiſlative body, and ſo little was a mode of profeſſing religion thought of in legiſlation, that it was a fundamental law agreed on before they elected the firſt king, that if a king ſhould at any time infringe the laws, or injure the liberties of the kingdom, it ſhould be held right to depoſe him, and to elect another, whether he were a believer or an infidel. In the year one thouſand and ſeventy-ſix, after the death of Sancho iv. they either depoſed his brother Don Raymond after they had elected him; or they refuſed to elect him; for, wearied with the wickedneſs, or afraid of the tyranny of the family, neither intrigues, nor foreign troops could prevail with them to chooſe any more of the late royal houſe, and they placed the crown on the head of Don Sancho of Aragon, who became by this mean Sancho v. king of Aragon and Navarre (1).

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(5) BERNARD. GOMESII. *lib. ii. ut ſup.* Ilerda, urbs antiqua nobiliſque, ad radices, ſive inter ramenta Pyreneorum poſita eſt, ac proxima duobus contentis ſub Aragonio regnis, Sobrarbio ac Ripagurcia, et Aſpenſi ſaltu. Quæ cum ſint Galliæ regnis finitima, atque in tam aſperis horridiſque ſita locis, agreſtes etiam, lociſque ſimiles alunt homines: qui Gallorum vicinia freti, ad novandas ſæpe res, cæteris propenſiores exiſtunt. Audent enim minitari, quoties acerbum aliquod in eos eſt regis imperium, ſe omnes, aut in Galliam tranſvolaturos, aut ad ſe Gallos advocaturos, et in regnum ad ſui opem, et defenſionem immiſſuros.

(6) MOD. UNIV. HIST. *vol. xxii. b. xix. c.* 3.... PHILIP *iii.* JOANNA. *ii.*

(7) IBID. *vol. xxii. b. xix. c. iii.*... FANYN.... ZURITA.... MARIANA.... FERRERAS.

(8) *Lib. i. cap. iv.* Navarræ provinciam, quamvis auguſtis regionibus circumſcriptam, neque incolarum numero frequentiſſimam (nam hoc tempore quadraginta millia familiarum tota ditione numerantur) in præcipuis Hiſpaniæ partibus poni placuit.

The laſt coronation in Navarre was that of John D'Albert, and his conſort Catharine. This was performed at Pampeluna on Sunday the tenth of January, in the year fourteen hundred and ninety-four, " in an aſſembly of prelates, nobles, barons, lords, gentlemen and burgeſſes of the good cities, repreſentatives of the three eſtates of the kingdom, and all the people of Navarre, according to ancient cuſtom (2)." If, as it ſhould ſeem, a judgment of the proportion of power which each claſs had in the government, may be formed by the number of the repreſentatives of each order, the clergy were of very little account. In a long liſt of nobility, gentry, burgeſſes, officers of the crown, judges, magiſtrates, and ſo on, there are only ſeven or eight prelates. Two of theſe were foreigners: the reſt were abbots of monaſteries who were there in right of lands and lordſhips annexed to their houſes (3). As there was only one biſhoprick in the kingdom, and that vacant,

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(1) Zuritæ *Anales. tom. i. lib. i. cap. xxiii.* Como ſe junto el reyno de Navarra con el de Aragon. Conſiderando los Navarros quan grave caſo fue aquel, y que no ſe podia eſperar ningun bien para el reyno de rey que fueſſe tirano, y tan malamente uvieſſe uſurpado el reyno, depuſieron le de la dignidad real, y eligieron de comun averdo por ſu rey y ſenor al rey de Aragon. . . . Don Ramon ſiendo echado del reyno por los Navarros, y no teniendo adonde poder recogerſe, ſi vino a Zaragoça.

(2) Favyn *Hiſt. de Navarre. lib. xi. pag.* 609. Voicy l'acte de ceſte ſolemnité. " Au nom de Dieu Seigneur tout puiſſant. . . . Temoings. Don Jacques Infant de Navarre. Dom Jean de Ribera, capitaine des gardes du roy de Caſtile. D. Jean de Sylva, et D. Pierre de Sylva. M. Pierre d'Altamont Ambaſſadeur deſdicts roy de Caſtile. &c.

(3) D. Jean Barrière Eveſque de Bayonne. . . Lab. *Concil.* Epiſc. Baionens. in provincia Aux itana. i. e. Auſcorum, ſive Auſciorum Auguſta. Auſcenſi. Auche. Auxum. Guienne.

Arnaldi Oihenarti *notitia utriuſque Vaſconiæ. Pariſiis.* 1638, *pag.* 384. Urbs Convenarum, ſive Lugdunum Convenarum, hodie eſt S. Bertrand de Comminges, a regione hujus nominis in Aquitania, Pyrenæorum ad radices, Bertrandoque epiſcopo veteris urbis inſtauratore ſic vocata. . . . Jean D'Eeques Prieur de Roncevaux. Pierre d'Eraſſo Abbé d'Olivet. Salvador Calvo

vacant, the prior of Ronzval officiated as biſhop of Pampeluna, and adminiſtered the oath, in the preſence of the whole aſſembly. He began, addreſſing himſelf to the king and queen, for ſubſtance in theſe words: Moſt excellent, and moſt puiſſant princes, do you deſire to be our ſupreme governours? Their highneſſes anſwered: We do deſire it. This was repeated thrice. Then the prior added: If ſo, moſt excellent and puiſſant princes, before we proceed to the ceremony of your happy and deſired coronation, it is neceſſary that your highneſſes ſhould take that oath to the people, which your predeceſſors, kings of Navarre, took in their time, and after that the people will bind themſelves in like manner to you. Their highneſſes anſwered, They were willing to take the oath. Then putting their hands on a croſs and a bible held by the prior, the oath was adminiſtered, and by requeſt of the prior read in an audible and loud voice by the ſecretary Don Ferdinand de Baquedan. We, Don John, by the grace of God king of Navarre, and we, Donna Catharine, by the ſame grace queen. . . ſwear to you prelates, noble barons, ricos hombres, knights, gentlemen, burgeſſes, and inhabitants of the good cities, and to all the people of Navarre, as well abſent as preſent, that all your laws, uſages, cuſtoms, franchiſes, liberties and privileges of every one of you, as well abſent as preſent, which you have formerly enjoyed, we will maintain and defend, and cauſe to be maintained and defended to you and your ſucceſſours, and to all our ſubjects of the kingdom of Navarre, at all times of our lives, without retrenching any one. We will augment and not diminiſh them in whole or in part. We promiſe to aboliſh, and cauſe to be aboliſhed all oppreſſions and violences, which may have been done to you or your ſucceſſours by our anceſtors, kings of Navarre, whom God forgive, or by their officers in their times to the ſaid kingdom of Navarre, and we will cancel and cauſe to be cancelled all ſuch acts, and we promiſe reparation and ſatisfaction by our officers to all ſuch as have been injured by them without any excuſe (4). Several other articles of a temporary kind were added concerning not altering the coin, not admitting foreigners to office, not alienating crown lands, and ſo on. Immediately after this Don John de Jaſſe, repreſenting the chancellor of the kingdom, adminiſtered the oath to ſome of each

Calvo Abbé S. Sauveur de Leyre. Diego de Baquedan Abbé D'Yrançu. Michael e Peralte Abbé de Hittero.

Pour la ville de Viana. Martin de Gurpide. Jean D'Eſchavarry. Maiſtre Jean Mich. Martinez changeur.

Pour la ville Lombierra Charles de Liadena, Alcaide.

Pour la ville Cazedas, Ximenes Benoiſt, et Jean de Meoz, Notaire.

Pour la ville de Toralva. Laurens L'Abbé.

(4) Nous Dom Jean. . . Nous Donne Catherine. . . Jurons. . a vous les prelats, nobles, barons, riches hombres [ricos hombres.] chevaliers, gentilſhommes, bourgeois, et habitans des bonnes villes, et a *tout* le peuple de Navarre tant abſens que preſens, toutes vos loix uz et couſtumes, franchiſes, libertez et privileges de chacun de vous tant abſens que preſens. . . nous vous maintiendrons. &c.

order of the people, who in the names of all the reſt took an oath that they would faithfully guard and defend the illuſtrious perſons of the king and queen, the crown and the country, and that they would aſſiſt them in keeping, defending and maintaining with all their power the ordinances to which they had ſworn.

Their majeſties in their coronation oath call the people of Navarre their ſubjects. A ſhort anecdote will give the preciſe pyrenean ſenſe of the word. Eighteen years after this time Ferdinand of Aragon uſurped the kingdom of Navarre. He had long meditated the plan, and taken meaſures to give it effect. When he thought his ſcheme was practicable, he overwhelmed the country with his troops. King John and his conſort finding reſiſtance impoſſible, withdrew into France. Ferdinand's army inveſted the cities, and his generals required the ſtates to take an oath of fidelity to their maſter. The city of Tudelle refuſed: but the archbiſhop of Saragoſſa beſieged it, and forced it to yield: while the duke of Alba compelled the vallies of Ronzal, Ameſcua, Salazar and others to ſubmit. At Pampeluna the duke firſt required the inhabitants to take the oath. The citizens aſked three days to conſider of it. On the third day, the principal burgeſſes informed the duke, that they were ready to take an oath of obedience to king Ferdinand, and to ſubmit to his commands, which they would obey as good ſubjects: but that they had an invincible averſion to the infamous name of vaſſals (5). A ſubject is governed by the ancient laws and uſages of his province, and amenable to a native judge: but a vaſſal is conſtrained without any reſervation to obey his lord, whether his laws be reaſonable or unreaſonable, juſt or unjuſt. The duke returned for anſwer, that it was the buſineſs of the vanquiſhed to receive laws and conditions from their conquerours, and not to preſcribe them: and that, as he had the power in his hand, if they did not inſtantly ſubmit, he would treat them accordingly. They did ſubmit: but it was found afterward, that it was good policy to let them live under their old laws and cuſtoms.

In ſuch ſtates as theſe it is natural to expect not only variety of religious ſentiment, for that is to be found in every place, where two or more intelligent mortals are, but an open avowal of it. Where no laws exiſt to conſtitute uniformity a virtue, nobody ever thinks of making diverſity a crime. It is not in Biſcay and Navarre, then, that hereticks are to be ſought: it is in the adjacent ſtates, into which the inhabitants of the mountains occaſionally went either to tranſact buſineſs or in zeal to propagate religion. A diſtinction in the preſent caſe, ought to be made between the religion of the king, and that of the ſtate. John before he was king of Navarre, was lord of Bearn, count of Ribagorza and Perigord, viſcount of Limoges, and other places. On his own lordſhips, which were moſt of them in France, he was baron and his tenants vaſſals, and there he impoſed what terms he pleaſed: but when he was made king of Navarre, it was not the caſe of lord and vaſſals, but king and ſubjects, which, as the citizens of Pampeluna obſerved, was a very different tenure. Kings in ſuch ſtates underſtood the diſtinction thoroughly, and it is this that accounts for the eccleſiaſtical conduct of ſome of the princes of thoſe times in Spain. They did, and they did not perſecute. They eſtabliſhed the catholick religion on their own manors, as the religion beſt ſuited to deſpotiſm: but the laws would not ſuffer them to eſtabliſh it in their kingdoms, becauſe it would have reduced other barons to a ſtate of vaſſalage; becauſe it would have converted all free cities and independent baronies into fiefs of the crown; and becauſe it would have ſubverted the whole conſtitution, and rendered all legiſlation nugatory. Don Sancho IV. in the eleventh century, joined with the chriſtian kings of Spain in reſiſting the prepoſterous pretence of pope Gregory VII. who endeavoured to render all of them feudatories to the ſee of Rome (6). The family of John exemplified this doctrine at the reformation in their lordſhip of Bearn, where they tolerated religioniſts, who were perſecuted in other ſtates, and even in France, of which Bearn was a part. There was a caſe in Switzerland in the reign of the preſent king John which may not unaptly be obſerved here, to ſhew how futile it is to reaſon from what was done in one ſtate to what was done in another. In Switzerland they ſuffered commiſſaries of the pope to try a cauſe between the Dominicans and Franciſcans, in which the latter accuſed the former of ſeveral crimes of impoſture, practiſed by the prior and three other monks on a weak brother, in oppoſition to the doctrine of the immaculate conception of the virgin Mary, which the Franciſcans taught. The judges condemned the four monks, and the ſecular magiſtrates burnt them to death on the laſt day of May, fifteen hundred and nine. A circumſtantial account of the whole affair was publiſhed by Sebaſtian Brant the ſame year. It is a ſmall pamphlet, in latin, in the old black letter, much abbreviated, with a wooden cut, at the beginning, of the monks at the ſtake, and another, at the end, of the virgin: both of them ugly and ill-executed. The account hath been ſince publiſhed by others (7). The whole is a frightful expoſure of the horrible practices of monks to give their falſe doctrines the air of divine. This was done at Bearn in Switzerland: but no ſuch caſe could happen at that time in Navarre where the people were ſubjects, not vaſſals, where the king was not baron but chief magiſtrate, and bound by oath not to admit foreigners to offices, and conſequently the laws of Navarre would have operated againſt foreigners holding courts for capital offences.

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(5) FAVYN *Hiſt. liv. xii.* Moyennant qu'ils n'ayent point ce nom infame de vaſſaulx, d'aultant que les Eſpagnols font et mettent difference, inter ſubſidum et vaſſalum. Le ſubject eſt gouverné ſelon les anciens uz. &c. . . ZURITÆ *Anales. Tom. vi. lib. x. cap. xv. Haze Juramento de fidelidad al rey catalico. . . Cap. x. Rindeſe al Duque de Alva Capitan general del rey catolico. Tom. i. lib. i. cap. vi. Vaſſalos de Ramença en Cataluna, quales fueron, y quanto duraron.*

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(6) MOD. UNIV. HIST. *vol. xxv. p.* 332, *&c. xxii. p.* 423.

(7) MOSHEIM. *Cent. xvi. Chap. i. note k. by* DR. MACLAINE: *who quotes* RUCHAT, HOTTINGER *and* BURNET.

The ruin of the liberties of this kingdom did not originate either in the deſpotical diſpoſitions of their kings, or in any defect in their code of law, or in the profligacy of the common people; but in a ſwarm of poor titled gentry. Four or five illegitimate children of a laſcivious prince multiplied by ſevens and tens, and they again by eights and fifteens till the country was filled with a new ſpecies of beings of blood and rank, all titled through vanity, and ſtarving through idleneſs, inſatiable for wealth to ſupport their dignity, and of courſe prepared to be any thing or to do any thing to acquire it (8). Each of theſe became a family, as it was emphatically ſtiled, having neceſſities and luxuries, intrigues and maxims, and vices peculiar to itſelf. The lower orders of this claſs are the moſt miſerable of human beings; trade they will not, labour they cannot, and to beg they are aſhamed. They have therefore but one reſource, that is a rich and powerful patron. In Navarre the two great families of Beaumont and Grammont divided all the reſt into two oppoſite factions, whoſe diſcords were a perpetual diſtreſs to government (9). Ferdinand ſaw this, and as the wealth of America, the patronage of Sicily, Sardinia and Naples, the promotions of the army and the navy, the preſentation to eccleſiaſtical benefices, and the nomination of officers in Spain, had almoſt all fallen into his hands, he employed them firſt to dazzle the eyes of ſpectators with the ſplendour of his empire, and next, while they were gazing, to ſubvert the conſtitution. He gave his couſin, cardinal Peter de Foix, infant of Navarre, the rich archbiſhoprick of Palermo and Sicily: but he took care to ſecure the fourth part of the revenue toward the ſupport of the war, which he was carrying on againſt the Moors (1). The archbiſhop conſtituted the canon Occhipinti his vicar: then he exchanged Palermo for the biſhoprick of Malta, under certain conditions, and John late of Malta now of Palermo was appointed viceroy of Sicily, while Peter went to reſide and cabal among the cardinals at Rome, where one old man was poiſoning another who ſtood in his way to the pontificate. There in the conclave was that Spaniard, who ſoon after became ſo well known to the world by his accumulated crimes, for which even the wicked bluſhed, under the title of pope Alexander VI. A ſimilar policy directed all the meaſures of Ferdinand, and while Alexander gave him the pompous title of catholick, of which ſo many fine things have been ſaid, for his orthodox belief, hiſtorians named him the moſt faithleſs man in the world(3). It was this dangerous neighbour, who bought the kingdom of Navarre, and paid the price to one of the factions juſt now mentioned by making them placemen.

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(8) FAVYN *Hiſt. de Navarre. Liv. iii. Ordonnance d'Hugues Capet.* Que d'oreſnavant tout baſtard ſeroit rejetté de la couronne, adveu, et ſurnom de France, qui auparavant eſtoit permis au baſtards ... L' advancement des baſtards de nos rois de la premiere et ſeconde lignee, advovez et recogneus pour enfans de France, et comme tels partagez avec meſme advantage que les legitimes avoient brouillé l'eſtat de la France, et diviſé icelle en pluſieurs royaumes et ſeigneuries, fut le ſubject de ceſte juſte et ſaincte ordonnance, conſervatrice de la majeſté royalle ... *Liv. vi.* Thibauld Roy de Navarre aima ſecrettement la fille de Gil de Rada chevalier Navarrois nommée Marquiſe, de laquelle il eut une fille portant le nom de ſa mere; ceſte fille fut depuis mariée a Pierre d'Aragon Signeur d'Aicibea fils du roy Dom James d'Aragon et de la dame Thereſe de Vidaure.

(9) *Liv. x. xi.* Louis de Beaumont, et Pierre de Grammont ſe rendirent chef de part, celuy de Beaumont ſe joignant au prince de Viana, et l'autre eſpouſa le party du roy Jean d'Aragon .. De la les factions des Beaumontois et Grammontois .. Dela recommencerent [1496] les troubles de Navarre par ces deux factions nées pour la ruine de ce pauvre royaume.

(1) ROCCHI PIRRI *Notitiæ Sicilienſium Eccleſ. Panormi* 1633. *Not. i. Archiep. xl.* PETRUS III. DE FUXG, *ſeve* DE FOIX: *Navarræ infans, &c.*

In ſpite of all the revolutions of time and the ravages of war the kingdom of Navarre affords under all its diſadvantages a ſhadow of its ancient populouſneſs and trade(4). The province of Sangueſſa contains one city, twelve large towns, and one hundred and ſixty-eight villages. Olita contains one city, nineteen large towns, and twenty-ſix villages. Tudela hath two cities, and twenty-two large towns. Eſtella, which borders on Biſcay, comprehends one city, twenty-four towns, and one hundred and ſix villages. The province of Pampeluna, the vallies of Baztan and Ronzval or Roncal, and the reſt are extenſive populous and induſtrious, and moſt are proſperouſly employed in trade. Biſcay, the leaſt fruitful, abounds with people trade and wealth: The vallies of Ordunna and Duſengo, and the ports of Bilboa and Saint Sebaſtian are crowded with artificers who make all kinds of hard-ware, manufacturers who work the wool brought from Old Caſtile into broad cloths, and merchants who export theſe two ſtaple commodities of Spain along with vaſt quantities of bar iron and ſteel. A caſt of the eye on maps ancient or modern may convince any one that here is cover; and a glance at hiſtory may ſatisfy any man that here is employment for an incredible number of inhabitants (5).

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(3) ROCCHI PIRRI *Chronol. Reg. Sicil. Panormi* 1643. *pag.* 99. *De Nothis Filiis R. Ferdin. ii.* ... p. 100, &c. Sub regibus Aragon, ex progenie regum Caſtellæ et Legionis. Proreges .. Mag. Juſtiar ... Mag. Amirat .. Mag. Cancellar. &c. .. Ejuſdem Sicilia Sacra Panorm. 1641. ... FAVYN *Hiſt. de Nav. Liv. xii.* Ferdinand d'Aragon eſtoit appellé prince ſans foy meme par les hiſtoriens Eſpagnols. Il eſtoit l'auteur et fauteur de toutes les troubles et factions eſlevées en Navarre.

JACOBI VALDESII *Prærogativa Hiſpaniæ. Francofurti.* 1626. *cap. xiii. Quo agitur Cognomen catholici ab eccleſia conceſſum regi Hiſpaniarum excellentius antiquiuſque eſſe, quam cognomen chriſtianiſſimi, quod regi Galliarum tributum eſt.* Gloriantur Galli, quod Pontifices Romani reges Franciæ vocant excellentiſſimos, illuſtres, orthodoxos, religioſiſſimos, piiſſimos, &c. .. Sed memores eſſe debent .. quod cum nomen abſque exercitatione ejus ſit ut fides mortua ſine operibus, præ cæteris regibus excellit rex Hiſpaniarum, cum ita exerceat nominis ſignificationem et effectum ejus oſtendat, quod omnibus regnis ſuis et ditionibus tam late longeque diſtantibus ita puritas et ſinceritas in fide catholica viget, ut eam mundam ab omni macula hæreſeos, et pulchram abſque fœda ruga conſervet, ita quod non ſolum hæreſis ab ea exterminata ſit, ſed omnis ſuſpicio ejus abſit, et puniatur a ſacro inquiſitionis miniſterio ... Reticere non poſſum admirabilem in fide tuenda conſtantiam patrui mei celebratiſſimi omni ævo Ferdinandi Valdeſii Archiepiſcopi Hiſpalenſis, generalis fidei cenſoris. Is enim zelum et animum acrem et fortem ita oſtendit, ut cum ad Hiſpaniam ex *Angliæ* regione aliqui viri inſignes male de fide ſentientes venirent, diſſeminarent que errores falſos, æque et nullo diſcrimine habito ita magnates, opulentos ac tumidos ſapientiæ ſuperbia, ſicut pauperes et infimos igni et ultimo ſupplicio tradidit. Cujus mentem adeo *divinitus inſpiratam* cognoſcens Carolus v. dicere ſolitus eſt, ſi Gallia medicinam tanto veneno hæreſeos exoptat, dividatur Valdeſius, dimidia enim ejus pars Hiſpaniam conſervabit, et alia dimidia Galliam ad ſalutem reducet.

(4) DON JUAN ALVAREZ DE COLMENAR. *Anales d'Eſpagne et de Portugál, Amſterdam* 1741 ... JEAN DE FERRERAS *Hiſt. d'Eſpagne* ... JOS. D'ORLEAN'S *Hiſt. des revolutions d'Eſpagne* ... *Mod. Univ. Hiſt. Vol. xxii. B. xix. C.* 3. *Navarre.*

The connection between Spain and Navarre is ſo cloſe that it is not poſſible to form a clear notion of the affairs of the one without inſpecting the condition of the other: particularly thoſe of the adjacent provinces of Catalonia, and Aragon; for in all the petty ſtates of theſe parts deaths, donations, wars, marriages and alliances were always producing changes in property, and of courſe new regulations.

In order to form a juſt notion of the place and the people, it is neceſſary to go back to the moſt remote ages. From Sidon the great grandſon of Noah proceeded the Sidonians, a people famous for trade, and whoſe luxury was proverbial in the times of the judges (6). From them came the Tyrians, a colony of Sidonians, ſo called from Tyre, which they had built and fortified, and rendered famous for ſtrength as early as the days of Joſhua (7). In the time of the prophet Iſaiah Tyre was the moſt celebrated place in the world for navigation and trade. It was a mart of nations (8). One of their colonies was Tarteſſus in Spain, which is the ſcripture Tarſhiſh (9). The merchants of this colony traded in the time of Ezekiel at the fairs of Tyre in all kinds of metalline riches, as ſilver, iron, tin and lead (1). On the oppoſite coaſt of Africa the Tyrians ſettled another colony, who built Carthage near nine hundred years before the birth of Chriſt, and it is not improbable that the prophet Iſaiah, who ſpoke of a Tyre the daughter of Tarſhiſh, meant that colony of Tyrians called Carthaginians (2). Carthage ſoon became the chief ſeat of commerce, and ſent out new colonies, who ſettled at ſeveral places on the coaſt of Spain, and built Gadyra, Malacha, Audera and Carthagena, poſſeſſing themſelves by degrees of all the coaſt from the ſtraits of Gibraltar to the mouth of the Ebro (3). At theſe port towns they furniſhed the natives with foreign commodities, and took in return the produce of the interiour part of the country.

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(5) CLUVERII .. DU BOIS. *Geog* ... DR. BLAIR's *Chronology. Iberia, ſive Hiſpania antiqua* ... ANDREÆ SCHOTTI *Hiſpania illuſtrata. Tom. i. Hiſp. vet. deſcript.* Cantabri .. Varduli .. Vaſcones .. Sueſſitani .. Endigetes .. Surdaones .. Jaccetani ... Loca incognitæ poſitionis. Populi. Urbes. Montes. Flumina. Fontes.

(6) GEN. *x.* 1. 6. 15. .. JUDGES *xviii.* 7.

(7) JOSHUA *xix.* 29.

(8) ISAIAH *xxiii.* 3. 8.

(9) SAM. BOCHARTI *Geog. Sacr. Phaleg. Lib. iii. Cap. vii. Tarſis.*

(1) EZEKIEL *xxv.* 12. 25.

(2) ISAIAH xxiii. 10.

(3) BOCHART *ubi ſup.* Ait Strabo, Phœnices pleraque Hiſpaniæ loca circa Tarteſſum et Turdetaniam

When the Phœnician navigators firſt diſcovered this country they affixed their own ideas to every object, and called each by a name proper to expreſs it in their own language, which very much reſembled that of the Hebrews. Suppoſing themſelves at the land's end, and that there was no more beyond the ſtraits of Gibraltar, they called the country Iberia (4). Obſerving that the natives were yellow haired, they called them Celts, and hence the part of the country occupied by the natives obtained the name of Celtiberia (5). It is probable the natives came from Gaul, and chiefly inhabited the mountains and vallies neareſt to Gaul as far as the river Ebro, which riſes in old Caſtile at the foot of the Biſcayan mountains, runs paſt Saragoſſa, and falls into the mediterranean a little below Tortoſa, the boundary ſince of the kingdom of Navarre. The huge chain of mountains all covered with evergreen foreſts they named Pyrenees (6). They built a temple near the ſtraits to Hercules, and their poſterity joining fable to fact called mount Calpe, now the hill of Gibraltar on the ſpaniſh ſide, and mount Abyla on the oppoſite ſide in Africa, the pillars of Hercules: the NE PLUS ULTRA of the ancient trading world.

The coloniſts on the coaſts cultivated a friendſhip with the natives, and in exchange for ſome trifles of ſmall value freighted their veſſels with gold, ſilver, precious ſtones, delicious fruits, animals of various kinds, and other ineſtimable treaſures of the country (7). Silver was ſo plentiful that they made anchors of it; a contrivance probably to carry it off. Homer, from the accounts of the Phœnicians, entertained ſuch a high idea of the country, that he placed his Elyſian fields here. It was then called Bœtica, now Andaluſia. At what time the natives began to work their iron mines is uncertain, but the

detaniam tenuiſſe, et condidiſſe Gadira et Malacam, et Auderam, et Carthaginem novam .. Et vero locorum nomina mere Phœnicia ſunt. Gadyra eſt ſeptum. Malacavel Malacha ταριχεια oppidum ſalſamentorum. Audera propugnaculum. Carthago Solino Carthada nova civitas.

(4) BOCHART. *ut ſup.* Etiam Iberiæ vox ex Phœnicum lingua petenda. Hebræis עבר Eber, Chaldæis עברא Ebra vel Ibra, eſt tranſitus, et quicquid eſt ulterius. Inde plurale עברין Ebrin vel Ibrin terminos et fines ſignificat. In Evangelio Syro, et in verſione Syra pſalmorum paſſim uſurpatur hæc vox, ubi Græca habent περατα της γης, et hebræa אפסי ארץ fines terræ. Merito igitur Iberi dicti qui ex Phœnicum ſententia terrarum fines ultimos occuparunt. Hiſpani nempe quorum urbem Calpen Tyrii putaverunt eſſe τερμονας της οικουμενης terræ habitatæ terminos, ut in Strabone habetur.

(5) IBID. *lib. ii. cap. vi.* Celtæ a Chelta crocus. Croceis capillis Galli tam Celtarum et Galatarum quam Rhodaniorum nomen debebant.

(6) BOCHART. *Chanaan. lib. i. cap. xxxv.* Pyrenes cacumen ſylvis opacum, inde Punice purani dictum ex Phœnicio פארני purani pro ramoſo et opaco. Nempe Ebræis פארה pura vel pora eſt ramus.... STRABONIS, *lib. iii.* Ipſius Pyrenes Hiſpanicum latus ſylvam habet arborum omnis generis, quæque perpetuo viret.... SIL. *lib. iii.* 415. Ac Pyrenæi frondoſa cacumina montis.

(7) DIODORI SICULI *Hiſt. lib. iv.*... BOCHART. *Chanaan. lib. i. cap. xxxv.*... PHALEG. *lib. iii.*

poliſhed and elegant armour and implements furniſhed by the iberian workmen were famous in early ages (8). It is ſaid the Carthaginians taught and poliſhed the natives, and certain it is the wealth drawn from their mines was the ſource of their grandeur at home, and the ſupport of their numerous armies and fleets abroad. The Romans ſucceeded the Carthaginians, and Polybius ſays, in his time forty thouſand men were employed in the mines, and ſupplied the ſtate with twenty-five thouſand drachmas, that is about ſix hundred and fifty pounds ſterling, every day (9).

The fatal conteſt for power between Carthage and Rome interrupted the trade and hazarded the liberties of the Celts. When Hannibal began the ſecond punick war, two hundred and eighteen years before the birth of Chriſt, he attempted to paſs over the Pyrenees into Gaul, with ninety thouſand foot and twelve thouſand horſe (1). The nations that inhabited the country, the Ilergetes, the Barguſians, the Ereneſians and Andoſians, diſputed his paſſage, and, great as his fame and power were, they attacked him, fought ſeveral bloody battles with him, and deſtroyed a conſiderable number of his men. He effected his purpoſe, but was obliged to leave under the command of Hanno ten thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe to guard the paſs. In future times the Romans met with the ſame rude attacks, for the Celts were rich, intrepid, and numerous. In all periods the populouſneſs of this country was wonderful, yet not incredible; for the ſalubrity of the climate, the fertility of the ſoil, the frugality and activity of the inhabitants account for it. The incomparable doctor Campbell from the higheſt authorities obſerves, that "in ancient times, when the country was divided into many principalities, the inhabitants were brave, were rich, and numerous, defended themſelves gallantly againſt the Carthaginians and Romans, were eſteemed even by their conquerours, and celebrated for their virtues by their hiſtorians. When, nearer our times, it was divided into many chriſtian and mooriſh principalities, the whole was thoroughly peopled, and fully cultivated, and was, in all reſpects, one of the richeſt and moſt fruitful countries in Europe (2)."

Pains and patience are eſſential to the underſtanding of this very abſtruſe part of the hiſtory of Spain and Navarre. The period under conſideration ought to be divided into three parts: the firſt exhibits a democracy; the ſecond an ariſtocracy; and the laſt a limited monarchy: and the whole includes the term from the year ſeven hundred and fourteen to one thouſand four hundred and ninety-two.

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(8) VIRGIL. *Æneid. lib. ix. ver.* 581.

Stabat in egregiis Arcentis filius armis,
Pictus acu chlamydem, et ferrugine clarus Ibera,
Inſignis facie, &c.

(9) STRAB. *Geog. lib. iii.* . . . JUSTINI *Hiſt. lib. xliv.* . . . TIT. LIV. *Hiſt. Rom.*

(1) TIT. LIVII *Hiſt. lib. xxi. cap.* 22, 23. . . . POLYBII *Hiſt. lib. iii.* 189, 190. . . . JUSTIN. *lib. xliv. cap. v.* . . . CORNEL. NEPOT. *Hamilcar. vita.* . . . *Ejuſdem* HANNIBALIS *vita. cap. iii.* Hannibal, minor quinque et viginti annis natus, imperator factus, proximo triennio omnes gentes Hiſpaniæ bello ſubegit. Saguntum, fœderatam civitatem vi expugnavit: tres exercitus maximos comparavit. Saltum Pyrenæum tranſiit: quacunque iter fecit, cum omnibus incolis conflixit: neminem niſi victum dimiſit.

(2) *Political Survey of Great Britain, vol. i. book i. chap.* 1.

The firſt, a period of eighty-ſix years, was a ſtate of pure democracy. In the times of the Goths the Pyrenees and part of the adjacent vallies were inhabited as hath been obſerved by Celts, Vaſcons, and ſeveral little republicks, whom the Goths had never ſubdued (3). On the irruption of the Moors, many Goths fled to the Pyrenees, and either mixed with theſe people, or ſettled near them, and although the Moors carried their conqueſts over the Pyrenees, yet, it ſhould ſeem, they occupied only ſome of the paſſes into Gaul, and left the fugitives, as well as the old inhabitants, to enjoy the reſt of the rocks and vallies. Here it was that the gothick Spaniards rallied, and after a few years, under the conduct of Pelayo, obtained a ſettlement in the country of the Aſtures, where they regulated themſelves by a few of the old gothick laws (4). Neither they nor the other little ſtates had any king or ſupreme governour, or, if they had a conde, or count, he was one of themſelves, elected to execute laws of their own framing, and neither was the office hereditary, nor the title (5). It was more a deſcription of ſervice than a title of honour: the diſſentions of ſuch little free ſtates are like ebullitions of youth, inconvenient indications of health: not unaptly deſcribed in an old engliſh comedy, entitled, Lingua, or the combat of the tongue and the five ſenſes for ſuperiority (6). One perſon of the drama is named Common Senſe, and this is one of his ſpeeches: "Fie upon't what a toil have I had to chuſe them a mayor yonder? there's a fuſty currier will have this man; there's a chandler wipes his noſe on his ſleeve, and ſwears it ſhall not be ſo. There's a muſtard-maker looks as keen as vinegar, will have another. O this many-headed multitude, 'tis a hard matter to pleaſe them."

(3) H. PAULUS *de Montibus Hiſpan. Pyrenen.* Inde digreſſus Pyrenæus in ſublime ſeſe faſtigat in excelſum jugum exſurgens, quod cum nivoſum ſit Albetam vocant, a Cerretanis, Herculis quondam comitibus et vaſconibus ſuprema ejus inhabitantur. Ipſe Emporitanos, Anſetanos, Ilergetas, Surdaones, Jaccitanos, Cantabroſque relinquens, tandem Larſonem verſus Oceano ſe jungit.... *Ejuſdem Barcino.* Præter Cantabros, Aſtures, atque Pyrenenſium aliquas gentes, quas vix locorum aſperitas eſt tutata, univerſa Hiſpania in Mauro-arabum ditionem pervenit.

(4) ANTON. OLIVANI *de jure Fiſci. cap. i. n. viii.* .... GREG. LOPEZ MADERA *excelencias de la Monarquia de Eſpagna. pag.* 61.

(5) ZURITÆ *Anales. De la corona de Aragon. tom. i. lib. i. cap. iv. De los Condes de Aragon, y Barcelona, y de otros que tuvieron ſenorio en los Montes Pyreneos.* Era la dignidad de marques muy ſenalado y de gran preeminencia, que entonces ſe dava alos preſidentes y governadores de las provincias, de la miſma manera que el titulo de los condes: y no le tenian perpetuo, antes era officio y cargo de governacion que muy a menudo ſe mudava: y tomo el nombre de lo que hoy llanian en Italia Marca.

(6) *Select Collection of old plays, vol. v.*

The ſecond period contains three hundred and ſixty-two years; for, from the year eight hundred to the year eleven hundred and ſixty-two, Catalonia was governed by vicegerents, called counts, either appointed by the court of France, or hereditary in the family of Wifred the hairy. This was a feodal ſyſtem of ariſtocracy, corrected, however, by the cuſtoms and laws of the ſeveral juriſdictions. It was a ſtate of general freedom, and partial oppreſſion. The condes, or counts, who had been formerly only magiſtrates, now became ſtationary, hereditary nobles. The old condados, or counties, which had been mere diſtricts divided for the purpoſe of adminiſtring juſtice, became fiefs, and the feoffees ſubdivided and parcelled out the lands among the ricos hombres of their own rank, and they again among the infanzones, or inferiour gentry, which were of two ſorts, one mere infanzons by birth or tenure, the other infanzon meſnaderos, who received pay from government (7). Each peopled and improved his eſtate, and the tenants got as good terms as they could (8). The clergy as clergy were ſomething or nothing as each owner of a diſtrict pleaſed. Where they acquired endowments they became lords, and exerciſed juriſdiction mild or tyrannical over their own tenants (9). The cities were free, and the citizens made their own laws, which the condes and their deputies executed. The neighbouring kingdoms of Leon and Aragon and Caſtile differed very little from Catalonia; and the count of

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(7) *Judices de las coſas mas notables de la hiſtoria de* GERONIMO ZURITA *Croniſta del reyno de Aragon, Zaragoça* 1621. *Impreſſo a coſta del reyno de Aragon.* Condados *que inſtiluyo* Carlo Magno..... Condado de Toloſa *incorporale* a la corona..... Condado de Urgel ſe haze *feudatorio* al Rey, &c. *in verb. Condado.*

BLANCÆ *Rerum Aragonenſium. Comment.*

(8) ZURITÆ *Anales. tom. i. lib. . cap. iv.* Concurrieron por eſte tiempo [circa 810] Aznar conde de Aragon, y Galindo ſu hijo, que tuvieron el ſenorio en aquella part de los montes Pyreneos, que era de la region de los Vaſcones, a donde fue muy nombrada en lo antiquo la ciudad de Iaca. Eſtos ſe apoderaron de las fuerças de los montes de Aſpa, y acometieron por las fronteras y VALLES de Sobrarbe, y perſeveraron con grande valor en hazer guerra a los Moros, con animo de proſequir por aquella parte ſu coquiſta. Iunto ſe con ellos otro principe muy valeroſo que ſe apodero de lo mas aſpero de Ribagorça, y tomo titulo de Conde, que ſe llamo Bernaldo, y caſo con Theuda hija del conde Galindo, y ſegun parece por antiguas memorias era del linaie de Carlo Magno, en cuyo tiempo la mayor parte de Sobrarbe, Ribagorça, y Pallas eſtava en poder de infieles. De tal manera ſe començo por aquella parte la conquiſta, y con tanta furca, que lançaron los Moros de las montanas haſta Calaſanz, y ſe apoderaron de los puertos y paſſos mas fuertes, y poblo el Conde Bernaldo diverſos lugares de chriſtianos des deel Grado, que llamavan de Aras, haſta el Grado de ſant Chriſtoval, y deſde el rio de Iſavena, haſta el caſtillo de Ribagorça. Dentro deſtros limites ſe poblaron valabriga, Brayllans, Viſarrahons, Villar, Reperos, Magarrofas, le Torre de la ribera, y Viſalibons.... Tenia el emperador Ludovico el dominio de las tierras y condados, que los Franceſes avian cobrado de los Moros en Eſpana deſde los condados de Roſellon y Cerdania, como ſe eſtienden los montes Pyreneos, haſta el VAL de Giſtao, que eſto junto al naſcimieto del rio Cinca, en cuyos limites ſe comprehendian Cerdania, Urgeleto, con el Val de Andorra, y el condado de Pallas, y toda Ribagorça: y en lo mas mediterraneo Berga, y mas al occidente todo el reſto, haſta incluir el VALLE de Giſtao.

(9) AGUIRRE. *tom. iii. Dotatio Monaſt. S. Mariæ de Ovarra. in Ripacurtia* [*Ribagorza*] *an. DCCCXIII*.... Donatio Suniefredi, &c.

Barcelona, the capital of the latter, was much in the ſame ſtate as a king of Aragon, or Caſtile, or Leon. The Celts and Vaſcons, and other ſmall independent ſtates were not included in this ſyſtem till ſome of them formed alliances with adjacent ſtates for the ſake of protection, and then they continued to regulate their own internal polity, and Navarre roſe into an independent kingdom about eight hundred fifty ſeven, after Leon, and before Caſtile and Aragon (1).

The laſt part of this period includes three hundred and thirty years. In the year eleven hundred and ſixty-two, Alfonſo, ſon of count Raymund V. and Petronilla, only daughter and heireſs of Ramiro II. king of Aragon, aſcended the throne of Aragon, and the province of Catalonia fell into the crown. From this time to the conqueſt of the Moors, in fourteen hundred and ninety-two, the government was a mixt and limited monarchy. As this ſubject hath been ſpoken of in another place, it is needleſs to repeat what was ſaid there: but it may not be improper to recollect two or three remarks becauſe they fall in properly in this place.

The kings of this period were kings of the whole people, and not of a faction ſeparated unnaturally from other citizens, and to whoſe dominion kings are under oaths and bonds to ſubdue the reſt. Hence they were denominated from their moſt remarkable qualities: Alfonſo the chaſte; Peter the catholick; James the conqueror; Peter the great; Alfonſo the beneficent; James the juſt; Alfonſo the courteous; Peter the ceremonious; Ferdinand the honeſt; Alfonſo the wiſe: but at the cloſe of this period Ferdinand reſigned all claim to thoſe natural diſtinctions, and accepted in lieu that of catholick to be annexed to the wearer of the crown through all generations: implying that wiſdom, juſtice, and kindneſs are not eſſential to government, but catholiciſm is (2).

It muſt afford great pleaſure to any ſpaniſh antiquary, who loves liberty, to inveſtigate with critical accuracy the riſe, progreſs, and eſtabliſhment of conſtitutional freedom in his country. It murmured awhile in the vaſcon towns of Jacca and Pampeluna, and among the mountains and navas, or vallies of the Pyrenees (3). It was then formed in Sobrarva into a little code of

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(1) *Indice Rer. ab Aragon. regib. geſtarum. lib. i.* Pompelo urbs Vaſconum. Jacca urbs Vaſconum. Gerunda urbs Maurorum. Barcino Laletanorum civitas. Tarraco Coſetanorum urbs. Oſca urbs Ilergetum. Cum Cantabris et Vardulis, Vaſcitaniæ finitimis, Pompelonenſes et Jaccetani adjungerentur.... Alphonſus ab Aſturibus ad regnum deligitur.... Barcino in Ludovici poteſtatem redigitur, Carolus Calvus Francorum rex Barcinonenſibus, ſive Hiſpani ſive Gothi eſſent, immunitatem, libertatemque elargitur, qua Franci ut aſſueverant: permittitque ut Gothicis legibus jura inter ſe, foraque conſtituant.

(2) BLANCÆ *Comm. ut ſup. p.* 781. *nomina* .... *cognomina* .... *gentilitia* .... *patronymica* .... *Agnomina* ... *Ariſta, Abarca, Bellator, &c.*

(3) MODERN UNIV. HIST. *vol. xxii. page* 390. *Marg. Etymologies of the word Navarre*... GARIBAY.. STEVENS.

NAVA. A plain ſpot of ground cleared from wood.... ERRIA. Land.... In the ancient cantabrian of fuero juzgo, or juſt law, and came down into Aragon with an expreſs declaration that the people had firſt made laws, and then elected magiſtrates to execute them (4). It lifted law in the perſon of the chief juſtice into a ſtate of univerſal inſpection, and gave it power to call every mortal in the ſtate to order. It exhibited a ſucceſſion of forty-nine juſtizas in the ſpace of four hundred and fifty years, all of characters ſo punctually juſt, that no compariſon can be made of them with ſimilar catalogues of any other order of men in the world (5). It was a conſtitution that diſtributed juſtice to Jews, Moors, natives, and foreigners, by laws, and courts, and officers of their own (6). It

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cantabrian language... NAVA-ERRIA. NAVARRE. The land of vallies... NAVA. A valley with rocks on both ſides. Spaniſh, probably from the Moors... NAVA DE TOLOSA. The valley or paſs of Tolloſa... NAVA DE MEDINA. The plain of Medina... NAVA. A town in Eſtramadura. One pariſh. About 100 families... LAS NAVAS. A town in Andaluſia, at the foot of the mountain Sierra Morena. 500 families... LAS NAVAS DE MARQUES. In Caſtile 700 families.

(4) H. BLANCÆ *Com. De antiquo Jure, Suprarbienſi foro nuncupato.*

IBID. *pag.* 594. ALFONSI II. *regis Privilegium.* Scio quod in Caſtella, in Navarra, et in aliis terris ſolent venire Jaccam per bonas conſuetudines, et fueros ad diſcendos eos, et ad loca ſua transferendos.

Ejuſdem. pag. 588, *&c.* Suprarbienſis fori fragmenta exſtant. Sunt quaſi prima rei publicæ noſtræ clementa. Initio illius fori præcautum fuit: " uti futurus rex, de legibus obſervandis, ac libertate regni tuenda, tum jusjurandi religione, tum etiam ipſarum legum vi, ac poteſtate premeretur apud nos prius leges conditas quam reges creatos fuiſſe." Ipſæ vero leges hujuſmodi fuere, ... ad finem. " Ad præſcriptas has leges dirigendam omnino, et formandam eſſe ejus, qui Suprarbienſis rex concupiſceret, voluntatem. Ac niſi prius de ſervandis ipſis fidem ſuam pateretur arctiſſimis vinculis obligari: prenſationem quamcumque præpoſteram eſſe futuram." Poſitis his igitur libertatis patriæ fundamentis, cœperunt ſinguli inter ſe de eo, quem regem eligerent, diſceptare. Neque id minus operoſum erat. Nec vero interea ab armis vacabant.

(5) IBID. *page* 787. *Juſtitiæ Aragonum.* I. Petrus Simeno: Eximini: Ximenes: de Rodelar, 1114... xlix. Joannes Lanuza IV. qui nunc [1588] Juſtitiatum gerit... In quos omnes ſi attente et diligenter inquiramus, vix quemquam reperiemus commendatione et gloria non dignum.

(6) IBID. *pag.* 776. *De antiquis nominibus et magiſtratibus.... De* ZAVALACHENO. Zavalachen ſarracenorum judicat ſemper cauſas... dictus a *Zaval* dominus, et *achen* judiciorum. Qui Zavalachen executioni mandat ſententias a ſe latas, et facit citationes, et ceteras compulſiones, quæ in Sarracenorum curia imminent faciendæ. Item exercet Tabellionatus officium inter eos: ita quod nullus alius inter Sarracenos facit publicum inſtrumentum.... *De* ALAMINO. Eſt etiam inter Sarracenos officialis qui Alamin, id eſt, fidelis, lingua Arabica appellatur. Qui debet cauſas minimas, non excedentes duos ſolidos, terminare, et exercet in curia Zavalachen apparitoris officium, vel ſagionis... *De* DAIENO. Inter Judæos vero eſt Daien, id eſt Judex, ad cognoſcendum de omnibus cauſſis, magnis, parvis, vel minimis conſtitutus. Qui nec compulſiones, nec exequutiones, etiam ſententiarum ab ipſo latarum, exercet aliquas inter eos... *De* HEDINO. Hedinus enim eſt Juſtitiarius Judæorum, exercet compulſiones, et mandat ſententias executioni, et facit ea inter Judæos quæ Zavalmetina, vel Baiulus inter Chriſtianos eſt facere conſuetus... *De* SUPRAJUNCTARIIS. Sunt etiam ſupra junctarii ſuper Junctas, id eſt, populorum turmas, a domino rege quaſi Paciarii conſtituti. Hi igitur apud nos olim magiſtratus viguerunt. Quorum poteſtatis noſtris temporibus in foro nulla exſtant veſtigia: nominis autem vix ulla: eorum præſertim, qui publicum illud juris dicundi munus inter Judæos et Arabes ſuſtinebant... *Plura vide apud ſcriptores de uſaticis Barcinon.* JACOB DE MONTE JUDAICO... JACOB. DE MARQUILLES... OLIBAN *de jure fiſci, &c.*

communicated freedom and the love of it every where, and, in ſpite of all the flimſy vails, which later eccleſiaſticks, unworthy deſcendants of ſuch anceſtors, have thrown over thoſe times to conceal the glory of their country under old wives tales of uniformity, called creeds, and charters, and councils, real or forged, taken out of the muſty hutches of the monks, an undeniable fact it is, that all on a ſudden, when they obtained the power of making inquiſition for uniformity, it appeared that all the inhabitants of the vallies on both ſides of the Pyrenees, the french as well as the ſpaniſh, were living at peace in diverſity of ſentiments, and in the actual enjoyment of religious liberty, as their anceſtors had always done, and that they were ſo thoroughly tinctured with the love of this kind of freedom they would be burnt to death rather than give it up. There was, indeed, one Italian of famous memory, Reiner of Saccho, who deſerted them, turned preaching friar, informer and inquiſitor, and among other things declared that ſome affirmed their faith and practice were as ancient as church eſtabliſhments, and others ſaid as the times of the apoſtles (7). They ſaid the truth, but the monk did not know their hiſtory.

Some of the inhabitants of the Pyrenees, and of the adjacent ſtates, and not thoſe of the vallies of Piedmont, were the true original Waldenſes, for to them and to them only do the deſcriptions in the books of the inquiſitors agree. True it is, at the reformation a people appeared in the vallies of Piedmont, who gave good proof of their antiquity, and produced ſome writings, which indicated their connection with the Catalonians; as will be obſerved in its due place: but there is one demonſtrative proof mentioned by Leger, that they were not the ancient Waldenſes of eccleſiaſtical hiſtory (8). The Piedmonteſe were trinitarians, uniform in religion: but the old Waldenſes had no notion of uniformity, and many of them were Manicheans and Arians. The Piedmonteſe did not underſtand liberty: the Pyreneans did. The Piedmonteſe were a handful: the Pyreneans were thouſands and tens of thouſands. The Piedmonteſe were a tame dejected people: the Pyreneans high ſpirited and ardent for univerſal freedom, as their anceſtors had been. Here lay the ſnare; the reformers, as fond of the doctrine of ſucceſſion as the catholicks, laboured with all their might to find out a ſucceſſion of chriſtians of the ſame faith and order as themſelves. Such a people they found in the vallies of Savoy, and by dextrouſly applying to them whatever had been ſaid of the inhabitants of other vallies they ſurmounted all obſtacles except one. The catholicks objected that the old Waldenſes held all ſorts of errours, and were as different from the reformers as from the church of Rome. The reformers extricated themſelves from this difficulty by replying: that inquiſitors, monks and hiſtorians were ſlanderers; and that all the Waldenſes believed as they and the Piedmonteſe believed. The worſt of this reply is, it is not true. A narrative of a few facts will elucidate this ſubject.

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(7) Reineri Sacchonis *contra Waldenſes. cap. iv.* Aliqui dicunt, quod ſecta Leoniſtarum duraverit a tempore Sylveſtri, aliqui a tempore apoſtolorum.

(8) *Hiſt. des Egliſes Vaudoiſes. cap. xix. Refutation de ceus qui ſont deſcendre les Vaudois des Anciens Arriens, Manichéens, Cathares.*

Names found in ancient edicts of princes and canons of the church, which are of themſelves ſufficiently abſtruſe, on account of their antiquity, are rendered much more ſo by accidents, or by the fertility of the inventions of commentators. It will be neceſſary to give an example of each.

To begin with accidents. Sometimes theſe people are called Arnaldiſts. In Italy they are ſo named from Arnald of Breſcia, one of their teachers (9). In Spain a nobleman named Arnald protected them on his eſtate, and was himſelf one of their number, as was alſo his daughter Ermeſenda. Zurita ſays, in the year twelve hundred and ſeventy, in the month of November, friar Peter Cadrieta, and friar William of Colonico, who had been appointed by the pope inquiſitors of heretical pravity in the kingdoms and lordſhips of the king of Aragon, aſſiſted by the biſhops of the dioceſe of Urgel, proceeded againſt ſuch as were accuſed of the crime of holding the hereſy of the Albigenſes and other errours, and condemned the memory of Arnald viſcount of Caſtelbo, and declared that he had been a heretick, and a receiver and protector of hereticks, and ordered, that his bones ſhould be dug up (1). The ſame ſentence was paſſed on his daughter Ermeſenda, late viſcounteſs of Caſtelbo. Such accidents frequently gave the ſame name in different countries to very different people.

Viſcount Arnald lived an hundred years before this time, as the dates of the deeds by which he held ſome of his eſtates prove. His poſſeſſions were very large (2). A part he inherited from his anceſtors, and a part he held of Ermengaud count of Urgel: ſome on condition of homage, as the caſtles, lands, and honours of Cabozed, or Zabozez: others, as lands in the valley of Andorra, on condition of building and repairing caſtles, peopling the waſtes, and paying certain annual ſums to the count and his heirs, and to churches and monaſteries ſpecified in the deed (3). Ermeſenda, daughter of Arnald, inherited his eſtates, and by her marriage with a french count on the other ſide of the mountains, whoſe county of Foix abutted on the valley of Andorra, the eſtate of Arnald, they went into that family. The inquiſitors, who condemned the bones of the lady and her father, had the inſolence to cite her grandſon to appear and anſwer a charge of hereſy, which was brought againſt him as well as againſt his grandmother, and his great grandfather: but he had the wiſdom to keep at home, and deſpiſe their impertinence. The eſtate was now become a fief of the crown: otherwiſe nobody durſt have executed ſuch a ſentence (4).

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(9) JACOBI GRETSERI *Prolegomena in ſcriptores contra ſectam Waldenſium. cap. iv.*

(1) *Anales. tom. i. lib. iii. c. lxxv.* En eſte tiempo ſe hazia muy riguroſa y ſevera inquiſicion por dos religioſos q ſe dezia fray Pedro de Cadreyta, y fray Guillen de Colonico, que eran inquiſidores cotra la heretica praveded por comiſſion apoſtolica en los reynos y ſenorios del rey de Aragon: y procedieron cotra los q eſtavan inculpados del crimen y heregia de los Albigeſes y de otros errores: y con aſſiſtecia de Abril obiſpo de Urgel, por el mes de Noviebre deſte ano, codenaron la memoria y fama de Arnaldo vizcode de Caſtelbo, y le declararo por herege, y receptador y defenſor de hereges: y mandaron q ſus hueſſos fueſſen deſenterrados. La miſma ſentencia ſe dio cotra Ermeſenda vizcondeſſa de Caſtelbo ſu hija, que fue codeſſa de Fox, aviendo primero citado a Roger Bernaldo conde de Fox ſunieto, por cuyo derecho avia ſucedido el conde enel vizcondado de Caſtelbo.

(2) *Petri de Marca. Lim. Hiſpan. Append. pag.* 1380. *&c. Ex archivo regio Fuxenſi. an.* 1185. *Sacramentalia Arnalli vicecomitis de Caſtronovo* [*Caſtrobono*] *et Ermengaudi comitis Urgellenſis. . . Ex eodem archivo.* 1190. *Acta conventionum habitarum inter Ermengaudum comitem Urgellenſem et Arnaldum de Caſtrobono. . . Ex eodem* 1190. *Ermengaudi comitis Urgellenſis donatio facta Arnaldo de Caſtrobono.*

The county of Urgel was rendered famous in eccleſiaſtical hiſtory by Felix, who was biſhop there in the eighth century, and who hath been mentioned, along with his diſciple Elipand, in the account of Spain. Whether the pretended hereſy of viſcount Arnald and his tenants was the ſame as that of Felix is not ſaid. This is certain, that Urgel in the time of Felix was ſubject to Charlemagne, and by the emperour the pope reached and puniſhed Felix: but afterward Urgel was an independent county, although it was under the protection of the counts of Barcelona as lords paramount. The counts of this and ſeveral other ſigniories exerciſed ſupreme dominion, and coined money, and the connection with the counts of Barcelona was an union of friendſhip and mutual defence. This is reported by the firſt ſpaniſh hiſtorians, and confirmed by ancient deeds (5). The count of Barcelona or his repreſentative was the ally of Arnald, and as he, Arnald, paid homage for ſome lands of the count, which he purchaſed and peopled to enlarge his eſtate, he was on thoſe lands viſcount, and had under him vavazors, valvaſors, or valbazors, and they others under them. When the counts of Barcelona became kings of Aragon, the paramountſhip fell into the crown, and covered the lands of Arnald. Hence the juriſdiction of the inquiſitors in the county of Urgel. This revolution happened in the time of Arnald, but it produced no ill effects in his life time, or in that of his daughter, or in that of his grandchildren, and his great grandſon was the firſt of his deſcendants, who was cited before an eccleſiaſtical tribunal in Spain. From all which it is eaſy to collect a moral certainty of the religious liberty enjoyed on this eſtate: for to the honour of this noble family be it ſaid they tolerated all, even the intolerant catholicks on their eſtates in the county of Urgel. Here hereſy erected its ſtandard in ſeven hundred and eighty three, and, excepting the perſecution of one man by the emperour Charlemagne, here the voice of religious oppreſſion was not heard till the year twelve hundred and ſeventy: a period of near five hundred years.

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(3) *Donatio ut ſup.* Sit notum cunctis quoniam Ego Ermengaudus Comes Urgellenſis et Alvira comtiſſa donamus tibi Arnallo de Caſtrobono et omni progeniei tuæ ipſum Pug de Asfa qui eſt juxta fluvium Sicoris, cum adjacentiis ſuis, tali ſcilicet pacto ut ibi facias caſtrum et forciam et popules hominibus.... Iterum donamus ſimili modo tibi caſtrum ſancti Vincentii quod eſt ad radicem Montiſclari in valle Andorra.

(4) IBID. *pag.*12. Emenſo Ceritanæ comitatu, latius paulisper vallis ſe diffundit inter utroſque montes intercepta. Illic ſita eſt civitas Urgellenſis, clementiori ſolo, atque vini ferace. Ad dexteram porro eſt vallis Andorræ, Fuxenſi comitatui finitima. Urgellenſis pagus hinc et inde cingitur vicecomitatu Caſtriboni, in cujus extrema parte ſiti ſunt montium trajectus in Cataloniam, ad Pontem videlicet Olianæ et collum Nargonis....*pag.* 520. Reges Aragonum non invenio accepiſſe titulum Comitum Urgelli ante annum MCCXXXIII.

(5) ZURITA *Anales. tom.* I. *lib. i. cap. ix. An. DCCCCXC.* De manera q aque llos eſtados de Urgel, Cerdania, Beſalu y Girona, y el condado de Ampurias, eſtavan ſujetos a ſenores que eran de la caſa y linage de los condes de Barcelona, aunq eran exentos entonces de ſu directo dominio: y tenian el ſupremo ſenorio en ſus eſtados, y batian moneda: y deſpues ſe reconocio por ellos el feudo a los condes de Barcelona.

MARCA *Lim. Hiſpan. Monum CCCCLXXXI. Ex archivo regio Fuxenſi.* Ego Arnallus Vicecomes de Caſtrobono promitto.... tibi domino meo Ermengaudo Urgellenſi comiti ut ſim tibi homo fidelis et amicus.... et defendam et adjuvem te contra cunctos.... Et Ego Ermengaudus comes Urgellenſis recipio te ſicut ſuperius ſcriptum eſt, et promitto tibi Arnallo Vicecomiti. ...ut ſim tibi fidelis dominus et amicus.... et defendam et adjuvem te contra cunctos. &c. ....*pag.* 267. Urgellenſis Vicecomitatus hæſit feudo Caſtriboni.

Leoniſts is another name of theſe chriſtians of the ſame kind. There were URBES LEGIONUM, or to ſpeak corruptly towns called Leona on each ſide of the mountains. One on the ſpaniſh ſide was in Aſturias, an inconſiderable place for ages, but when it became in the tenth century the reſidence of a king, it was enlarged and embelliſhed, and communicated its name to the whole diſtrict, which ceaſed to be called the kingdom of Oviedo, and was named the kingdom of Leon (6). On the French ſide there was one place of this name in Guienne, now called S. Bertand, the ancient capital of Celtick Gaul, and another now named Lyons (7). In and about all theſe places the chriſtian diſſidents lived: but a Leoniſt on one ſide of the Pyrenees was probably a gothick ſpaniſh Arian, and a Leoniſt on the oppoſite ſide a french diſciple of Peter of Lyons: at leaſt it is not neceſſary to confound them together becauſe an accident which had no connection with religion acquired them the ſame name.

Similar accidents gave riſe to the name Waldenſes. From the latin vallis came the engliſh valley, the french and ſpaniſh valle, the italian valdeſi, the low dutch valleye, the provençal vaux, vaudois, the eccleſiaſtical vallenſes, valdenſes, ualdenſes, and waldenſes. The words ſimply ſignify vallies, inhabitants of vallies, and no more (8). It happened, that the inhabitants of the vallies of the Pyrenees did not profeſs the catholick faith; it fell out alſo that the inhabitants of the vallies about the Alps did not embrace it; it happened moreover in the ninth century that one Valdo a friend and counſellor of Berengarius, and a man of eminence who had many followers, did not approve of the papal diſcipline, and doctrine; and it came to paſs about an hundred and thirty years after that a rich merchant of Lyons, who was called Valdus becauſe he received his religious notions from the inhabitants of the vallies, openly diſavowed the roman religion, ſupported many to teach the doctrines believed in the vallies, and became the inſtrument of the converſion of great numbers. All theſe people were called Waldenſes, and hence it came to paſs, that ſome contended they were Manicheans, and Arians, and others that they were the direct oppoſite. Divide them into two claſſes, and both ſay the truth. The jeſuit Gretſer, abating the catholiciſm of his language, gives a juſt account of them, when he ſays, the Waldenſes were collections of various ſects of Manicheans, Arians, and others, ſome did believe the doctrines of the church, but did not embrace the worſhip or the diſcipline: others renounced the whole (9). In plain ſtyle, they were chriſtians in different degrees of religious improvement. This article will be reſumed preſently.

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(6) MARIANÆ *Hiſt. Hiſpan. lib. iv. cap. v. An.* 99. In Aſturibus ſeptimæ legionis milites urbem poſuerunt, Legionem a conditoribus dictam, exiguo numero civium hac tempeſtate.... *Lib. vii. xx. An.* 918. Rex rediit in patriam, et triumphantis in morem Legionem invectus eſt.... Eo ex tempore Ovetenſis regis nomen Legionenſi mutatum. &c.

(7) P. DE COLONIA. *Hiſt. de la ville de Lyon. chap. i.* Elle fut la capitale de toute la Gaule celtique: elle lui donna ſon nom par l'ordre d' Auguſte dans la nouvelle diviſion que fit ce prince.

(8) JEAN LEGER *Hiſt. des egliſes des valles de Piemont ou Vaudoiſes, chap. ii. De la vraye origine du nom de Vaudois.*. . *Dr.* ARCH. MACLAINE's *note on* MOSHEIM. *cent. xii. p. ii. c. v.*

It would be endleſs to make a detail of accidental names; it is not neceſſary here; and it will be more proper to take them up as they fall in the way in other countries. The above are ſufficient to convey a juſt notion of what is intended, which is, that to reaſon from a ſimilar name to a ſimilar faith is illogical. An example or two ſhall be added of ſuch names as the fruitful geniuſſes of commentators have perplexed.

Some of theſe chriſtians were called SABBATI, SABBATATI, and INSABBATATI, and more frequently INZABBATATI. Led aſtray by ſound without attending to facts, one ſays, they were ſo named from the hebrew word ſabbath, becauſe they kept the ſaturday for the Lord's day (1). Another ſays, they

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(9) *Præloquia in triadem Scriptorum contra Waldenſium ſectam, cap. i.* Multa, imo pleraque ex his quæ ſcriptores iſti [*Ebrardus, Bernardus, Ermengardus*] diſputant, æque feriunt noſtros novatores ac veteres illos Waldenſes; quos aliqui etiam Arianos, aliqui Manichæos appellant; quia et illorum et horum errores amplectebantur, ſaltem nonnulli ex illis. Itaque cauſſæ nihil eſt, cur Rogerum in Anglicanis annalibus corrigamus, ubi dicit, Eodem anno 1176. damnata eſt Ariana hæreſis, ſubſtituto vocabulo Manichæa: nam Waldenſium ſecta nihil aliud erat, quam variarum ſectarum fœdiſſima colluvies: Quo circa non immerito jam ab hac, jam ab alia nomen ſortitur.

(1) GRETSERI *Prolegom. ut ſup. cap. iv. De aliis Waldenſium ſectarum nominibus, de quibus, mentio in conſtitutione Frederici imperatoris.* Circumciſi forſan illi fuerint, qui aliis Inſabbatati, non quod circumciderentur, inquit calvaniſta [*Goldaſtus*] ſed quod in ſabbato judaizarent. At Sabbatum adeo non obſervabant Waldenſes, ut omnia omnino feſta exterminarent, totumque vetus teſtamentum repudarent, quemadmodum ex Reinero liquet. De Inſabbatatis potius Prateolo aſſentior, qui iſta: Inſabbatati ſunt ex factione Waldenſium ſic appellati, quod qui inter eos perfectiores ſunt, ſignum quoddam in ſuperiore parte ſui ſotularis, quem Sabbatem appellant, deferre ſolebant. . . . JACOBI USSERII *De Chriſtianar. Eccles. ſucceſs. et ſtat. cap. viii.* Dicti ſunt et Inſabbatati: non quod nullum feſtum colerent, ut opinatus eſt Johannes Maſſon,

nec

were ſo called becauſe they rejected all the feſtivals, or ſabbaths, in the low latin ſenſe of the word, which the catholick church religiouſly obſerved. A third ſays, and many with various alterations and additions have ſaid after him, they were called ſo from ſabot, or zabot, a ſhoe, becauſe they diſtinguiſhed themſelves from other people by wearing ſhoes marked on the upper part with ſome peculiarity. Is it likely, that people, who could not deſcend from their mountains into neighbouring ſtates without hazarding their lives through the furious zeal of inquiſitors, ſhould tempt danger by affixing a viſible mark on their ſhoes? Beſide, the ſhoe of the peaſants happens to be famous in this country, it was of a different faſhion, and was called Abarca. Several better reaſons may be given for the name. The latin word CAPUT, a head, was corrupted by the ſpaniards into cabeça, and hence came CABO, a cape, a headland. They called theſe people los incabats, and ſounded the word enzabats, meaning inhabitants of hills, mountaineers (2). By a little crook, which they called cedilla, placed under the letter c, they inform the reader that it is to be ſounded like an s or a z. Thus for example. MIGUEL PEREZ ÇAPATA SENOR DE ÇADARETE; JUAN ÇAPATA CAVALERO, that is, Michael Zapata, John Zapata. PEDRO ÇAPATA HALLASE EN LAS CORTES DE ÇARAGOÇA; Peter Zapata was preſent in the parliament held at Zaragoza, or Saragoſſa. This ſenſe of the word agrees with the fact. It may be further obſerved, that when the inquiſition had received accuſations given in by familiars of the office againſt hereticks, and had regiſtered the names of the accuſed in order to catch them at a fit opportunity, the people in the catalogue were called encabezados, that is the enrolled, the regiſtered; from encabeçar to enrol, from cabeça the head, as to enrol was to regiſter under diſtinct heads. The word Cathari corrupted into Gazari is another example of the ſame kind.

All this goes on ſuppoſition, that the word is of modern date ſpaniſh cor-

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nec quod in ſabbato colendo judaizarent, ut multi putabant, ſed a Zapata, quod eſt pedis indumentum ex corio confectum Hiſpanis Zapato appellatum.... NICOLAI EYMERICI *Direct. inquis. par. ii.* In ſotulari, quod Zabbati vulgo dicitur, ſignum ſingulare quoddam, ut cognoſcerentur ab eorum complicibus, deferebant.... IBID, *par. iii.* Quoddam ſcutum in Sotularis vel Zabbatæ parte ſuperiori, hi qui perfecti inter eos ſunt, in ſignum deferunt, a quo et Inzabbatati etiam dicti ſunt.

(2) L. A PARAMO. *De orig. Inquis. lib. ii. tit. ii. cap. viii.* In Cathaloniæ principatu, ac Aragoniæ regno, priuſquam in alia qualibet Hiſpaniæ regione, S. Inquiſitionis officium claruit: Ejus vero origo talis eſt. Cum Raimundus a Pennafort, confeſſarius Jacobi regis, vulgo dicti el conquiſtador, qui poſtea Barcinone extitit inquiſitor, anteaquam Romam proficiſceretur, ubi de univerſali eccleſiæ ſtatu bene meritus fuit, tempore Gregorii ix. hæreticis quibuſdam vulgo dictis los encabats (qui ut pragmatica ſanctione regis Petri patris Jacobi promulgata anno 1197 conſtat iidem erant, quos Legione Valdenſes ac pauperes appellabant) regna illa corrumpentibus, Jacobum hujus nominis primum regem ſumma contentione rogavit ut delegatos inquiſitores ad ea mala ſedanda a ſummo pontifice in eas provincias, ac in nonnullas Galliæ Narbonenſis civitates, quæ ad regem tanquam Mompellerii comitem ſpectabant, mitti curaret. Rex itaque, quod ſibi ſuaſerat Raimundus, ejus curæ ac admirabili fidei zelo commiſit.

corrupted from the roman: but there is another derivation far more likely than this. Spain is the moſt difficult country in Europe to etymologiſts. Firſt the Celts, then the Phœnicians, after them Greeks, Jews, Romans, Goths, and Saracens inhabited Spain, and critical writers on the ſpaniſh language obſerve, that many words of modern uſe have deſcended from the original tongues of all theſe former inhabitants (3). The very learned Bochart hath obſerved that Zabbaton in one book of Xenophon is the ſame as Zaton in another; that both are the ſame as the chaldean Diabat, Diava, and Hadiavah: and that all proceed from the hebrew word Zab or Zeeb, being nothing more than different dialects of the ſame word, which ſignifies a wolf (4). He remarks further, that Ammianus, Xenophon, and others, who made uſe of the word as the name of ſome rapid rivers underſtood it in its derived ſenſe; for the Eaſterns called ſuch rivers as came pouring violently down from hills and rocks, and precipices, bears and wolves, for very obvious reaſons. He adds, moreover, that what Ammianus calls pons anzabæ is a bridge over the Zabbæ, or the rapid ſtream, for AN ſignifies AT. According to this account, which is confirmed by the higheſt authorities, it may be ſuppoſed that the word enzabbati is of phœnician original, and was anciently put for ſuch inhabitants of the Pyrenees as reſided near thoſe narrow dells through which in ſome ſeaſons the waters come rapidly rolling and roaring down from the rocks. After all perhaps the word was an old figurative term put for a cruel enemy, as chaldean was for a mathematician, canaanite for a merchant, and arab for a footpad (5).

It is very credible, that the name PASSAGEROS, or paſſagini, is a tranſlation of the laſt word, and was given ſuch of them as lived in or near the paſſes or paſſages of the mountains, and who ſubſiſted in part by guiding travellers, or by travelling themſelves for trade. A great many of the names by which

(3) Andres de Poça *de la antiqua lengua poblaciones y comarcas de las Eſpanas. Bilboa* 1587. Sebastian de Cobarruvias Orozco *Teſauro de la lengua Caſtellana o Eſpanola. Madrid,* 1611.

(4) Phaleg. *lib. iv. cap. xix. Aſſur.* Zaba et Diava ſola dialecto differunt, et in Xenophonte Zabatos magis accedit ad Zabam. Quin et Ammianus, lib. xviii. pro Diava habet Zabam; poſtquam, inquit, reges Nineve Adiabene ingenti civitate tranſmiſſa in medio pontis Anzabæ; id eſt, pontis ad Zabam.. Ponti Anzabæ ſeu ſuper Zabam ex oppoſito reſpondet *η του Καπρου διαβασις* Capri trajectus apud Strabonem, lib. xvi.

(5) Martin del Rio. *Com. in Med. ii. v.* 711. Hebræis arabs latronem denotat, ſicut chananæis mercatorem, chaldæis mathematicum... Doctor Bernardo Aldrete *varias antiguedades de Eſpana. Amberes.* [Antverpiæ] 1614. *lib. i. cap. xxvii. Los latrocinios de los Arabes.* Los Arabes que no ſon mercaderes, i tratantes, uſan de robos i latrocinios, ſiendo latrones, i ſalteadores. Todos los libros, que trattan de le tierra ſancta, i ſu deſcripcion, i viage de los peregrinos aſſi en lo moderno, como en lo antiguo hazen memoria deſto. En el libro del Sancto Job i. 15. irruerunt Sabæi. Los lxx. de Sixto, venerunt prædones. Aſſi declararon el nombre de Sabeos los ſetenta llamando los ladrones, i *enemigos*, comun opinion en que eſtavan los Arabes. A los latrocinios, robos, i ſalteamientos haze campania la crueldad. Aſſi hizieron los Sabeos a los criados de Job, qui aviendo los robado, los paſſaron a cuchillo... *Lib. ii. cap. viii. De las dicciones Punicas, i Arabes, que ai en Eſpana, i las que ſe reputan por Hebreas.*

they are deſcribed in an edict of the emperour Frederick II. preſerved by his chancellor, are local, and taken from the places which they inhabited, and very few from their faith or manners (6). The moſt common names are Albigenſes and Waldenſes.

Such great men as had acquired eſtates in thoſe parts took their names and titles from thoſe of the hills and vallies where they were ſituated, for merchants were conſidered as grandees of the kingdom, and magiſtrates aſpired to the honour of being covered in the preſence of the king (7). That ancient and accurate hiſtorian Zurita, having often occaſion to mention meetings of parliament, hath recorded the names of many of this ſort, and hath deſcribed the mountains and vallies, whence they were taken (8). Thus, to mention only one example, when in a parliament held at Saragoſſa, he mentions the names of thoſe, who took an oath of fidelity to the princeſs Joanna for the ſeveral ſtates, he ſets down among the infanzones, cavalleros, or country gentlemen, Alonſo de Valdes, and John Zapata (9). There is no apparent impropriety in ſuppoſing that the inhabitants of ſuch eſtates were called Vallenſes or Valdenſes, and Enzabbatatas. The analogy anſwers as well to Zapatas Valtorreſios, or Zapatas Valtorres, names that remain, as to Ammienſes, Babanenſes, Cincenſes, Iſpalenſes, Julienſes, Vennenſes, Vibienſes, and others mentioned as loſt and forgotten names by Ortelius and other geographers (1).

Laying aſide an endleſs catalogue of words, and arguments, and compreſſing into a narrow compaſs what appears moſt probable, becauſe the conjecture is ſupported by facts, the brief hiſtory of the word Valdenſes ſeems to be this. When the Phœnicians arrived in Spain, enraptured with the deliciouſneſs of the country they deſcriptively called Bœtica, the part in which they ſettled, ala, alatz, alas, a delicious place of joy and pleaſure (2). Homer, having heard of this in Greece, when he wanted to deſcribe the delightful fields into which the ſouls of the departed heathens went after death, borrowed the phœnician word, and called the place Eluſion. In proceſs of time the Vandals ſettled in Bœtica, and then it was named Vand-aluſia. When the Moors diſpoſſeſſed the Vandals, among whom were Suevi, Romans, Celts, and others, they ſettled about the Pyrenees in divided bodies taking a variety of ſimple new names from new ſituations and circumſtances, or compound names from different combinations. Among theſe, which were many, ſome phœnician, ſome celtick, ſome gothick, there was one which was taken from the place in which they ſettled (3). This was a diſtrict near Barcelona, called Vallenſis. The inhabitants ſeem to have been the true original Vallenſes, who undeſignedly communicated their name with their doctrine in whole or in part to many other claſſes of people, who were afterward called by the general name of Vallenſes, Valdenſes, or Ualdenſes, as well as by many more taken from their peculiar doctrines, their habitations, their circumſtances, their connections, their teachers, their own infirmities, or the inventive malice of their enemies.

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(6) Petri de Vineis. *Epiſtol. Hiſtoric. de geſt. Frederici imp. lib. i. cap. xxvii. Ambergæ* 1609. Pateranos, Speroniſtas, Leoniſtas, Arrianiſtas, Circumciſos, Paſſaginos, Joſeppinos, Carracenſes, Albaſenſes, Franciſcos, Bagnaroles, Comiſtas, Waldenſes, Burgaros, Commimellos, Barrinos, et Ortolenos, et omnes hæreticos utriuſque ſexus, quocumque nomine cenſeantur, perpetua damnamus infamia.

(7) Don Alonso Carillo *Origin de la dignidad de grande de Caſtilla. Madrid,* 1657. Albaro Alonso Barba. *Arte de los Metales...* Alonso Carello *Laſſo de las antiguas minas de Eſpana. Madrid,* 1729.

(8) *Anales. tom. i. lib. i. cap. xiv. Del rey Don Ramero, que fue el primero rey de Aragon y delos limites de aquel reyno.. ii. xiv. Valles de Hecho, Aragues, Ayſa, Broto, Roncal, Bielſa y Giſta.. i. xviii. Valles de Lobera, Orſella, &c.*

(9 *Tom. v. lib. v. cap. v.* Los que juraron por el eſtado de los cavalleros, e infançones fueron Don Miguel de Gurrea... Alonſo de Valdes. Joan. Zapata, &c... *Lib. iii. cap. xxx. Cortes en Zaragoça. an.* 1498. Los que a la jura del principe Don Miguel concurrieron. Pedro Zapata prior de Santa Maria del pilar de Zaragoça... Don Pedro de Mendoça ſenor de la Baronia de Sangeren.. Don Juan de Mendoça Cabeca de vaca... Pedro de Val por dona Aldonca de Gurrea, tutriz de Don Alonſo Felipe de Aragon, y de Gurrea, ſenor de la Baronia de Torrellas... Miguel de Gurrea ſenor de la Baronia de Gurrea... Blaſco de Azlor... Inigo de Bolea... Alonſo de Valdes, &c. Blancæ *Comment.* De Zapatarum gente. De Zapatis de Thous, de Calahorra, de Alfaro, de Valtorres, Valtorreſios appellatos, &c.

(1) Petri Bertii *Theatrum Geographiæ veteris, in quo continentur* Ptolemæi *Geograph. cum tabulis Ptolemaicis a* Gerardo Mercatore *delin: Itinerar. Imp.* Antonini: *libellus provinciar. Roman: Civitates prov. Galliæ: Itiner. Burdigale Hieroſolym. uſque: Tabul.* Peutingeriana *cum notis* M. Velseri: *et* Abrah. Ortelii *tabul. aliquot Geograph. Vet. Amſtel.* 1618.

Of their condition a tolerable idea may be formed from two ſhort but authentick and well written pieces of Jerom Paul. This gentleman was a native of Barcelona, brought up to the practice of the law as his father had been. He wrote a ſmall treatiſe on the mountains and rivers of Spain, and addreſſed it to the cardinal-biſhop, who was afterward pope Alexander VI (4). In the year fourteen hundred ninety-one he addreſſed to his intimate friend Paul Pompilius a ſhort hiſtory of Barcelona (5). This city was founded by Hamilcar

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(2) Bocharti *Chanaan. lib. i. cap. xxxiv. Phœnices in Bœtica Hiſpaniæ.* Itaque Homerum a Phœnicibus tum locorum dominis de regionis ubertate atque opulentia edoctum ibi locaſſe campos Elyſios Strabo pluribus probat. Et vero fabulam hanc eſſe Phœniciam patet ex ipſo *Elyſii* nomine quod ex Phœnicum lingua deſumptum. Hebraice enim עלז *alaz*, עלץ *alatz*, et עלס *alas* eſt lætari et exultare, et עליז *aliz* lætus, עליזות *alizuth* exultatio. Inde *Elyſius* αρχαικως A et E permutatis, ut Enakim, Evila, Edeſſa, &c. pro Anakim, Avila, Adeſſa, &c. Itaque campus Elyſius eſt lætitiæ locus et voluptatis.

(3) Andre de Poça. *ut ſup... Diccionario de la lengua Caſtellana.. compueſto por la real academia Eſpanola. Madrid,* 1726. *at ann ſeqq...* P. Raphael Bluteau *vocabulario Portuguez e latino autorizado con exemplos. Coimbra,* 1712, *et ann. ſeqq.*

(4) Hieronymi Pauli *Barcinonenſis de fluminibus et montibus Hiſpaniæ. Ad Reverendiſſ. D. Rodericum Epiſc. Portuenſem. Card. Valentinum. S. R. E. Vicecanc. poſtea* Alex. vi. *appellat.*

(5) H. Pauli *Juriſconſult. Barcino. Ad* Paulum Pompilium. *anno M.CCCC.XCI. regnante* Ferdinando ii. *Caſtellæ et Aragonum rege.* Civitas ab Amilcare Barca primi belli Punici temporibus condita fuit.... Bocharti *Chanaan. lib. i. cap. xxxv.* Amilcar Barca pater Annibalis Barcinonem condidiſſe dicitur, conjectura facta ex nomine, quod

Barcas, the Carthaginian. After various revolutions it fell into the hands of the Goths, who included it in the diſtrict inhabited by Goths and Alans, and which from them was called Gothalonia, and in the end Catalonia. On the invaſion of the Moors, who extended their conqueſts as far as the Pyrenees, and almoſt deſtroyed Tarragona the capital of Catalonia, Barcelona inſenſibly became the principal city of the province. In the year eight hundred Lewis the Debonnair of France took it from the Moors, and it was for a long time governed by vicegerents or counts appointed by France. In time the government became hereditary, and by an intermarriage with the heireſs of Aragon it was annexed to that crown in the latter end of the twelfth century. During this whole period it was the ſeat of freedom, notwithſtanding a few accidental and violent acts of eccleſiaſtical tyranny. Paul wrote his deſcription of it the year before Ferdinand conquered Granada. Then the province of Catalonia extended one way near an hundred and ſeventy miles, and the other at the wideſt part one hundred and thirty (6). It contained more than four hundred towns and cities beſide villages, of all which Barcelona was the metropolis (7). It was with ſufficient reaſon that the author likens the laws of Barcelona to thoſe of the ancient Rhodians (8). Of them an excellent judge ſays, "They tried all the forms of monarchy, democracy, and ariſtocracy, and like moſt wiſe nations, framed a new conſtitution for themſelves out of them all. A ſupreme magiſtrate they had, who was elected every ſix months, but if occaſion required might be continued longer in office, with a ſenate compoſed of the wiſeſt citizens, who appointed generals, admirals, and other publick officers of the commonwealth (9)." The people of Barcelona had a free ſenate of all orders, and the legiſlative power was in their hands. In early parts of this period they elected their own officers: in the latter the law was executed by magiſtrates nominated by the crown. Paul obſerves, that ſome thought their government would not be durable, becauſe it was popular: but he does not remark the true ſeed of deſpotiſm, which was inſenſibly gnawing out the vitals of their free conſtitution, and which after his time deſtroyed it,

that

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nec probo, nec rejicio. Tantum obſervo Barcinonem Punicam dici in his Auſonii Epiſt. 24. Paulino.

me Punica lædit
Barcino, me bimaris juga ninguida Pyrenæi.

(6) Tractus in longitudine ferme centum ſeptuaginta milia porrigitur: latitudinem vero ubi major centum triginta.

(7) Magnificant civitatem præterea populorum conventus totius provinciæ Catalonicæ, et urbium oppidorumque contributiones, a quibus urbs noſtra ut nobile caput colitur et augetur: quorum numerum præter vicos plus quam quadringentorum eſſe compertum eſt.

(8) Utque Rhodias olim, ita plerique nunc per urbem Barcinonias leges appellant, ædilitiæ quoque plurimis et inclytis urbibus exemplo fuere.

(9) Dr. Campbell's *Political Survey of Great Britain*, *vol. i. book i. chap. i. pag.* 32.

that was an eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, which by corrupting the civil power annihilated freedom (1). In Barcelona for avoiding the danger of inſurrections they did not allow, in his time, the Jews to reſide, nor any Moors except ſervants, nor did they approve of any more religions than one in any one town (2). That at Barcelona was the catholick. All along at the foot of the Pyrenees and over part of the mountains, different claſſes of people of different names and employments reſided in ſeparate diſtricts in plenty and eaſe (3). Some wrought in mines, others in ſalt pits, ſome were manufacturers, others occupied farms and vineyards, ſome were gardeners, others prepared ſhip timber, and each diviſion was diſtinguiſhed by ſome peculiar advantage. The Vallenſes among other bleſſings of providence had ſome famous medicinal ſprings and hot baths, which were preferred before all others in the province (4). As ſuch places are generally much reſorted to, it is not improbable that the religious opinions of the inhabitants diffuſed themſelves into other diſtricts by means of the parties that occaſionally viſited the waters.

The county of the Vallenſes, called Valles, was the moſt beautiful and fruitful that can be imagined. It was filled with villas, towns, and inhabitants, begirt all round with mountains, and abounding with corn, olives, pines, and vineyards, enriching the vallies, embelliſhing the hills, and impregnating the air with effluvia of the moſt ſalutiferous kind. It was about twenty-eight miles long and ſixteen broad (5). The ruins of ſome Roman towns yet remain. At the foot of a cliff called Mombui are the caldes or hot wells, which are now diſuſed, but the ſteps remain, and there are gratulatory inſcriptions of Romans, who recovered their health by bathing, by drinking the waters, and by the ſalubrity of the air (6). There is in this county one town called Sabadell: and Mombui juſt mentioned perhaps took its name, as another place near Barcelona did, from its having been the reſidence of Jews (7). The natives ſounded it Monjui, Jews-hill. In the twelfth century many rich Jews had landed eſtates not far from this place. That the people called Valdenſes and Sabbatati originally inhabited this diſtrict is the moſt probable of all conjectures. The firſt a corruption of Caldenſes, or the inhabitants about the hot wells, or Vallenſes the natives of the county; and the laſt from Sabadell one of the towns. Accidents might give the ſame names to others: but theſe appear to be the only perſons, in whom all the characters of the firſt Waldenſes meet. It is not pretended that the Piedmonteſe were not inhabitants of vallies: it is only obſerved, that they were not ſuch inhabitants of vallies as old eccleſiaſtical hiſtory deſcribes.

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(1) Creditum eſt popularem hanc admiſſionem initia ruinæ urbis noſtræ paraviſſe, inepta ad gubernationem plebe, inſolentia, atque indignitate imperandi, atque conſulendi.

Criminum animadverſio, civiliumque cauſarum notio per creatos a regibus magiſtratus, majori ex parte exercetur, pontificalis fori juris dictione excepta.

(2) Neve religionum et cultus in una eademque civitate diverſitas, invidiam, odia, impoſturas et diſſentiones, et clades interdum, atque exterminia R. P. pariat.

(3) Referemus regiones et oppida. Clariores habentur: *Gerundenſes*, et qui *Emporitanorum* uberem et portuoſam regionem incolunt, et his vicini priſci nominis *Auſetani* et *Iannipolæ* fullonica noti. Interque CONVALLES Pyrenæorum Cerretanii antiquiſſimi Hiſpaniæ populi, in quibus Livium Salinatorem oppidum condidiſſe perhibent, Sertorii temporibus, quod extat, perque Pyrenæum veteri Aquitaniæ contermini, *Paliarienſes*, novæ appellationis. Tum *Sicuritani* aurifero amne perfuſi, et ſub eis *Ilergetani* campeſtres, qui et *Urgellenſes* dicuntur, littora olim verſus *Leletanos* attingentes. . . Sub Urgellenſibus verſus maritima jacentes *Cumulatii*, *Albimontani*, *Barbarienſes*, CONVALLES, *Sigarienſes* et pratenſes habitant: et a latere Cervarienſes: et varii ac candidi ſalis foſſores *Cardonenſes*. Item Minoricenſes cum Mediolanenſibus juxta hos ſupra Barcinonem *Rubricaticenſes*, et ſub latus VALLENSES: atque ad oram Barcinonis, ab ortu *Mariſini*, et verſus Gerundam, ſilvoſi ſaltus incolæ: *Caprarienſes*, et aurileguli Tarnicolæ; interque Barcinonem et Tarraconem libero prælati oppido *Penitenſes*. &c. &c. Horum Barcino princeps eſt mater. Ab his olim gentibus deductæ ab Ibero amne uſque in Bæticum plures coloniæ.

(4) Habitatoribus ad delicias deſit nihil. Habet et aquas calidas Barcinonenſis ager in Vallenſium regione ab antiquioribus recte memoratas: et quas plerique Cerretanis in Roſcinonenſi, et his quæ in agro Gerundenſi ſunt prætulere. . . ZURITÆ *Anales. tom. i. lib. i. cap. ii.* Un muy grave varou, de nueſtros tiempos, que fuy muy ſenalado en letras de varia dotrina, y mucha noticia de la antiguedad, que fue natural de Barcelona, y ſe llamo Geronymo Paulo, &c.

Little did the old Waldenſes think, when they were held in univerſal abhorrence, and committed every where to the flames, that a time would come when the honour of a connection with them would be diſputed by different parties of the higheſt reputation. So it happened, however, at the reformation, and every reformed church put in its claim (8). That of the bohemian Brethren will be examined in Bohemia, that of the Piedmonteſe in Italy, that of the Albigenſes in France, and at preſent it ſhall ſuffice to obſerve of theſe, that in general the claim of each is juſt, and, if properly limited, true: but that there is one diſtinguiſhing character of the original Waldenſes, which none of theſe had, or had but faintly, and which eminently diſcriminated the people firſt called by this name.

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(5) P. De Marca *Lim. Hiſpan. lib. ii. cap. xvi. ſ. ii.* Auleſæ colli ad orientem ſuccedit dives ille jucunduſque campus Vallenſis, vulgo *Valles* xxviii. M. P. in longitudine habens, et xvi. M. in latitudine, frequens vicis, frugum, olei, atque vini fæcundus, jugis eminentibus in orbem cinctus..... Hic ſitum olim erat antiquum illum municipium Egara, cujus nemo veterum geographiæ ſcriptorum meminit. Ejus tamen memoriam conſervaverunt lapides antiqui.

(6) *S. iii.* In pago Vallenſi, ad imum jugi quod *Mombui* dicitur, id eſt Monſbovinus, ſiti ſunt Aquicaldenſes a Plinio commemorati, et inter ſtipendiares connumerati, hodie *Caldes de Mombui* oppidum illud clementi tumulo impoſitum, hinc pagi Vallenſes amænos campos olivis et vitibus conſitos atque tritici feraces proſpectat, illinc montium juga vineis et pinetis læta. Illic eſt aquarum calidarum copioſa ſcaturigo. &c.

(7) *S. iv.* Præterea duobus aliis oppidis decoratus eſt pagus Vallenſis, uno quidem quod velut in umbilico collocatum eſt, et *Sabadell* vulgo dicitur, altero quod vocant *Granolles*. Utrumque agrorum fertilitate nobilitatum eſt... D. Nic. Antoni. *Bibliot. Hiſpan. vetus. Tom. ii. lib. ix. cap. iv.* 239. Sub Aragoniæ rege Jacobo ii. aut forſan ultra, fama eſt vixiſſe *Jacobum de Monte Judaico*, quem vernacule cognominatum de Mont-jui dicunt Catalani, qui mons ſeu collis eſt prope urbem Barcinonenſem caſtello munitus ad ejuſdem urbis defenſionem. A qua hominis appellatione arguit Hieronymus Pujades, hujuſce provinciæ et gentis chronographus, ab antiquo Montis Judæorum, non autem montis Jovis nomine derivaſſe *Mont-jui* hodiernum... Basnage *Hiſt. des Juifs. lib. ix. cap. viii.* Benjamin entre dans ce roiaume [France] par la route de Barcelonne, qu'il repreſente une petite ville, ou les marchands Grecs et Egyptiens ne laiſſoient pas de ſe rendre pour le commerce. Le nombre des Juifs n'y etoit pas conſiderable, non plus qu'a Gironne. Mais, il y en avoit trois cens a Narbonne, a la tete deſquels etoit le R. Calonyme, deſcendu en ligne direct de David, riche et puiſſant, ſur tout, en terres, qui lui avoient ete données par les ſeigneurs du pais, en recompenſe des ſervices que lui et ſes ancetres avoient rendus... Montpelier etoit alors pleine de Mahometans, de Grecs, de Chretiens, et de Juifs.

The diſtinguiſhing feature of the primitive Waldenſes is the doctrine and practice of CHRISTIAN LIBERTY. The orthodox poſitively affirm, “they were not guilty of manichæiſm, and other abominable hereſies (9).” “Yes,” replies the learned Limborch, than whom no man knew their hiſtory better, “they were, many of them Manichæans: it is not fair,” adds he, “to deny a fact, which is as clear as noon day (1).” “They ſcent a little,” ſays the celebrated Francowitz, “of Anabaptiſm: but they were nothing like the anabaptiſts of our times (2).” “Yes,” replies Limborch, “to ſay honeſtly what I think, of all the modern ſects of chriſtians, the dutch Baptiſts moſt reſemble both the Albigenſes and the Waldenſes, but particularly the latter (3).”

A ſtriking likeneſs undoubtedly there is; for, beſide denying the doctrines and ceremonies of the church of Rome in common with all proteſtants, they held ſome articles peculiar to the dutch Baptiſts: as, that it was unlawful for a chriſtian to take oaths, to bear arms, to ſhed human blood, to baptize children, and ſo on: but beſide ſome ſmaller differences, as the preaching of women, and other ſuch practices, there is one capital article in which they differ: the Waldenſes had no publick ſtandard of faith (4). The Mennonites have. The bohemian Brethren were the firſt of this kind of people that ever publiſhed a creed. This people within the ſpace of one hundred and thirty-three years publiſhed nine creeds, or confeſſions of faith; or, to ſpeak more ſtrictly, one creed with eight ſucceeding editions amended and improved (5). The laſt of theſe was preſented to the emperour Maximilian II. in fifteen hundred ſixty-four. The firſt was ſuppoſed to be compiled by John Lukawitz, and was preſented to John Rokyzan, archbiſhop of Prague, about the year fourteen hundred thirty-one: as will be obſerved in the account of Bohemia and Moravia. The old Waldenſes did not attack the church of Rome, they thought no mortal had a right to call conſcience to account, and they lived in a conſtant diſcharge of the duties of life without troubling any body. The hierarchy pretended to have received injury by their neglect of performing papal ceremonies: but they were obliged to proceed againſt the ſuppoſed delinquents by commiſſion of inquiry, for the inquiſition was thruſted in between the civil magiſtrate and the people as a ſort of ſcire facias, a writ to ſhew cauſe: in other words, to find out by inquiry the grounds and reaſons of their conduct. On examination (and a fiery trial it was) it was found that they had no common ſentimental union, no ideas of guilt in diverſity of ſentiment, no general bonds among themſelves except a few principles of political and religious liberty, a habit of piety, a courſe of virtue, and a firm diſſent from that glorious corporation, which called itſelf the catholick church (6). This is a mere queſtion of fact, not of right, for if it be true, that they were united by virtue, and not by faith, it doth not follow that their bond of union was therefore evangelical.

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(8) MAT. FLACCI ILLYRICI *Confeſſio Waldenſium. Baſileæ* 1568.

BALTHASARI LYDII *Waldenſia. Tom. i. Rotterodami* 1669. . . *Tom. ii. Dordraci* 1617. *Prolegom. cap. iii.*

JAC. USSERI *De Chriſt. Eccles. Succeſſione. cap. viii. De Waldenſibus.*

ALLIX's *Remarks upon the ancient churches of Piedmont*. . . BP. NEWTON *on the prophecies, vol. iii.*

(9) BP. NEWTON, *as above.*

JEAN LEGER *Hiſt. des Egliſes des Valles de Piedmont. A Leyde.* 1669. *liv. i. chap. xix. Refutation de ceus qui font deſcendre les Vaudois des anciens Arriens, Manichéens, Cathares. &c.*

(1) *Hiſt. Inquis. lib. i. cap. viii.* De Albigenſibus et Valdenſibus. Quæ [*Dogmata Manichæorum*] cum etiam in ipſius Petri Auterii, Doctoris inter ipſos [*Albigenſes*] eximii, ſententia legantur, inde concludo non tantum aliquos Manichæos, qui ex Aſia profugi primo in Bulgaria conſederunt, et poſtea in partes Tholoſanas migrarunt, inter ipſos latuiſſe; ſed Manichæorum ſententiam ab ipſis, aut ſaltem plurimis ipſorum, fuiſſe receptam. Et ſane non eſt quod manifeſtæ contradicamus veritati: licet enim laudemus, quod in Romana doctrina varios detexerint errores, illiuſque communionem fugerint: ingenui tamen candoris eſt etiam aliquos ipſorum agnoſcere nævos.

(2) FLAC. ILLYR. *i. e.* MATTHIÆ FRANCOWITZ. *Epiſt. Dedicat. Nobili* D. SEBASTIANO A ZETLITZ. In formula receptionis aut imitationis [*initiationis*] ferme Anabaptiſmum quendam ſapiunt. . . Tibi, vir nobiliſſime et pientiſſime hunc librum dedico, quod ſciam te. . . errores ſectaſque præſertim Schucnckfeldii et Anabaptiſtarum illic in vicinia graſſantes deteſtari, tum etiam iſtis locis ubi Waldenſes fuerunt, multam verſari, eorumque hiſtoriam notam habere.

(3) IBID. Hæc de Albigenſibus et Valdenſibus. . . ut mentem meam ingenue dicam, videntur duæ fuiſſe diverſæ ſectæ, multaque, quæ *hodie* ipſis attribuuntur, dogmata penitus ignoraſſe. Speciatim Valdenſes videntur homines fuiſſe ſimplicioris vitæ ac judicii, rudes et inexercitati, et ſi dogmata et inſtituta ipſorum bene et ſine præjudicio examinentur, dicendum videtur, inter omnes quæ hodie ſunt chriſtanorum ſectas nullam majorem cum ipſis habere convenientiam, quam illam quæ Mennonitarum vocatur.

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(4) *Liber ſententiarum inquiſitionis Tholoſanæ. ab. An. MCCCVII. ad MCCCXXIII. Fol. orig.* 396. *Sententia contra* PETRUM GULIELMI DE PRUNETO. Item requiſitus a nobis ſæpius quod jurares ſe dicenda veritate oſtenſo et exhibito tibi libro noluiſti jurare conſtitutus coram nobis dicens et aſſerens quod non erat tibi licitum jurare ſecundum fidem quam dicis te credere et tenere.

96. *Senten. cont.* JOHANNEM BRAYSSAN *Valdenſem.* Item dicta ſecta et hereſis temerarie dogmatizat et tenet quod omne juramentum ſine exceptione et expoſitione quacunque eſt a Deo prohibitum et illicitum et peccatum, et hoc ipſum ex ore tuo audivimus te ſic credere et tenere verba ſancti evangelii et ſancti Jacobi apoſtoli.

LIMBORCH. i. 8. Communia Albigenſibus et Valdenſibus dogmata fuere: *juramentum omne eſſe illicitum et peccatum,* ac proinde, quod in judicio conſtituti, et requiſiti ut jurarent de veritate dicenda, jurare noluerint. &c.

Index errorum quibus Waldenſes infecti ſunt. inter IAC. GRETSERI *collectanea. xxiii.* Item omne homicidium quorumcunque maleficorum credunt eſſe mortale peccatum, dicentes: ſicut nos non poſſe vivificare, ſic nec debere occidere.

Lib. Tholos. ut. ſup. 176. Culpe perſonarum immurandarum. Item quod baptiſmus aque factus per eccleſiam pueris nichil valebat, quia pueri non conſenciebant ymo flebant.

68. Item. Audivit verba et predicationem Petri Auterii et aliorum hereticorum et aliquos errores expreſſe ab eis. . . quod nullus baptiſmus valebat aliquid niſi quem ipſi dabant.

REINERI SACCHON. *contra Waldens. cap. v. De Sectis Modernorum hæreticorum.* Leoniſtæ omnia Sacramenta eccleſiæ damnant. Primo, de baptiſmo dicunt, quod catechiſmus nihil ſit. Item, quod ablutio, quæ datur infantibus nihil proſit.

Cap. vi. De nominibus ſectarum. Ortlibenſes in ſacramentis omnibus errant. De baptiſmo enim dicunt, quod nihil valeat, niſi quantum valeant merita baptizantis. Parvulis vero non prodeſt, niſi fuerint perfecti in ſecta illa.

ECKBERTI *adverſus peſtiferos fœdiſſimoſque Catharorum (qui Manichæorum hæreſin innovarunt) damnatos errores ac hæreſes. Serm. vii. Contra quartam hæreſim de baptiſmo parvulorum.* De baptiſmo parvulorum dicitis quoniam inanis eſt, et quod neque illis prodeſt ad ſalutem, neque aliquibus qui non ſunt ejus diſcretionis ut poſſint credere, aut per ſe ipſos gratiam baptiſmi poſtulare. Confirmatis autem, ut æſtimo, errorem iſtum auctoritate evangelici ſermonis, quem locutus eſt Dominus Mat. xxviii. 19. 20.

EBRARDI *contra Waldens. cap. vi. Quod pueri nondum loquentes baptizari debeant.* Iterum, objiciunt illud, quod diximus, Qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit ſalvus erit. Mark xvi. 16. Qui *crediderit,* dixit primo, et poſtea baptizatus fuerit. Primo ergo oportet credere, quam baptizari. Ergo et puer, qui non credit, nec credendi habet intellectum, baptizari non debet, quouſque rationem habeat: Sicut cæcus a nativitate, de quo dixerunt parentes ad ſcribas, ætatem habet, pro ſe loquatur. Joan. ix. 21. Pro ſe ergo loqui debet, qui vult baptizari. Ad quod reſpondemus.

ERMENGARDI *contra Waldenſium ſectam cap. xii. De ſacramento baptiſmi.* Dicunt etiam hæretici, quod nulli, niſi proprio ore, et corde hoc ſacramentum petat, poteſt prodeſſe. Inde adducentes hunc errorem, quod parvulis baptiſmus nihil proſit. Sed nos. &c.

It is not clear that the ancient Waldenſes had any clergy. It is certain they practiſed no coercion, and their opponents affirm, that they thought none ought to be exerciſed (7). They held prieſthood in abhorrence. They

allowed

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(5) *Confeſſio fidei... quam Ferdinando obtulerunt Viennæ. Dec. xiv.* 1535. *Barones Bohem... Conversa in ling. Lat. Proœmium.* Primum autem omnium, capitibus certis comprehenſam, eccleſiæ noſtræ exhibuerunt M. Joh. Rokyzanæ, et paulo poſt regi Georgio [*Podiebrad*] ante annos plures centum.

(6) Ebrard. *ut ſup. cap. xxvi. De varietatibus hæreticorum, et eorum ſententiis.* Apud nos multa ſunt hæreticorum genera, quos breviter percurrentes, moram facere non audemus. Periculoſum eſt enim venenum auribus intimare. Ariani. Eunomiani. Sabelliani. Manichæi. Photiniani. Priſcillianiſtæ. Pelagiani. Donatiſtæ. Novatiani. Cathari. Montani. qui in tempore perſecutionis in montibus ſe abſconderunt. &c. &c.

Reineri *ut ſup. cap. vi. De nominibus ſectarum.* Secta Catharorum diviſa eſt in tres partes, ſive ſectas principales... Habent omnes Cathari opiniones communes, in quibus concordant, et proprias in quibus diſcordant... Omnes eccleſiæ Catharorum recipiunt ſe invicem, licet diverſas habeant opiniones et contrarias.

Cap. vi. Sicut in Judicum libro legitur, quod Vulpes Sampſonis facies diverſas habebant, ſed caudas ſibi invicem colligatas, ſic hæretici, in ſectis ſuis ſunt diviſi in ſe, ſed in impugnatione eccleſiæ ſunt uniti. Quando in una domo ſunt hæretici, tum ſectarum quælibet, quarum quælibet damnat alteram, ſimul Romanam eccleſiam impugnat.

(7) Ebrard. *ut ſup. cap. xv.* Quod punire debeamus malefactores, et etiam quoſdam occidere. Sed objiciunt, quia dictum eſt, *Non Occides*: Exod. xx. 13. O prævaricatores legis intendite legem... Nunquid non docetis homines ut occidant, cum occiſores, hypocritas, latrones, idolatras, docetis non puniri? Hæretici multos occidunt, licet ferro neminem tangant... Hæretici mala verba ſeminantes occidunt male perſuadendo.

Ermengard. *cap. xviii. De Juramento.*

Reineri

allowed women to teach, and laughed at the diſtinction between clergy and laity (8). Reiner deſcribes the manner in which they inſinuated their principles into the gentry (9). "Sir, will you pleaſe to buy any rings, or ſeals, or trinkets. Madam, will you look at any handkerchiefs, or pieces of needle-work for veils. I can afford them cheap." If, after a purchaſe, the company aſk, "Have you any thing more:" the ſaleſman would reply: "O yes, I have commodities far more valuable than theſe, and I will make you a preſent of them, if you will protect me from the clergy." Security being promiſed, on he would go. "The ineſtimable jewel I ſpoke of is the word of God, by which he communicates his mind to men, and which inflames their hearts with love to him." "In the ſixth month the angel Gabriel was ſent from God into a city of Galilee named Nazareth." And ſo he would proceed to repeat the remaining part of the firſt chapter of Luke. Or he would begin with the thirteenth of John, and repeat the laſt diſcourſe of Jeſus to his diſciples. If the company ſhould ſeem pleaſed, he would proceed to repeat the twenty third of Matthew, "The ſcribes and phariſees ſit in Moſes' ſeat... Wo unto you, ye ſhut up the kingdom of heaven againſt men: for ye neither go in yourſelves, neither ſuffer ye them that are entering to go in... Wo unto you, ye devour widows houſes."... "And pray," ſhould one of the company ſay, "againſt whom are theſe woes denounced, think you?" He would reply: "Againſt the clergy and the monks. The doctors of the roman church are pompous both in their habits and their manners, "they love the uppermoſt rooms, and the chief ſeats in the ſynagogues, and to be called Rabbi, Rabbi." For our parts we deſire no ſuch Rabbies. They are incontinent: we live each in chaſtity with his own wife. They are the rich and avaricious, of whom the Lord ſays, "Wo unto you rich, for ye have received your conſolation:" but we "having food and raiment are therewith content." They are voluptuous and devour widows houſes: we only eat to be refreſhed and

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Reineri *cap. v.* Dicunt xii. Quod nemo ſit major altero in eccleſia. *Omnes vos fratres eſtis.* Mat. xxiii. xi. Quod non ſit obediendum prælatis, ſed tantum Deo.

Quod Papa et omnes epiſcopi ſint homicidæ propter bella.

vii. Quod omnia ſtatuta eccleſiæ contemnunt: quia ſint gravia, et plurima. &c.

Petri de Pilichdorf *contra ſectam Waldenſium. Cap. xxxvi. De incredulitate Juramenti quantumcunque judicialiter facti.*

Refutatio errorum Valdens. Dicunt vii. Quod ea, quæ conſtituuntur ab epiſcopis et eccleſiæ prælatis non ſunt ſervanda: eo quod ſint traditiones hominum, non Dei. viii. Quod non liceat prælatis excommunicare: et quod eccleſia Dei non debeat malos perſequi, nec etiam vitare. &c. &c.

(8) *Bernardi Abbatis Fontis calidi adverſus Waldenſium ſectam. Cap. iv. contra hoc: quod omnes, etiam Laici prædicare; et quid ad hoc dicant; quidve nos contra eos.... cap. viii....* Contra hoc; quod mulieres prædicare poſſe dicunt. Dicunt inimici veritatis mulieres debere docere.... hunc errorem confirmare nituntur exemplo Annæ prophetiſſæ. &c.

(9) **Reineri** *cap. viii. Quomodo ſe ingerant familiaritati magnorum.* Hæretici callide ſtudent, qualiter ſe ingerant familiaritati nobilium magnorum. Et hoc faciunt hoc modo. Aliquas merces gratas, ut anulas et pepla, Dominis et Dominabus exhibent ad emendum. &c.

ſupported. They fight and encourage war, and command the poor to be killed and burnt, in defiance of the ſaying, "he that taketh the ſword ſhall periſh by the ſword." For our parts they perſecute us for righteouſneſs ſake. They do nothing; they eat the bread of idleneſs: we work with our hands. They monopolize the giving of inſtruction, "and, wo be to them, that take away the key of knowledge:" but among us women teach as well as men, and one diſciple as ſoon as he is informed himſelf teaches another. Among them, you can hardly find a doctor, who can repeat three chapters of the new teſtament by heart: but of us there is hardly man or woman who doth not retain the whole. And becauſe we are ſincere believers in Chriſt, and all teach and enforce a holy life and converſation, theſe ſcribes and phariſees perſecute us to death, as their predeceſſors did Jeſus Chriſt." Father Gretzer, the firſt editor of the complete book of Reiner, hath put in the margin againſt the above theſe words (1). "This is a true picture of the hereticks of our age, particularly Anabaptiſts." Happy for the Anabaptiſts indeed, if they can affirm all that with truth of themſelves, which the old waldenſian preaching pedlar affirmed of himſelf and his company!

A brief recapitulation is neceſſary to remove a few difficulties, which belong to this hiſtory, and which will be mentioned preſently.

The Goths in the life time of Jeſus were enthuſiaſts for liberty, ſome in the empire, but the bulk at home in their own german foreſts. They received the goſpel early, and retaining their natural juſtice and love of freedom, they were of various religious ſentiments in the time of Ulphilas. When they ſettled in the empire the kings and gentry were Unitarians, but they publiſhed no national ſtandards of faith, and had no legal civil coercion for conſcience. When their kings became catholicks, the church taught them intolerance: but the ſpirit of their government was good, even after eccleſiaſticks had incorporated their own cruel foreign maxims into the old code of law. In Spain, as oppreſſion came forward, chriſtians of the true old gothick kind retired for freedom to the mountains. There, in all their ancient variety of religious ſentiments, their principles produced two ſorts of people hateful to the catholicks. The one were men of real religion, who, from their reſidence in the vallies of Navarre and Catalonia, and perhaps from their living in the county DES VALLES, or adjacent to the celebrated CALDES, or from ſome ſuch circumſtances obtained the name of Waldenſes, which was afterward given to almoſt all other diſſenters. The other ſort were political hereticks, who hated popery becauſe it was tyranny, and protected the Waldenſes becauſe they were friends of freedom, and profitable to the ſtate, though they took no perſonal part in government or war, being equally averſe to oaths and arms. Two ſimple firſt principles conſolidated a wonderful variety of theſe people into one great body, called indeed by various names, but all moſt firmly united in the one great end of ſociety, political happineſs. The firſt was a principle of virtue, which was the bond of their CHURCHES. The other was a love of liberty, which was the bond of the STATE.

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(1) Vera effigies hæreticorum noſtræ ætatis, [1613] præſertim Anabaptiſtarum.

Hence ariſe ſolutions to ſeveral difficult queſtions concerning their hiſtory. Firſt. What was the religion of theſe people? They had none as a people, for if by religion be meant opinions, the true anſwer is, they were of all manner of ſentiments. In regard to the great leading point, the moſt were Unitarians, but many held the ſame opinions as the church of Rome did, and conſequently the doctrine of the trinity. So the inquiſitor ſays (2). The truth is, they placed religion in piety and virtue, and left ſpeculation uncontrouled and free. Hiſtorians, who affirm they wrote from ancient and authentick records, expreſsly declare, that the catholicks thought they were all Arians, and therefore they divided their army into three parts in honour of the trinity before they attacked them (3).

A ſecond difficulty is: How ſuch people as bore no arms, and ſhed no blood, could be ſaid to bring large armies into the field to defend their rights. The proper anſwer is: the pious were named from the provinces, the provinces and princes from the pious; for one common principle, that all mankind had a right to be free, brought together Goths and Goſpellers: both loved liberty, the latter paid for it by taxes, the fruits of their induſtry, and the former fought for it, and preſerved both parties by defending one. The hierarchy having adopted clerical dominion as an article of orthodox belief, it followed of courſe that reſiſtance of THAT was hereſy both political and eccleſiaſtical. Too many hiſtorians take up the affair in the groſs, lay it down as they took it up, and gravely ſay, the Lord by a courſe of miracles aſſiſted his dear ſervants the catholicks to drown, ſtab, and burn near forty thouſand hereticks, not becauſe ſome of them hated tyranny, and would fight in defence of their liberties: but becauſe they, the catholicks, were afraid of their lives in a ſociety of other people who had ſuch an averſion to the taking away of animal life that they never killed a bird from a ſparrow to an eagle, or a quadruped from a weaſel to an elephant: and who perpetually exclaimed againſt penal laws, and thought it a mortal crime to take away the life of a man (4).

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(2) Reineri. *cap. vi.* Ordibarii dicunt, trinitas non fuerit ante nativitatem Chriſti ſed primo tunc Deus Pater habuerit filium, quando Jeſus ſuſcepit verbum.

Ortlibenſes errant in multis articulis fidei. Et primo in trinitate. Dicunt enim quod trinitas non fuit ante nativitatem Chriſti. . . Jeſum dicunt filium fabri, ſcilicet Joſeph, carnalem, ſicut ego ſum carnalis filius patris mei.

Cathari dicunt, quod Trinitas, ſcilicet Pater, Filius et Spiritus Sanctus non eſt unus Deus: ſed quod Pater major et Filio eſt ſpiritu ſancto.

Leoniſtæ bene omnia de *Deo* credunt, et omnes articulos, qui in ſymbolo continentur. . . Omnes aliæ ſectæ immanitate blaſphemiarum in *Deum* audientibus horrorem inducunt.

(3) Favyn. *Hiſt. de Navarre. liv. v.* Ceux qui ont deſcrits les faicts de Simon Comte de Montfort General de l'Armée chreſtienne contre les Albigeois, et nommement un Antoine Noguiers Tolozain et le manuſcript que j'ay de l'Abbé des Vaux de Cernay de l'hiſtoire des Albigeois, qui vivoit de ce temps la teſmoignent. &c.

vi. Les Catholiques et leur petite trouppe, diviſez en trois au nom de la tres ſaincte trinité de Paradis, obtinrent une ſignale victoire contre les Albigeois Arriens.

Ils croyoient que les ſacraments de mariage, confirmation, extreme unction, et le baptiſme des petits enfans n'eſtoient que ſuperſtitions.

(4) Favyn. *liv. v. pag.* 290. Raimond Comte de Foix avoit deux femmes, dont l'une eſtoit heretique Arrienne, et l'autre Vaudoiſe. Car depuis que les Gots habiterent l'Aquitaine, le Languedoc, et la Provence, juſques en ce temps la, il y avoit encore eſdictes provinces pluſieurs Arriens. . , Des Albigeois il en fut tué, ou noyé dans la Garonne le nombre de trente et deux mille.

A ſmall attention to the laſt mentioned deſtruction of hereticks will place this affair in a clear light. In the latter end of the twelfth century, the intrigues of the court of Rome, the plots of the prieſts, and the ambition of poor ſoldiers of fortune prevailed with the kings of Aragon, Alfonſo the late king, and Peter his ſon then reigning, to iſſue edicts for the expulſion of diſſidents in religion from the crown lands. It is ſaid from the crown lands, becauſe the ſpaniſh archives are full of evidences, that the Spaniards were extremely jealous on this ſubject, and as they perfectly underſtood that a combination of titles had a natural tendency to introduce a confuſion of laws, they took infinite pains to prevent the evil. When Charles v. was emperour of Germany, they obliged him by expreſs diplomas to declare, that he governed Spain as king and not as emperour (5). By this wiſe precaution they precluded the operation of imperial civil law in Spain, and ſecured the authority of their own code, which was far preferable, as it was derived not from reſcripts and opinions of crown lawyers, but from mutual agreements of anceſtors, who when they were all equals made laws, and then elected one of themſelves a king to execute them. It is eaſy to find papal bulls in the Vatican, and regal edicts in monaſteries: but it is not ſo eaſy to prove that they produced their effects. Many of both reſemble legends of miracles, which were never performed, and of which contemporaries never heard one word. So the inquiſition ſtood in Navarre. There was a commiſſion in the Vatican: but nobody durſt execute it. In a certain period the biſhop of Pampeluna laid the kingdom under an interdict, and retired into Aragon. The king caught him, and clapped him in jail, and there was an end of the interdict (6). In the preſent caſe it is evident, by the places where the edicts were enacted, by the ſignatures of thoſe who ſubſcribed them, the ſtyle of compoſition, the powers that enforced them, and the effects which they produced, that they were not laws of the ſtate, which would have been made in parliament and not in a chapter-houſe, and ſigned by the ſtates, and not by a few clergy and vaſſals, and executed by ſtate officers in civil courts, and not by monks and inquiſitors, that they were only orders of the kings as chief barons, and operated only as manerial by-laws on crown lands, or lands held of the king IN CAPITE (7). They did operate, however, on the inhabitants of all ſuch tenures, and the people emigrated to the french ſide of the mountains, and ſettled on the eſtates of Raymond count of Toulouſe, the county of Foix, which abutted on the eſtate of Arnald viſcount of Caſtelbon in the valley of Andorra, and other parts thereabouts. Thither perſecution followed them, and an inquiſition and a cruſade, the inventions of eccleſiaſtical folly, and the expiring agonies of romantick martial fury, diſſipated ſome, deſtroyed others, and involved the count of Toulouſe, all his aſſociates, and all their patrons in one univerſal ruin, and handed their hiſtory down to poſterity under one general deſcription of the triumph of the true apoſtolical religion of Jeſus over hereſy. Thus they tell the ſtory: "In the year twelve hundred and thirteen, the chriſtian army of eight hundred horſe, and one thouſand foot, near Toulouſe, being divided into three corps in honour of the holy trinity, the one under the command of Simon count of Montfort, the ſecond commanded by the lord biſhop of Toulouſe, and the third by the lord biſhop of Cominge, attacked the army of the arian hereticks conſiſting of an hundred thouſand fighting men, and defeated them (8). The catholicks loſt about an hundred men, but of the arian Albigenſes two and thirty thouſand were either killed or drowned in the river Garonne." This they call the battle of Muret, and they add that after this victory many of the ſurviving hereticks fled into the valley of Piedmont, where their deſcendants reſided till, two hundred years after, Huſs revived the ſame hereſy in Bohemia, and Luther an hundred years after him in Germany, and others in other places, and then they crept out of their caverns and fell into the proteſtant churches. On ſlightly examining this ſtory it will appear fabulous, contradictory, falſe; but on re-examination it will be found ſtrictly true in every part: for the facts are theſe, the diſputed cities, towns, and lands, were peopled with mechanicks, manufacturers, and huſbandmen of the kind deſcribed by the inquiſitors: a virtuous induſtrious people of various opinions, united in different churches, none of them vaſſals, for they would not take oaths, none of them in the army, for they would not ſhed blood: no not in defence of their lives (1). The count of Toulouſe, the barons and vaſſals that conſtituted his army, the counteſs and the ladies at home, did not obſerve the maxims of theſe mechanicks, for they would have diſſolved the whole feudal ſyſtem: but they did think the practice of theſe people in diſſenting from the church of Rome commendable, and they did approve of the ſpeculations of ſome of them concerning the nature of God as juſt and rational; they therefore were called, and probably were Arians, and practiſed a kind of religion adapted to their ſpeculations and their circumſtances. After the battle of Muret was over, there was found among the ſlain a knight in black armour. On examining, behold, this was Peter, king of Aragon, the ſame Peter, who by an edict had baniſhed all hereticks from his eſtates. There lay alſo one of his ſons, many aragonian gentlemen and vaſſals of Aragon. Peter had never been an Arian: his troops had never embraced either the ſpeculations or maxims of hereticks; and yet the conquerours buried them all in unconſecrated ground, becauſe they died in hereſy (2). The truth is, Peter was nearly related to Raymond of Touloufe, and they, and all other barons connected with them, whatever they thought of hereſy, had violent and juſt objections againſt the exerciſe of foreign power upon their eſtates, which aimed to reduce them all, catholicks, Arians, and Waldenſes to the condition of vaſſals to the pope. In the ſame manner, the apparent contradictions of inquiſitorial, monkiſh, and other hiſtorians of thoſe times are to be explained; and what is evident falſehood as they relate it under the one general name of hereſy, may be ſtrictly true of different people in different directions, and may be made to appear ſo by unravelling the ſtory, all the parts of which, diverſified as they are, meet in one central point, love of civil and religious freedom. From this point ten thouſand lines, like the radii of a circle flow, and back to this each may be traced again. It is this that makes the church hiſtories of Aragon, Catalonia, Navarre, Toulouſe, and all theſe parts run into and croſs one another in apparent confuſion.

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(4) REINERI. *cap. vi.* Item, eſt communis opinio omnium Catharorum, quod graviter peccaret, quicunque occiderit avem aliquam a minima uſque ad maximam: et quadrupedia, a muſtelauſque ad elephantem.

(5) PETRI MEXIÆ *Hiſt. apud* D. JACOB. VALDESII *de dignitat. regum regnorque Hiſpan. cap. xviii. De Jure.* Don Carlos por la gracia de Dios, Rey de Romanos, futuro Emperador ſemper Auguſto y Rey de Caſtilla, y de Leon... Por quanto deſpues que plugo a la divina clemencia.. que fueſſemos elegido Rey de Romanos, futuro Emperador, y que de Rey catholico de Eſpanna (conque eramos bien contentos) fueſſemos promovido al imperio convino que nueſtros titulos ſe ordinaſſem, dando a cada uno ſu devido *lugar*... Nueſtra intencion y voluntad es,.. que por preferir y anteponer los titulos de nueſtras dignidades el del imperio, no ſeamos ni ſomos viſto prejudi car a los dichos reynos de Eſpanna en ſu libertad y exemption que tiene, porque aquello, ni otros qualiſquier autos, &c. Dada en la ciudad de Barcelona, a 5 dias del mes de Septtembre, 1519, yo el Rey. Franciſco de los Cobos Secretario de ſu Cæſar. Cathol. Mageſt. la ſize eſcriver por ſu mandado... M. de Gatinada, &c. Regiſtrada Antonio de Villegas.

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(6) FAVYN. *Hiſt. de Navarre. liv. vi.* L'eveſque de Pampelonne Dom Pedro de Gaçalas excommunie le roy, et deffend aux preſtres de celebrer le ſervice divin. Thibauld indigné de ſes bravades trouve moyen de faire attrapper cet eveſque mutin et irreverent, et le faict encoffrer priſonnier en ſeure et bonne garde juſques a ce qu' ayant recognue ſon irreverence, il fut remis a bonnes graces du roy.

(7) MARIANÆ *Præfat. in Luc. Tudens.* ALDEFONSI *Diploma. M.C.XCIV*.... PET. DE MARC. *Lim. Hiſpan*... PETRI. *M.C.XCVII.*

PETRI *Regis Aragonum conſtitutio adverſus hæreticos. Ex archiv. Eccleſiæ Gerund.*... Data Gerundæ in præſentia Raymundi Terraconenſis Archiepiſcopi. Teſtes Pontius Hugo Comes Empuritanenſis... Petrus Sacriſta, &c.

(8) FAVYN. *liv. vi. La Battaille de Muret*.... PIERRE DE MARCA *Hiſt. de Bearn. Paris*, 1640.... PIERRE OLHAGARAY *Hiſt. de Foix, Paris*, 1609.... BERTRAND DE COMPAIGNE *Chronique de Bayonne, Paris*, 1666.... GERMAIN LA FAILLE *Annales de la vill de Toulouſe*, 1687, &c.

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(1) SANCTI LUDOVICI *Regis Galliarum chriſtianiſſimi cum* RAIMUNDO *Tholoſatum Comite Ariano fœdus.*

(2) FAVYN. *liv. vi.* Le Roy Pierre d'Aragon, qui le jour de ceſte bataille eſtoit couvert d'armes noires pour n'eſtre ſitoſt cognu, fut tué ſur la place, avec pluſieurs chevallieurs d'Aragon, et un de ſes enfans: apres la bataille il fut trouvé, et enſevely en terre prophane (eſtant mort heretique) hors de Muret, ou j'ay veu paſſant par la le lieu ou il fut enterré faict en forme d'un caveau de pierre.

The catholick writers are not agreed among themſelves whether hereſy travelled from France into Spain or from Spain into France (3). The moſt probable caſe is, that the Celts migrated from Gaul over the Pyrenees into Spain, where the Phœnicians found them: and that the Phœnicians, the Jews, and the Goths mixed with them, and in due time taught them the doctrines of revelation, and introduced chriſtianity among them, whence it paſſed with them over the mountains back again to the French ſide. However it were, the vallies in and about the Pyrenees on both ſides were full of ſuch chriſtians as the catholicks accounted hereticks. If it be true, as ſome affirm, that Durand Valdach and one of his friends were burnt at Girona for hereſy in the time of pope Paſchal II. in the year eleven hundred and ſeventeen, almoſt an hundred years before the inquiſition was ſet up, they may be accounted the firſt of a great multitude in Spain, whoſe blood was ſhed under the ſame pretence (4). Some place the burning of Valdach more than an hundred years later: but place it where they will, certain it is, the firſt inquiſitors were Spaniards, and they were Spaniards who matured the office to its preſent form (5). The firſt writers againſt Valdenſes were Spaniards; and the firſt ſufferers were Manichæans and Arians, Cathari and Leoniſts, who lived in the territories of Spain. Luke, biſhop of Tuy, wrote his book againſt them under thoſe names, as Mariana obſerves in the preface.

Father Mabillon, ſpeaking of Felix the unitarian biſhop of Urgel, facetiouſly remarks, that when a knave was found on the borders of the two kingdoms, it was a cuſtom of the Spaniards to ſay he was either a Frenchman or of french extraction; but when France produced any eminent ſaints in the ſame places they never failed to put in their claim by declaring they were true bred Spaniards (6). This was cruel, as the Spaniards always had more ſaints than France or any other nation. In the preſent caſe, the evidence is in favour of France, and it ſeems clear, that Greece was the parent, Spain and Navarre the nurſes, France the ſtep-mother, and Savoy the jailer of this claſs of chriſtians called Waldenſes. Never was ſuch a rabble in the world as the ſpaniſh ſaint-roll: the firſt are ideal, or pagans, or enthuſiaſts, but the laſt are ſaints with a vengeance, for all their ſteps to paradiſe are marked with human blood (7).

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(3) Luc. Tudens. *Epiſc. advers. Albigenſium errores. lib. iii.* Jo. Marianæ *Præfat.* Albigenſium ſecta in Gallia exorta. Reſiſtit unus vir magni nominis, eruditionis opinione clarus noſtra ætate, colluviumque Albigenſium ex Hiſpania in Galliam erupiſſe confirmat, neſcio quid ſecutus: niſi forte Petrum Aragonium regem ſugillare voluit, patrocinio ejus nationis ſuſcepto etiam inter Hiſpanos infamem, de cujus expeditione atque exitu pauca dicenda ſunt, atque ab ea ignominia certe gens noſtra vindicanda.

(4) Gabriel Prateolus *apud* Lud. a Paramo. *lib. ii. tit. i. cap.* 2.

(5) Ibid. Apertiſſimo enim errore lapſus eſt Prateolus, cum ſententia in Durandum Valdach lata fuerit imperante in Aragonia Jacobo II.

(6) *Append. ad Sæc. iv. Ben.* Feſtivi ſunt Hiſpani, qui, ſi quos habent nebulones, Gallis aſcribunt: quos autem ſanctos inſigniores habemus, ſibi vindicant.

Inquiſitors covered with human gore, equally deaf to the groans of widows and orphans without, and to all the dictates of humanity within, affecting at the ſame inſtant to be the expreſs images and repreſentatives of that mild and merciful man Jeſus, are ſuch horrid figures, that it is painful to repeat their names. Three ſhall ſuffice. Dominick, the ſon of Felix and Joanna, the diſgrace of the illuſtrious family of Guzman, was born at the village of Caboroga in the year eleven hundred and ſeventy. He was educated a prieſt, and grew up the moſt fiery and the moſt bloody of mortals (3). To him the inquiſition owed its firſt form. Before his time every biſhop was a ſort of inquiſitor in his own dioceſe: but it was his invention to incorporate a body of men, independent on every human being except the pope, for the expreſs purpoſe of enſnaring and deſtroying chriſtians. Dominick knew full well that although the prieſts declaimed ever ſo much on the crime of hereſy the lords of the ſoil would not ſuffer them to butcher their tenants under any ſuch vain pretences; and much leſs would they go in proceſſion to the ſhambles themſelves. In Biſcay prieſthood was very low in the middle of the eleventh century, and the clergy complained to Don Garcia Sanchez IV. king of Navarre, that the biſcayan nobility and gentry treated them very little better than ſlaves, and employed them chiefly only to breed up, and feed their dogs (9). Near a hundred years after, in a neighbouring ſtate, when that unworthy monk Saint Bernard began in a ſermon to a crouded auditory to inveigh againſt hereſy, the nobility and gentry all roſe up and left the church, and the people followed them (1). Bernard came down, and went to the market place to hold forth on the ſame ſubject: but the populace wiſer than the preacher refuſed to hear him, and ſet up ſuch a ſhouting, that he was forced to deſiſt. Only one expedient remained. Bernard recollected, that Jeſus had ordered his apoſtles to ſhake off the duſt of their feet in certain caſes. As if he had been an apoſtle, and had received the ſame command, he affected to imitate them. He left the city, he ſhook his feet, and curſed the people by exclaiming, God Almighty puniſh the city with a drought! Thus far went the rage of orthodoxy at the beginning of the twelfth century, and here its proud waves were ſtayed: but at the beginning of the thirteenth, about the year twelve hundred fifteen, Dominick broke down the dam, and covered Toulouſe with a tide of deſpotiſm ſtained with human blood. Poſterity will hardly believe that this enemy of mankind after he had formed a race like himſelf, called firſt preaching, and then dominican friars, died in his bed, was canonized for a ſaint, was worſhipped as a god, and propoſed as a model of piety and virtue to ſucceeding generations.

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(7) DR. GEDDES' *Miſcellaneous Tracts, vol. i.*

(8) JABOBI QUETIF, *et* JAC. ECHARD. *Scriptores ordinis minorum. Paris,* 1719. 1721.

(9) P. MORET. *Inveſtigaciones hiſtoric. de lás Antiguidades del regno de Navarro. . . Mod. Univ. Hiſt. xxii. xix. iii.*

(1) NIC. BELTRAM. *Hiſt. Tholoſana apud* LUD. A PARAMO. *pag.* 91. Dum ſanctus Abbas pro concione verba faceret in oppido, cui nomen Viride folium, et multi hæretici nobiles et divitiis affluentes ad eum audiendum confluxiſſent, cum primum cepit errores hæreticorum refellere, continuo viros primarios ægre ferentes, et tragœdias excitantes diſceſſiſſe, quos fere omnes auditores comitati ſunt. Unde D. Bernardo neceſſe fuit in forum exire, et ex loco edito concionari. Verum hæretici adeo ira inflammati, et vehementer commoti fuerunt, et clamoribus et vociferationibus, quo minus audiretur, obſtreperent. Quorum inſolentia Dives Bernardus impulſus, et ſancti evangelii conſilium memoria reputans, pulverem excuſſit e calceis, et ex oppido diſcedens his verbis, Deus te viride-folium, areſaciat populo male precatus eſt.

Raymund of Pennafort, a Catalonian of the family of the ancient counts of Barcelona, was born five years after the birth of Dominick. He was educated in the ſame manner as Dominick, and became one of his firſt diſciples, a preaching friar and an inquiſitor. This man was preferred to the office of confeſſor to James, king of Aragon, and him he perſuaded to addreſs the pope for a commiſſion of inquiſition in his dominions (2). This was readily granted, and in the year twelve hundred and thirty-two the inquiſition was introduced into Aragon and Caſtille. Pennafort drew up a form of proceeding againſt hereticks, which was ſo proper in the opinion of the pope, that he ordered it in all points to be punctually obſerved. This very curious compoſition was adopted for eccleſiaſtical law in forty-two by the council of Tarragona. It conſiſts chiefly of definitions of crimes, and forms of procedure. One of each will be ſufficient to convey an idea of the whole. The definition of hereſy and a heretick is this (3). "Hereticks are ſuch as perſiſt in their errour, as the Inzabbatati, who affirm, it is not lawful in any caſe to ſwear, and that eccleſiaſtical or ſecular powers are not to be obeyed, and that no corporal puniſhment ought to be inflicted on any one, and ſuch like. The believers of the ſaid hereſies are to be accounted hereticks. Perſons ſuſpected of hereſy are ſuch as hear the preaching or the reading of the Inzabbatati, or ſuch as kneel down while they pray, or give them a kiſs, or think them good men, or any thing of this kind that may excite a probable ſuſpicion of hereſy." The oath by which a perſon ſuſpected of hereſy was to clear himſelf was this, to be taken in publick (4). "I, Sancho, ſwear, by Almighty God, and by theſe holy goſpels of God, which I hold in my hand, before you lord Garcia archbiſhop, and before others your aſſiſtants, that I am not, nor ever have been, an Inzabbatate Waldenſe, or poor perſon of Lyons, or an heretick of any ſect of hereſy condemned by the church; nor do I believe, nor have I ever believed, their errours, nor will I believe them in any future time of my life: moreover I profeſs and proteſt that I do believe, and that I will always hereafter believe, the catholick faith, which the holy apoſtolical church of Rome publickly holds, teaches and preaches, and you my lord archbiſhop, and other prelates of the catholick church publickly hold, preach and teach." Dominick was a novice compared with Raymund Pennafort, and of ſuch a man it is hardly neceſſary to inform the reader, either that after his death a council petitioned pope Nicholas to canonize him, that they might number him with the ſaints, erect altars to his honour, and perform an annual ſervice in praiſe of his ſingular merit, or that the petition was granted, as ſoon as the neceſſary ſums were advanced, by pope Clement VIII (5). He was not the author, but the promoter of the famous treatiſe called the dagger of faith (6).

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(2) L. De Paramo. *Hiſt. Inquis. lib. ii. tit. ii. cap. viii.*

Abrahami Bzovii *Annal. ann. MCCXXXII. MCCXLIX.*.. L. Wadding. *ut ſup.*.. Innocentii *Papæ iv. Epiſt. ad* Raymundum de Penna-forti, *an. MCCXLIX. De hæreſi extirpanda.*

(3) Bzovii *an. MCCXLII.* Imprimis quæritur qui dicantur hæretici, qui ſuſpecti, qui credentes, qui fautores, qui receptatores, qui defenſores, et qui relapſi. Hæretici ſunt qui in ſuo errore perdurant, ſicut ſunt Inzabbatati, qui dicunt in aliquo caſu non eſſe jurandum, et poteſtatibus eccleſiaſticis vel ſæcularibus non eſſe obediendum, et pœnam corporalem non eſſe infligendam in aliquo et ſimilia.

(4) Ego N. juro per Deum omnipotentem ... quod non ſum vel fui Inzabbatatus ... nec credo, nec credidi, nec credam aliquo tempore vitæ meæ ... profiteor et proteſtor me credere, et ſemper in poſterum crediturum fidem catholicam.

The man, who put the finiſhing hand to the inquiſitorial ſyſtem of juriſdiction in Spain, and brought it to its preſent form, was a monk of a good family, called from the place of his birth, Thomas of Torquemada, or Torquemata, or Turrecremata; for ſo hath the confuſion of languages in Spain metamorphoſed the original name of Porta Auguſta (7). His firſt preferment was to the priorſhip of the monaſtery of St. Croſs at Segovia. Next he became confeſſor, or as the catholicks call him ſpiritual father to their majeſties. Then he was made inquiſitor-general of all Spain. He was the chief inſtrument of the expulſion of the Jews and Moors. By an edict of Ferdinand the Catholick iſſued in March, fourteen hundred and ninety-four, they were ordered to quit the kingdom within four months from the date of the edict, or

(5) AGUIRRE *Concil. tom. iii. an. MCCLXXIX. Concil. Tarraconenſe ad procurandam canonizationem Raymundi de Pennaforti.* Ex ejus decreto literis enixe Nicolaum Pontificem interpellarent, ut Raymundi Pennafortii, viri ſanctiſſimi, memoria, ſua certa deſtinataque ſententia, religione omnium conſecraretur, aræque ei inter divos ritu ſolenni ſtatuerentur; utpote cujus viri ſanctitas inſigni tunc ſplendore apud omnes præfulgeret.

Anonymi vita R. DE PENNAFORTI... MARIANÆ *de Reb. Hiſpan. lib. xiii. cap. xxii.*

(6) RAYMONDI MARTINI *Pugio Fidei. an. MCCLXXVIII.*

(7) ZURITÆ *Anales. tom. iv. lib. xx. cap. xlix. Del Santo officio de la general inquiſicion, contra la heretica pravedad, q ſe introduxo por nueva comiſſion de la ſede apoſtolica, en los reynos de Caſtilla, y Leon, y de la corona de Aragon.* Un religioſo de la orden de los predicadores, q ſe llamo fray Thomas de Torquemada..... de ſanta vida, y de limpio, y noble linage, &c.

L. DE PARAMO *Hiſt. Inquis. lib. ii. tit. ii. cap. 5. 1 Fratris Thomæ a Turrecremata primi inquiſitoris generalis vita.* Turrecremata creatus fuit primus inquiſitor generalis a Sixto IV. an. M.CCCC.LXXXIII.

ANTONII DE SOUSSA *Ulyſſiponens. Inquiſitorum Aphoriſmi. lib. iv. cap. xxii. ſ. 3. Lugduni,* 1669. *Plura vide apud Limborch. Hiſt. Inquis. lib. i. cap. xxiv. De Inquiſitione Hiſpana.*

to embrace chriſtianity (8). Torquemada adviſed the king to allow them only one month, and took pains to give his advice effect: but probably his ſcheme was counteracted by the famous rabbi Iſaac Abarbanel, who was in high favour at court. This excellent man, celebrated for his learning, his riches, his employments in the courts of Portugal, Caſtille, and Naples, for his learned works, and his frequent diſgraces on account of his religion, was juſt and mild, and lived in habits of friendſhip with chriſtians. He was obliged to yield to this cruel edict, and died fourteen years after at Venice, and was buried at Padua. They ſay his books are full of invectives againſt the clergy and the pope: but this ought not to be thought ſtrange from a man, who ſaw himſelf along with an hundred and twenty thouſand families of his countrymen ſacrificed to the avarice and cruelty of a ſet of men for no other oſtenſible reaſon except that of worſhipping one God according to the harmleſs rites of Moſes. It would afford no pleaſure to the reader to go through the hiſtory of Torquemada; it is really the life of a bloody pirate: and perhaps it would create diſguſt to underſtand that, inſtead of loving God with all his heart, and his neighbour as himſelf, he dreſſed without a ſhirt, and ſlept without ſheets, breakfaſted, dined, and ſupped without meat, lived after the rule of Saint Dominick, and with the money taken from hereticks erected a monaſtery, with this ſingular ſtatute, confirmed by pope Alexander VI. that no deſcendant of either Jews or Mohammedans ſhould ever be admitted into it, leſt recollecting the foundation they ſhould diſcover their hatred of it by ſetting fire to the abbey, and burning it down to the ground (9).

It is not imaginable that a wiſe and brave people, lodged in intrenchments of ancient and approved laws, and jealous in a high degree of their liberties, could all on a ſudden ſuffer themſelves to be juggled out of their birthrights, and driven quiet as lambs into dungeons and torture-rooms by an army of mendicant enthuſiaſts without ſhirts or ſhoes, and with no other weapons than croſſes and relicks, and old romances at which wiſe men laughed, along with commiſſions from a foreign pontiff, when it was one fundamental law of the kingdom that no grant was good if it violated the law of nature; another, that no cauſe ſhould be decided out of the kingdom; a third, that no king of their own ſhould preſume to make a law without the advice of parliament; a fourth, that the chief juſtice of Aragon ſhould be acceſſible to all, and right every man's wrongs: with a thouſand precedents of impartial and univerſal juſtice to grace and embelliſh theſe laws (1). It took, therefore, more than three hundred years to eſtabliſh the inquiſition. All orders of men, even ſome of the inquiſitors reſiſted it. A few words concerning each order will elucidate the ſubject.

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(8) BASNAGE *Hiſt. de Juifs. lib. ix. ch. xxv.* Abravanel eſt celui de tous les Rabbins dont on peut le plus profiter pour l'intelligence de l'ecriture. Il ecrit d'un ſtyle pur, facile a entendre; bien qu'il ſoit trop etendu, et qu'il ait plutot le ſtyle d'un Rheteur que d'interprete de la bible. Il explique le ſens litteral de l'ecriture.

(9) PARAMO. Poſtquam Cœnobium Abulenſe, ex bonis hæreticorum fiſco regio adjudicatis a fundamentis erexit, cum uſu et experientia cognoviſſet, ſe, et ſanctum inquiſitionis officium, a Judæis et Mahumetanis maximo odio haberi, indeque timeret futurum aliquando ut in ipſius et ſanctæ inquiſitionis odium, aliquis a Judæis vel Sarracenis originem ducens, illud monaſterium incenderet, vel alia ratione funditus deleret, ab Alexandro VI. impetravit, ut ſub cenſuris alioqui incurrendis nullus a Judæis vel Mahumetanis oriundus in hoc cœnobio habitu monachali indueretur.

Of all the wild projects that ever originated in the diſconcerted brains of demoniacks, that of forming a church militant, was aſſuredly one of the moſt extravagant. If any thing could increaſe the injuſtice and abſurdity of a combination of cruelty with religion, it was the direction of ſuch military operations, for they were pointed againſt the unarmed. Of dominican and franciſcan friars, under vows of poverty and piety, did the pope form a vaſt army, whom he commiſſioned, ſometimes by a bare verbal order, and at other times by written diplomas, to go into foreign ſtates to baniſh and burn the inhabitants for the increaſe of the church, to exemplify injuſtice for the eſtabliſhment of virtue, to create crimes for the honour of puniſhing them, and to wade in human blood to obtain the glory of a ſaint at the right hand of Almighty God (2). Curious are the compliments, which the officers of this army paid one another. One ſays; "two friars of this chriſtian militia are far ſuperiour to the two Scipios, whom the Romans called the two thunderbolts of the punick war: and you, my lord Portocarrero, your name alone is as fatal to Mohammedans and hereticks as that of both the Scipios was to Africans (3)." In ſpite of all this rhodomontade, the principal ſpiritual Scipios durſt not ſhew their faces in the field. The whole army was a delegation from one decrepid old man at Rome. General inquiſitors, wrapped in flannels for the gout, and dying daily with the phthiſick of old age, imitated the pope, and delegated again, and their delegates delegated others, till the lot of the forlorn hope actually fell on the idiots, or the diſtracted, or the real beggars of the company.

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(1) P. a Limborch. *Hiſt. Inquis. lib. ii. cap. ii.* Olim Papa ordinatie inquiſitionis officium commiſit magiſtro et prioribus provincialibus ordinis prædicatorum; generali ac provincialibus ordinum minorum: [i. e. *Fratribus Dominicanis et Franciſcanis.*]

Blancæ *Com. pag.* 638. Ab eo tempore, quo apud nos, ut retulimus, bellico more Judicia exercebantur, duo illa notiſſima noſtrarum legum principia, ac quaſi ſedes, et fundamenta, quibus ipſæ nituntur, ducta fuiſſe non abs re conjicere licet. Alterum, ut iiſdem verbis utar, quibus eadem conſtant: "Quod in Aragonia omnes teſtamur jure militari, aequaſi in procinctu, minime aliis juris civilis ſolennitatibus expectatis." Alterum vero quod in omnibus cartæ, id eſt, publicæ ſcripturæ ſtandum eſt, niſi contineat aliquid, quod fieri nequeat, vel ſit contra jus naturale." Communi enim, ſive civili juri a noſtris legibus in quamplurimis eſt derogatum. . . Apud noſtros, his temporibus, nonnullas Gothicas leges in uſu fuiſſe, argumento eſt mihi antiqua quædam membranula. &c.

(2) Limborch. *ut ſup. lib. ii. cap. ii.* Hi inquiſitores poteſtatem officium hoc exequendi accipiunt a papa, qui interdum immediate viva voce inquiſitorem inſtituit, aliquando per literas ſuas apoſtolicas. . . Sunt inquiſitores a pontifice maximo delegati.

(3) L. a Paramo. *De Orig. Inquis. lib. ii. tit. i. cap. v.* Hi Chriſtianæ militiæ fulmina multo præſtantiora quam Scipiones major et minor, duo belli Punici fulmina appellati.

Ejuſd. Dedicat. Illuſt. D. D. Petro Portocarrerio. Eſt enim illud tuum nomen non minus in mauros et hæreticos fatale, quam Scipionum in Africanos.

The lower order of people welcomed theſe gentry, as might have been expected, with clubs and ſtones, and daggers and poiſons. Into ſome towns the inhabitants would not ſuffer them to enter, and in others many of them were knocked on the head. As well ſend a friar into a foreſt to nooſe and couple tygers, as give him a commiſſion to go alone into a free populous city to drive the mob into a ſlaughter-houſe, for ſuch they thought the court of inquiſition. The protomartyr of this monaſtical banditti was a friar Conrad of Conſtance, who was killed in Germany while he was preaching cruelty in the name of the prince of peace. The people felt their underſtandings inſulted, and they made away with him in the year twelve hundred twenty-eight. Inquiſitors met with the ſame treatment in all places, and the old ſpaniſh populace killed and murdered a great many, whom the modern ſpaniſh populace worſhip as martyrs (4). Such a wonderful power hath a ſtanding army to convert the inhabitants of cellars and garrets from their religious errours!

Many of the nobility, gentry, and military expreſſed their ahhorrence of the maxims of this court: they objected, that the mode of proceeding was contrary to the immunities of the kingdom; that it was unjuſt and cruel to conceal the accuſers from the perſons accuſed; that the confiſcation of property for hereſy was not only contrary to the cuſtoms and ſtatutes of the realm, but to all ideas of juſtice; that the whole was novel, and would be, if allowed, extremely prejudicial to the kingdom (5). Committees of parliament

(4) ZURITÆ *Anales*... BLANCÆ *Com*... PARAMI *Hiſt*. Inquiſitores... Conradus, Protomartyr, ab hæreticis trucidatur... Pontius a Blanes interficitur... Bernardus Traneſſer in civitate Urgellenſi martyrii Palmam adeptus eſt... Petrus a Cadrieta in Diœceſi Urgellenſi lapidibus occiditur... Inquiſitores Turolum miſſi, recepti non ſunt... Petrus Arbues ab Epila Cæſarauguſtæ interficitur... Arnaldus obtruncatur... Bernardus de Pegnaforte, et Garſias Aura gladiis hæreticorum occumbunt... Stephanus et Raymundus perimuntur... Monachus Caſtronſis jugulatur... Petrus Rainaldus S. Officii notarius occiditur...Pontius Cathaloniæ veneno de medio ſublatus.., *cum multis aliis*.

ZURITÆ *tom. iv. lib. xx. cap. lxv.* Avianſe embiado por el miſmo tiempo [1584] Inquiſidores la ciudad de Tervel: y començaron a reſiſtir ſu entrada, y no permitian que exercieſſen tan libremente ſu officio, y por eſta cauſa ſe recogieron los inquiſidores, y officiales en el lugar de Celha.

(5) ZURITÆ *Anales. tom. iv. lib. xx. cap. lxv.* De los Inquiſidores de la fe. Començaron ſe de alborotar los, que eran nuevamente convertidos del linage de Judios: y ſin ellos muchos cavalleros, y gente principal: publicando, que aquel modo de proceder era contra las libertades del reyno: porque por eſte delito ſe les confiſcavan los bienes: y no ſe les davan los nombres de los teſtigos, q deponian contra los reos: que eran dos coſas muy nuevas, y nunca uſadas, y muy prejudiciales al reyno: y con eſta ocaſion tuvieron diverſos ayuntamientos en las caſas de las perſonas del linage de Judios, que ellos tenian por ſus defenſores y protectores por ſer letrados, y tener parte en el Govierno, y juzgado de los tribunales, y de algunos mas principales, de quien ſe favorecian. Procuraron por eſte camino, de impedir, y perturbar el exercicio de aquel ſanto officio, y aver algunas inhibiciones, y firmas del Juſticia de Aragon: ſobre los bienes: entendiendo, q ſi la confiſcacion ſe quitava, no duraria mucho aquel officio.

ſat on the buſineſs; deputies waited on the king; the lord chief juſtice of Aragon interpoſed; ſome of the biſhops forbad the office to proceed; the inquiſitor Gualbez preached againſt tyranny both civil and ſacred till the pope depoſed him from his office; the kings temporized, iſſued edicts which they durſt not enforce, and procured commiſſions which they took care to counteract (6). In the end, however, the ſyſtem of deſpotiſm both civil and ſacred prevailed, and long, very long is the catalogue of thoſe, who fell victims to the infernal policy of the inquiſition.

While the inquiſitorial courts were making havock with Moors, Jews, and hereticks in Spain, there appeared, in the year fifteen hundred and thirty, a young gentleman of about nineteen or twenty years of age, a native of Tudelle in Navarre, of an aragonian family, named Michael Servede, who wrote his name Reves, a youth of genius and learning, who had ſtudied phyſick, and was then living in the family of Quintaine, confeſſor to Charles v. Servetus (for by that name he is generally known) diſowned the doctrine of the trinity, and converſed freely with Oecolampadius about it. He was an Aragonian of the old caſt, and ſeems to have imbibed both the political and religious principles of his anceſtors; for it is far more probable that he was trained up in thoſe principles, in a country where it is known they had always been inculcated from the times of the Goths, than that he learned them all on a ſudden in Italy. He was himſelf an original genius, of a manly ſpirit, bold in his inquiries after truth, and generous as the day in communicating his opinions, not doubting that he had as much right to inveſtigate the doctrine of the trinity as others had that of tranſubſtantiation. At Straſburg, he held conferences with Bucer and Capito. He had left at Baſil a manuſcript for the preſs, in which he had attacked the doctrine of the trinity: but the bookſeller not daring to print it ſent it to Hagenau in Alſace, whither Servetus followed to ſee it publiſhed (7). In thirty-one the book came out, and in thirty-two another; both ſmall octavos, and both intended to diſprove the doctrine of the trinity (8). Theſe books, as they

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(6) Ibid. *lib. xx. cap. lxv. cap. xlix. Del ſanto officio.* Blancæ *vita Joannis* de Lanuza ii. *Juſtitiæ Aragonum.*

Zuritæ *Anales. tom. iv. lib. xx. cap. xlix. . lib. xvii. cap. xlii.*

Fra. Pegnæ *com. in* Eymerici *director. p. ii. com. xxxix. .* Marianæ *Præfat. in* Lucam Tudensem.

(7) *Monſ.* De la Roche *Bibliot. Angloiſe. tom. ii p. i. 7.*

(8) Michaelis Reves *de Trinitatis erroribus, libri vii. Impr. abſque nota editionis, an.* 1531. *Ejuſdem Dialogorum de trinitate libri duo, et de juſticia regni Chriſti capitula quatuor. Impr. abſque nota editionis, anno* 1532, *in 8vo.*

Guil. Francois de Bure *Bibliographie. A Paris,* 1763. *Theologie, N.* 754. Le premier traité, un petit volume in 8vo imprimé en caracteres italiques, en vii livres, eſt compoſé de 119 feuillets chiffrés, compris dans ce nombre celui de titre. A la fin du feuillet 119, on lit ce mot, *Finis.* L'on doit trouver enſuite, un feuillet ſeparé, ſeul et non chiffré, qui ne contient ſeulement que quelques Mots *d'Errata,* ainſi qu'il ſuit. *Erratum ubicunq. reperies Jehonah,*

Tu

they denied the popular notion of perſons in God, and as they affirmed that Jeſus was a mere man, procured him a great number of enemies; and as they were written modeſtly, and at a time when a ſpirit of inquiry had begun to operate, they obtained him a great many friends. He was in part a ſtranger to the ſpirit of thoſe, who have been ſince called reformers, and happy would it have been for him had he always continued ſo (9).

It is not eaſy to determine the preciſe place of the birth of Servetus, or the tutors from whom he derived his religious principles, or whether he formed his opinions for himſelf alone. It ſeems very clear from his own confeſſion in his examination, that he was born at Tudelle, in Navarre. As he had called himſelf in the titles of ſome of his books, Michael of Villanova, an aragonian Spaniard, Mr. D'Artigny conjectured with great probability, that his anceſtors had lived originally at Villanova, and had removed to Tudelle in Navarre, where he had ſettled. This conjecture is of the more importance, becauſe, could it be determined from which Villanova his family removed, it would caſt light on the other queſtion, where he imbibed his religious opinions. Some affirm, he was inſtructed in Africa by jewiſh or mohammedan maſters in the doctrine of the divine unity: but others have rendered it highly probable, that he never was in Africa, by obſerving that in his Ptolomy, he always ſpeaks of Africa from report, and never from his own obſervations (1). Others have ſuppoſed he received his firſt rudiments in Italy: but there is no reaſon to ſupport this conjecture except that there were people in Italy at the ſame time of his opinion. Others, again, ſay at Toulouſe, but there is no proof of this. To abide by his own declaration, as elucidated by Mr. D'Artigny, it is to be remarked, that the word Aragon was at that time ſo vague, and the Villas ſo many, it is not ſo eaſy to determine the place as it may at firſt appear. Several were named from their tenures: as Villa Real, a royal town, a town on crown land. Villa de Reyna, queen's town: a town belonging to the queen in her own right. Villa Franca, a free town. Of Villa Novas, or Nuevas, new towns, there were many ſo called. There was one pariſh of this name, if no more, in the county of Urgel, the old ſeat of unitarianiſm, belonging to the cathedral of Urgel, and conſequently as it was church-land the tenants were always expoſed to church-cenſures, and when the county fell into the crown, they became ſubject to baronial civil coercion, as far as the over-ruling laws of the ſtate would allow (2). When the kings

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Tu lege Jehoua, per ou, non on. L'on connoit aſſez dans la republique des lettres, la rareté exceſſive de cet ouvrage de *Servet*. Le ſecond traité forme en tout 48 feuillets non chiffrés, imprimés de meme que le premier, en caracteres italiques. Cette partie contient des dialogues, dont les interlocuteurs ſont, *Michael, et Petrucius.*

(9) James George de Chauffpie, *life of Servetus tranſlated by* James Yair, *London*, 1771.

(1) *Life, page 5, note c.*

(2) Pet. De Marca. *Lim. Hiſpan. Append. Monument. i. Ex chartulario Eccleſiæ Urgellenſis.* Tradimus

kings got above theſe laws, as they did before the birth of Servetus, it is not improbable that his family removed from this place for freedom to Tudelle in Navarre. There Jews, Moors, and Chriſtians lived at eaſe, and there moſt likely he received his education and his notions of civil and religious liberty, as well as his knowledge of phyſick, and his peculiar ſentiments of religion. He was a ſtudent in his earlieſt youth, and underſtood latin, greek, and hebrew: and in ſome degree philoſophy and mathematicks before he was fifteen. He was only eighteen when he publiſhed his firſt book againſt the trinity (3). It ſeems his father was a notary.

It was ſaid juſt now, that Servetus was in part a ſtranger to the ſpirit of the reformers. He had indeed experienced a little of it in Oecolampadius and Bucer, who had diſcovered much indignation at the preſumption of the young man for daring to call in queſtion doctrines, which all the chriſtian world held, and what was more, doctrines which even they, the elect of God, called by his grace, endued with the ſpirit, regularly ordained to the ſacred miniſtry, and honoured to be the mouth of God to the laity, not only held and taught, but taught as truths ſo indiſputable, that it was even a crime to ſuſpect whether they were true (4). Both theſe divines had the character of mildneſs: but Oecolampadius thought anger juſt in this caſe, and Bucer declared from the pulpit, that Servetus "deſerved to be cut in pieces, and his bowels torn out of him (5)." Little doth a young generous mind, like that of Servetus, know to what a degree of ſettled hatred and ſavage zeal old habits of ſpeculation riſe in the hearts of ſome orthodox divines. On many ſubjects placid and ſerene: but on a few favourite points deaf as the dead, and cruel as the bear bereaved of her whelps. It would be endleſs to enumerate particulars:

Tradimus . . parochiam de *Villa nova*, vel Banathi, atque Lotone cum eccleſia S. Jacobi, ſive illa parrochia de Alaſs, vel ipſa parrochia de Valle urſian, cum *Aragon*. Deinde Nabiners, ſive Ollafracta, atque ipſa parrochia de Toſt, vel monte damno, ſive ipſo plano ſancti Thirici, cum *Villanova*, atque Aſſoa, vel Adrall, ſive Caſtellione, vel villa mediana, ſive Caſamuniz, et ſancta cruce, cum ſtatione, vel Palerols, ſive etiam curte Navarchii.

Iſtarum pariochiarum Urgellenſium pagus . . cum villis vel villulis atque villarunculis earum; et cum decimis et primitiis tam de planis quam de montanis, ſive in convallibus, ſeu de apriſionibus vel rupturis . . tradimus ac condotamus hujus matris eccleſiæ ſanctæ Mariæ ſedis Urgellenſem in perpetuum habituras. . . Facta anno vi. regnante ſereniſſimo Auguſto Ludovico imperatore.

(3) Andræ Westphalii *Epiſt. apud* Baur *Bibliot. libror. rar. tom. ii. De Libris publica auctoritate combuſt.* Teſtatur Magnif· D. I. F. Mayerus in lectionibus ſuis Antiſocinianis, peſtilentiſſimi hujus libri auctoritatem ac deſiderium ita creviſſe, ut, teſte Varillaſio, centum Ducatis unici exempli copiam quidam ſibi paraverint.

(4) M. L'Abbe d'Artigny *Nouveaux Memoires d'hiſt. de critique et de literature, tom. ii. Paris*, 1749.

Jean Pierre Niceron. *Memoires pour ſervir a l'hiſtoire des Hommes illuſt. Paris* 1729. . . . Servet. *Epiſtolæ doctor. viror. De Anabaptiſtis. . . Epiſt. et Vit.* Oecolampadii. . . Melancthoni *Epiſt.*

(5) Calvini *Epiſt. ad* Sultzerum. Is eſt, quem fidelis Chriſti miniſter, et ſanctæ memoriæ, D. Bucerus, pro ſuggeſtu pronunciavit, dignum eſſe, qui avulſis viſceribus diſcerperetur.

ſuffice it to ſay, a general alarm was ſpread abroad; converſations, letters, ſermons, books, with all the other artillery of the orthodox, were directed againſt the haughty ſpaniſh blaſphemous heretick; for ſo they, whom themſelves the greater part of Europe called hereticks, had the inconſiſtency to pronounce him.

The next year, thirty-three, Servetus, it ſhould ſeem, republiſhed his books, and added an advertiſement, in which he informs the reader that through his own unſkilfulneſs, and the careleſſneſs of the printer, the former edition was confuſed and incorrect, and which therefore he retracted: but not the doctrine advanced. It was not falſe: but imperfect, as if written by a child to children. He hoped no chriſtian would be offended with the doctrine on that account, for God ſometimes made uſe of weak means to diffuſe his wiſdom (6). Whether he publiſhed this advertiſement with the firſt edition of the dialogues is not certain, nor is it very material. What every one believes is, that his books were pirated, printed and reprinted; and ſo many contradictions have been reported both about him and them, that it would be endleſs to inveſtigate particulars in order to obtain preciſion. This retraction was imputed to him as a crime, and urged as a proof of colluſion and unſteadineſs in him: and this by men, who had retracted opinions not words, and who called their own retractions a converſion from popery; a coming out of darkneſs into light, an effect of the grace of God, and the irreſiſtible influence of his holy ſpirit; by men too who required all their followers to change their opinions, and who condemned the pontiff of Rome and all his cardinals, the whole clergy, and all catholick ſtates, becauſe they would not recant popery. There is a modern writer, who, though he had as little reaſon as any man to correct his writings, yet did alter in a ſecond edition what he had publiſhed in the firſt, and in a third what he had improved in a ſecond, and introduces the fourth with the following juſt and beautiful obſervation (7). " Every author, who entertains a due degree of reverence for the tribunal before which he is to appear, or who conſiders the importance of diſſeminating doctrines and opinions through various parts of the world, which may operate on the happineſs of others when he is no more, will be anxious to correct his miſtakes, and to improve his compoſitions, whenever the publick favour, calling for a new impreſſion, affords him an opportunity for a reviſal. In the former editions this opportunity has been embraced; and who is there who muſt not ſay with Demea in Terence,"

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(6) NICERON. BURE. Lectori ſalutem. Quæ contra receptam de trinitate ſententiam ſeptem libris ſcripſi omnia nunc, candide lector, retracto: Non quia falſa ſint, ſed quia imperfecta; et tanquam a parvulo parvulis ſcripta. Precor tamen ut ex illis ea teneas quæ ad dicendorum intelligentiam te potuerunt juvare. Quod autem ita barbarus confuſus et incorrectus prior liber prodierit imperitiæ meæ et Typographi incuriæ adſcribendum eſt. Nec vellem quod propterea aliquis offenderetur, cum ſoleat aliquando Deus per ſtulta mundi organa ſuam ſapientiam proferre. Obſerva igitur obſecro rem ipſam, nam ſi mentem advertes, non te impedient impedita verba mea. Vale.

(7) VICESIMUS KNOX. *Eſſays moral and literary, vol. i. Advertiſement to the fourth edition, London,* 1784.

> "Nunquam ita quiſquam bene ſubducta ratione ad vitam fuit,
> Quin res, ætas, uſus ſemper aliquid adportet novi."

There was a wide difference between Servetus and the ſwiſs and german divines. The latter, moſt of them, born and brought up in deſpotical governments, were alarmed at the bold and dauntleſs ſpirit of the aragonian, and conſidered him as a man of infinite pride. Having always regarded the word trinity with a ſolemn awe, they thought his inquiſitiveneſs preſumption, and the concluſions of his ſyllogiſms blaſphemy. Beſide, they were endeavouring to inliſt princes under their ſtandards of faith, and they entertained hopes of winning the emperour over to their party: while Servetus, young, vigorous, and wholly unconnected, aimed at nothing but truth, and puſhed his inquiries without keeping or pretending to keep meaſures with any party. In this ſpirit he quitted Germany, and went to the univerſity of Paris (8). There he ſtudied mathematicks and phyſick, and was admitted maſter of arts and doctor of medicine. Here he became acquainted with Calvin, who was then at Paris, and who, as Servetus made no ſecret of his religious principles, oppoſed his notions, and appointed a time to hold a conference with him, which for ſome reaſon Servetus declined. The Calviniſts have ſince ſaid, God Almighty called Calvin to Paris juſt at that critical time (9). Servetus had not heard of that, and it is clear from many anecdotes which afterward tranſpired, he had no great opinion either of the genius or religion of Calvin. They were much of an age, and it is not improbable, that Servetus, who was a high ſpirited man, declined a conteſt, in which he thought a victory would not do him much honour. Soon after he took his doctor's degree he profeſſed mathematicks in the Lombard college, practiſed phyſick, and employed his leiſure hours in preparing for the preſs a new edition of Ptolemy's geography, which was printed at Lyons in thirty-five in one volume, in folio (1).

This book is divided into three parts. The firſt contains an hundred and forty-nine pages. The firſt four pages contain an advertiſement to the reader by Servetus; the epiſtle dedicatory of Pirckeymher to his former edition; and a table of the chapters in the firſt book. Then follows the text of Ptolemy. The ſecond part, which is not paged, contains Ptolemy's index of lands, ſeas, rivers, countries, diſtances, and ſo on. The third conſiſts of maps, with hiſtorical explanations (2). The enemies of the doctor found two faults in this work. The firſt is a mere quibble. He had called himſelf in the title Michael of Villanova. Calvin reproached him with this, but his anſwer was ſatisfactory. Villanova had been the place of reſidence, perhaps the eſtate of his family. Mr. D'Artigny thinks his anceſtors had removed from Villanova in Aragon to Tudelle in Navarre, and had retained at Tudelle the title of Villanova along with the family name. Nothing can be more likely, becauſe nothing was more common than ſuch removals and ſuch deſcriptive titles (3). The ſecond objection is of far more conſequence. In the introduction to the forty-firſt chart, which is that of the holy land, the doctor had expreſſed himſelf thus, " The books of the bible, and Joſephus, who has followed them, call this land Canaan, and ſay, it abounds in various riches, fertile in fruits, well watered, full of balm, and ſituated in the middle of the world, which makes it neither incommoded with too great cold, nor burnt up by heats. On account of a climate ſo happy, the Iſraelites, formerly called Hebrews, believed that this was the country flowing with milk and honey, which God had formerly promiſed to their fathers, Abraham, Iſaac and Jacob. For this reaſon forty years after their departure from Egypt, they took poſſeſſion of it under the conduct of the valiant general Joſhua. Know, however, friendly reader, that this is either a miſtake, or pure oſtentation, that they have aſcribed ſo much goodneſs to this country, for the experience of many merchants and travellers hath diſcovered, that it is uncultivated, barren, and deſtitute of every thing agreable. Therefore it may be called the promiſed land, but not in the modern vulgar ſenſe of the word, which implies that it deſerves the higheſt praiſe (4)." Calvin ſays, this " was judging like a blockhead and a beaſt, and when the villainous dog was told it was blaſphemy, he only wiped his mouth and ſaid, Let us paſs over this, there is no harm in it (5)."

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(8) D'ARTIGNY... BEZÆ *Hiſt. Reform.*

(9) MELCH. ADAMI CALVINI *vita.* Rediit aliquanto poſt Lutetiam Calvinus, eo quaſi Dei ipſius manu evocatus. Venit enim illuc impius ille Servetus, jam tum ſuum adverſus Triadem virus diſpergens.

(1) CLAUDII PTOLOMÆI *Alexandrini Geographicæ enarrationis libri octo, ex* BIBLIBALDI PIRCKEYMHERI *tralatione, ſed ad priſca et græca exemplaria a* MICHAELE VILLANOVANO *jam primum recogniti. Adjecta inſuper ab eodem ſcholia, quibus exoleta urbium nomina ad noſtri ſeculi morem exponuntur. Quinquaginta illæ quoque cum veterum tum recentium tabulæ adnectuntur variique incolentium ritus et mores explicantur. Lugduni. Ex Officina Melchioris et Gaſparis Trechſel fratrum. M.D.XXXV.*

While the doctor practiſed phyſick at Paris, he publiſhed three or four ſmall detached pieces. One was an apology for doctor Champier at Lyons: another a profeſſional piece, *De Syrupis:* and an apology for himſelf in regard to a diſpute, which he had with the phyſicians of Paris (6). This diſpute roſe to a proceſs before parliament, which was terminated by a ſuppreſſion of the apology, and an order of the houſe to the phyſicians to live upon better terms with Servetus, and to uſe him with humanity. Soon after he removed to Charlieu, where, and at Lyons, he practiſed medicine for three years. At Lyons he met with Peter Palmier, archbiſhop of Vienne in Dauphine. This prelate had been ſome time ago at Paris either a friend or a pupil of the Doctor, who had given him lectures on Ptolemy's geography. Being a great lover of learned men, and fond of Servetus, he preſſed him to go to Vienne to practiſe phyſick, and offered him an apartment in his palace. The doctor accepted the offer, and as a teſtimony of his gratitude to his benefactor, reviſed and republiſhed, in a ſecond edition, his Ptolemy, and dedicated it to his lordſhip. The doctor's enemies ſtung with envy reproached him with a charge of hypocriſy: but this was abſurd, for, not knowing either his or his patron's principles of religious liberty, knowing for certain that one was what they called a popiſh prelate, and the other an antitrinitarian Anabaptiſt; and judging of the conduct of both by their own maxims, they had no notion of two ſuch men living together each in the enjoyment of his own religious principles, and neither preſuming to offer any force to the other. This prelate ſeems to have been one of thoſe, of whom there have been numbers in the catholick church, who think freely, but who do not act conſiſtently, who regulate their own private conduct by principles the moſt virtuous and liberal: but who, for reaſons beſt known to themſelves, adjuſt all their publick meaſures by eſtabliſhed rules of deſpotiſm, which they inwardly diſapprove. It belongs to the great being alone to combine all the circumſtances that go to make up the merit or demerit of ſuch men: and to him alone it muſt be left to paſs the definitive ſentence. "If thou doeſt well, ſhalt thou not be accepted? and if thou doeſt not well, ſin lieth at the door."

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(2) De Bure *Bibliographie Inſtructive, ou traité de la connoiſance des livres rares et ſinguliers. Tom. i. Liv.* 4197. *A Paris* 1768.

(3) Joannis Pistorii *Tabul. Genealog. inter Scriptor. Rer. Hiſpan.*

(4) Hanc terram Biblici libri et Joſephus eos ſecutus Cananeam appellant .... Quare promiſſam terram, pollicitam, et non vernacula lingua laudantem pronuncies .... *Life of* Servetus *by* Chauffpie.

(5) *Declaration pour maintenir la vraye foi. Geneve.* 1559.

About thirteen years the doctor lived ſafe and happy at Vienne under the auſpices of his right reverend patron, always employed in the duties of his profeſſion, or in ſome literary occupation. He made frequent journies to Lyons, where he reviſed an edition of the bible in folio, printed by Hugo de la Parte, to which he prefixed a preface, and added marginal notes (7).

Calvin

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(6) CHAUFFPIE *pag.* 30. *Apologetica diſſertatio pro Artologia. In Leonartium Fuſſinum Apologia pro Symphorio Campegio.*

Syruporum univerſa ratio ad Galeni cenſuram diligenter expoſita; cui poſt integram concoctionis deſcriptionem, præſcripta eſt vera purgandi methodus, cum expoſitione aphoriſmi, concocta medicari. MICHAELE VILLA NOVANO *authore. in* 8*vo.* 1537.

BURE. Nous ne connoiſſons plus cette apologie que de nom, et que nous n'avons pas encore pu juſqu'a preſent en decouvrir aucun exemplaire.

(7) BIBLIA SACRA LATINA, *ex Hebræo; per* SANTEM PAGNINUM, *cum præfatione et ſcholiis* MICHAELIS VILLANOVANI. *Lugduni a Porta* 1542. *in fol.*

BURE. *N.* 36. Le merite de cette edition conſiſte, dans les notes marginales dont elle eſt

ornée

Calvin was pleaſed to pronounce the notes impertinent and impious: but wiſer men than he have thought the direct contrary (8). Servetus had given a literal expoſition of many of the prophecies: and Calvin pretended this was an affront to Jeſus Chriſt. The doctor perſevered, and corrected ſeveral other books for the preſs, and tranſlated ſome treatiſes upon grammar from latin into ſpaniſh, and filled up his time with labours uſeful to ſociety.

There lived at Lyons one John Frellon, a bookſeller, an admirer of Calvin. This man, by ſome means engaged Servetus to enter into an epiſtolary correſpondence with Calvin. Mr. D'Artigny ſays, "Servetus had examined the works of Calvin very carefully, and not finding they deſerved the great reputation, which they had acquired among the reformed, he conſulted him not ſo much to be inſtructed by him as to perplex him (9)." However it were he propoſed three queſtions to Calvin: the firſt concerning the divinity of Jeſus Chriſt; the ſecond of regeneration; and the third of baptiſm (1). Calvin conducted this correſpondence under the fictitious name of Charles D'Eſpeville, and the letters paſſed through the hands of Frellon. Servetus diſputed every word, and puſhed hard, and his correſpondent Charles, who had been uſed to treat with believers not inquirers, felt his oracular dignity hurt, and taxed him with pride, for with divines of Calvin's caſt implicit belief of all they ſay is humility. At length, Calvin bethought himſelf of a very ingenious device to get rid of the correſpondence. He wrote Frellon word, that Servetus

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ornée, et qui ſont du fameux Michel Servet: les exemplaires en ont eté ſupprimés et defendu avec ſoin, ce qui les a rendus rares; et la valeur en augmente en France, depuis que le merite de ſa rareté y eſt mieux connu.

Deſcription du volume.

Six feuillets ſeparés ſe trouvent au commencement, qui renferment le titre, la preface de Servet, ſous le nom de *Villanovanus*, un autre de Jean Nicolas *Victorius*, et le prologue de *Santes Pagnini.* Suit enſuite le corps du volume, qui commence au feuillet 1, et finit avec l'apocalypſe, au feuillet 267. Doit ſuivre enſuite un diſcours de Santes Pagnini, adreſſé a Thomas Sartine, Florentin, que forme un feuillet ſeparé, ſeul et non chiffré, et qui doit etre ſuivi d'une partie de feuillets non chiffrés, qui contient les *interpretationes uominum*, dont les ſignatures du bas des pages ſont depuis la lettre A. a. juſques et compris la lettre E. e. avec ces mots a la fin: Finis libri interpretationum nominum, &c. L'on doit trover encore un feuillet en ſuivant, ſeul et ſeparé, qui contient un *Errata*, avec le regiſtre des ſignatures, et la ſouſcription de l'annee, ainſi: *Lugduni, excudebat* GASPAR TRECHSEL, *anno M.D.XLII.*

(8) BIBLIA POLONICA. BURE. *N.* 79. Les perſonnes employées par ce Prince [Radzivil] a la redaction de l'ouvrage, furent Pierre Stator, Simon Zacius, Gregoire Orſacius, André Triceſius, Jaques Lublinius, et pluſieurs autres chefs unitaires, ou ſociniens, parmi leſquels l'on compte meme le fameux Michel Servet, duquel on a inſeré quantité de morceaux ſeparés, que l'on trouva dans les papiers de ce celebre hereſiarque.

(9) *Ubi ſup.*

(1) i. An homo Jeſus crucifixus ſit filius Dei, et quæ ſit hujus filiationis ratio?
ii. An regnum Chriſti ſit in hominibus; quando quis ingrediatur, et quando regeneretur?
iii. An baptiſmus Chriſti debeat in fide fieri ſicut cœna; et quorſum hæc inſtituta ſint fœdere novo?

was Satan, who turned his attention from ſtudies more uſeful, and affairs more preſſing; that he had no hopes of reclaiming him till God ſhould give him the grace of humility; that he was a very arrogant man, and that he had addreſſed him in harſher language than he uſed to others on purpoſe to bring his arrogance down; and that as he had not ſucceeded he would decline any further correſpondence. Frellon ſent the letter to Servetus, underwritten with a note of his own, and Servetus piqued at the contents deſpiſed the author.

Of all Calvin's works his favourite production was the book entitled Chriſtian Inſtitutes. Servetus read this book, as a critick ſhould do, with his reaſoning powers in free exerciſe, and finding in it a great number of miſtakes and errours, he took the liberty to inform the author of them. This ſo irritated Calvin that he never forgave him, and inſtead of profiting by the advice of the critick, he wrote letters to his friends Viret and Farel, "that if ever this heretick ſhould fall into his hands, he would order it ſo, that it ſhould coſt him his life (2)." Mr. D'Artigny, who took his materials for the life of Servetus from the undoubted archives of the archbiſhoprick of Vienne, affirms this. Bolſec and Grotius both ſaw the original letter, Uytenbogardt had a copy of it taken from a collection of manuſcript epiſtles, and the panegyriſts of Calvin are not able to deny it. They allow the fact, but they ſay it was zeal, not revenge, that impelled him to write ſo. A miſerable excuſe. Many are the hiſtories of the rage of authors againſt criticks: but this exceeds them all. A gentleman who loves criticiſm but hates ill temper, hath placed Calvin's Inſtitutes among ſuch other books in his library: but he hath written on the top of the title: "The voice of thy brother's blood crieth unto me from the ground."

In the year fifty-three Servetus printed at Vienne his chief work, entitled Chriſtianiſmi Reſtitutio, a thick octavo of ſeven hundred and thirty-four pages (3). This curious work, which the author was four years in compoſing, is divided into ſix parts, and the whole is a delineation of what Servetus thought the diſcipline of the new teſtament, along with that of the church of Rome, and the lutheran and calviniſt ſeceders in contraſt (4). A part of the original

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(2) CALVINI *ad* FARELLUM *Epiſt.* 1546. Servetus nuper ad me ſcripſit, et literis adjunxit magnum volumen ſuorum deliriorum cum Thraſonyca jactantia. Si mihi placeat, huc ſe venturum recipit, ſed nolo fidem meam interponere; nam ſi venerit, modo valeat mea authoritas, vivum exire nunquam patiar.

(3) *Chriſtianiſmi Reſtitutio, hoc eſt, totius eccleſiæ ad ſua limina vocatio, in integrum reſtituta cognitione Dei, fidei Chriſti, Juſtificationis noſtræ, regenerationis baptiſmi, et cœnæ Domini manducationis, reſtituto denique nobis regno cœleſti, Babylonis impiæ captivitate ſoluta, et antichriſto cum ſuis penitus deſtructo.*

(4) i. De trinitate divina, quod in ea me non ſit indiviſibilium trium rerum illuſio, ſed vera Dei ſubſtantiæ manifeſtatio in verbo et communicatio in ſpiritu. *libri vii.*

ii. De fide et juſtitia regis Chriſti, legis juſtitiam ſuperantis, et de charitate, *libri iii.*

iii. De regeneratione ac manducatione ſuperna, et de regno Antichriſti, *libri iv.*

iv. Epiſtolæ

original manuſcript was lately in the library of the celebrated Mr. Gaignat, which was ſold by auction in April ſixty-nine. It was with ſome difficulty that he prevailed on Arnollet the bookſeller and Gueroult the printer to put the work to preſs, however he obtained his wiſh by engaging himſelf to pay for the impreſſion, to correct the proofs, and to give each of them a gratuity of an hundred crowns. It was printed without the name of the author, or of the city, or of the printer. The work was executed ſo ſecretly that not one perſon at Vienne knew of it, and when it was finiſhed all the copies were ſent to Lyons, from whence Frellon ſent one part to Franckfort, while the other lay for an opportunity to be ſent into Italy. By the way, it is in the fifth book of the firſt part of this work, that the famous paſſage concerning the circulation of the blood is found (5). Servetus was the firſt phyſician who mentioned it. Calvin, who had proſelytes and ſpies every where, had an admirer at Geneva, one William Trie, a native of Lyons. Trie had a relation at Lyons named Arney, with whom he correſponded. Arnie was a catholick, and inceſſantly exhorted his couſin Trie to return to the boſom of the church. Trie communicated Arney's letters to Calvin, who dictated anſwers to them, ſo that they are, as Mr. D'Artigny, who publiſhed them from originals, calls them, Calvin's letters under the name of William Trie. In one of theſe, dated Geneva, February the twenty-ſixth, the writer ſays, " I am aſtoniſhed how you dare reproach me with our having no eccleſiaſtical diſcipline or order, and that our teachers have introduced a licentiouſneſs, which throws every thing into confuſion: and yet at the ſame time I can obſerve, bleſſed be God, that vices are better corrected here than among all your officials. And as to the doctrine, and what concerns religion, although there is more liberty here than amongſt you, neverthelеſs it is not permitted to blaſpheme the name of God, or that doctrines or wicked opinions ſhould be ſown without being repreſſed. To your great confuſion I can give you one example, ſince I am forced to mention it, which is, that with you they ſupport a heretick, who deſerves to be burnt wherever he is found. When I mention to you a heretick, I mean one who ſhall be condemned by the papiſts as well as by us, at leaſt he deſerves to be ſo: for although we differ in opinion about many things, yet we are ſtill agreed, that there are three perſons in one eſſence of God; and that the father hath begotten the ſon, who is his eternal wiſdom before all time, and that he hath had his eternal virtue, which is his holy ſpirit. But when a man ſhall ſay, that the trinity which we maintain

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iv. Epiſtolæ xxx. ad Johannem Calvinum, Genevenſium concionatorem.
v. Signa ſexaginta regni Antichriſti, et revelatio ejus jam nunc præſens.
vi. De myſterio trinitatis ex veterum diſciplina, ad Philippum Melancthonem, et ejus collegas apologia.

JOHAN. JACOB. BAUR *Bibliotheca librorum rarior. univerſalis.*

(5) BURE. *N.* 756. Ille ſpiritus a ſiniſtro cordis ventriculo arterias totins corporis deinde transfunditur, &c. *See in* BAYLE *the lives of* DR. JOHN BARWICK.... ANDRÆAS CÆLESTINUS... DR. HARVEY... FATHER PAUL.

is a Cerberus, an infernal monſter, and diſgorge all the villanies that can be poſſibly thought of againſt what the ſcripture teaches of the eternal generation of the ſon of God, and that the holy ſpirit is the efficacy of the father and the ſon, and with open mouth ſhall make a mock of all which the ancient doctors have taught, I beg to know what eſteem and regard you can have for him? . . . You cruelly burn us: but behold him, who ſhall call Jeſus Chriſt an idol, who ſhall deſtroy all the foundations of faith, who ſhall gather together all the dreams of the ancient hereticks, who ſhall even condemn the baptiſm of little children, calling it a diabolical invention; and he ſhall have the vogue amongſt you, and be ſupported as if he had committed no fault. Where, pray, is the zeal you pretend to? And where is the wiſdom of this fine hierarchy you magnify ſo much?" In the remaining part of the letter the writer gives all the names of this heretick, and his place of abode, an account of the book, and where it was printed, and by whom, and in proof of all ſent the firſt ſheet as a ſpecimen. It is not certain by what means Calvin got a copy of this book. It was ſurreptitiouſly obtained wherever it was gotten, for it had not been publiſhed. The moſt probable conjecture is, as ſome affirm, that Frellon pilfered one from the parcel, which he undertook to convey to Franckfort.

This letter occaſioned a proſecution againſt Servetus. Arney carried the letter with the ſheet to Ory the inquiſitor. Ory, finding there was not ſufficient matter to cauſe an arreſt, dictated a letter to Arney addreſſed to Trie, intreating him, to ſend the whole work intire. "Calvin," ſays Mr. D'Artigny, "charmed with finding that every thing ſucceeded according to his deſire, compoſed an anſwer in the name of his confidant, and ſent other papers which were more than ſufficient to convict Servetus. The two letters characterize this pretended reformer to perfection, who with an external ſhew of great moderation, and an ardent zeal for religion, meditated nothing elſe but revenge for perſonal injuries." Though Calvin's admirers pretend to diſpute the fact of his dictating the letters, yet the evidence given by Meſſieurs D'Artigney, De la Roche, and D'Alwoerde, who affirm it, ſeems fully and clearly againſt him (6). On the fourth of April Servetus was committed to priſon, with his valet, and with an order to the jailer to uſe him kindly on account of his rank. The two next days he was interrogated. On the 7th of April he aroſe at four o'clock in the morning, and aſked the jailer leave to walk in the garden. The man, obſerving he had a cap on his head, and was wrapped in his morning gown, gave him the key, and ſoon after went with his ſervants to work in his vineyard. As ſoon as the doctor found the coaſt was clear, he took off the black velvet cap, and his furred night gown, and laid them at the foot of a tree, and putting on a hat, which he had concealed under his gown, he jumped from the terrace, got into the court, quickly paſſed the gate of the bridge of the Rhone, and eſcaped. His flight was not known till more then two hours had elapſed. Orders were diſpatched every where to apprehend him: but he could not be found. The proceſs, having been begun before his departure, was carried on in his abſence, and he was condemned to be burnt alive in a ſlow fire. The ſentence was executed in effigy on the ſeventeenth of June. The effigy of Servetus was ſet in a dung cart with five bales of his books, and all were burnt together for the glory of God, and the ſafety of the church.

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(6) CHAUFFPIE, *page* 77.

Four months the doctor concealed himſelf, nobody knows where (7). Having determined to go to Naples, and ſettle there in the practice of his profeſſion, he took his way through Geneva, but kept cloſe for fear of a diſcovery. While he waited for a boat to croſs the lake in his way to Zurich, by ſome means Calvin got intelligence of his arrival; and although it was on a ſunday, yet he prevailed upon the chief ſyndick to arreſt and impriſon him. On that day by the laws of Geneva no perſon could be arreſted except for a capital crime: but this difficulty was eaſily removed, for John Calvin pretended, that Servetus was an heretick, and that hereſy was a capital crime (8). To priſon he was committed, and there were found upon him, his proſecutors ſay, ninety-ſeven pieces of gold, Servetus ſaid two hundred, a gold chain which weighed about twenty crowns, and ſix gold rings.

As it was neceſſary for ſome perſon to proſecute Servetus, Calvin employed one of his own family, a Nicholas de la Fontaine. Some ſay he had been a cook, others a valet: but, whatever he had been, he was then a preacher reſident in Calvin's houſe (9). Whether this contemptible tool, or the man of God his maſter, drew up the following requeſt to the judges, it is a curioſity that ought to be preſerved for the ſake of putting if it be poſſible ſuch humble murderers to the bluſh. "Noble and mighty Lords: there is humbly laid before you, by Nicholas de la Fontaine, having ſtated himſelf a priſoner in a criminal cauſe againſt Michael Servetus, for the great ſcandal and diſturbance which the ſaid Servetus has cauſed for the ſpace of twenty-four years, or thereabouts, through Chriſtendom, by the blaſphemies which he has uttered and written againſt God; by the hereſies wherewith he hath infected the world; by the wicked calumnies and falſe defamations, which he has publiſhed againſt the eminent ſervants of God, eſpecially againſt Mr. Calvin, whoſe honour the ſaid preacher is bound to maintain, as his paſtor; and likewiſe on account of the ſcandal and

(7) CALVINI *Epiſt. ad* SULZ. Re vero patefacta in carcerem eſt conjectus (Viennæ) Unde neſcio quomodo elapſus, per Italiam erravit quatuor menſes. Tandem huc malis auſpiciis appulſum, unus ex Syndicis *me auctore* in carcerem duci juſſit.

(8) MONS. D'ARTIGNY ... DE LA ROCHE ... CHAUFFPIE, *N. P.*

(9) SEBASTIANI CASTALIONIS, *alias* MARTINI BELLII *contra Calvini libell. de hæret. coercendis tradat.* Calvinus, ut inimicum ſuum poſſet opprimere, ſubornavit accuſatorem ex culina ſua, hominem Serveti, et Servetianarum quæſtionum ignariſſimum.

MONS'R D'ALLWOERDEN. Veriſimilius arbitror, inde famam natam eſſe de coquo Calvini, quod homo hic antea coquus fuerit... UYTENBOGAERDT *ap.* CHAUFFPIE.

diſhonour which might happen to the church of Geneva, ſince the ſaid Servetus condemned the doctrine preached there:" and ſo on (1). Calvin did not bluſh to ſay, " I ordered it ſo that a party ſhould be ſound to accuſe him, not denying that the action was drawn up by my advice." What a glorious reformation had been wrought at Geneva, when the proof of a man's chriſtianity lay in his humbly requeſting the magiſtrates to burn a foreign gentleman, over whom they had no juriſdiction, for the honour of God and his eminent ſervant Mr. Calvin.

The doctor was arreſted and impriſoned on ſunday the thirteenth of Auguſt. That very day he was brought into court, and, ſhort as the notice had been, La Fontaine was ready prepared, and accuſed him of the capital crime of hereſy, in proof of which he produced a copy of the doctor's Ptolemy, a latin bible with his marginal notes, and a manuſcript, which had never been printed, and which ſix years ago he had ſent to Calvin to know what he thought of it. Calvin therefore furniſhed La Fontaine with evidence, ſuch as it was, againſt the priſoner, and he expreſsly affirms, " La Fontaine demanded juſtice againſt him by my advice." They are his own words (2). On a future day, Calvin appeared in court, and diſputed with him on the words perſon and hypoſtaſis: and yet he knew if he ſucceeded in convicting the priſoner of hereſy, the crime was capital, and he was doomed by the law to die. On the twenty-ſecond the doctor preſented a petition to the ſyndicks and council, which conſiſts of three articles (3). Firſt he petitions to be diſcharged from the criminal accuſation of a capital offence, becauſe the apoſtles and the primitive church had no notion of making a criminal proceſs of any doctrine of ſcripture, or any queſtions ariſing from it. Secondly he prays to be diſcharged, becauſe he had not committed any civil offence, either in their territories or any where elſe: becauſe he had never been ſeditious or turbulent: becauſe the queſtions before the court were difficult, and ought to be left to learned men: and becauſe he had never ſpoke of them even in Germany to any more than three, Oecolampadius, Bucer and Capito: he ought not to be puniſhed, he ſaid, for propoſing queſtions to divines without any ſedition. Laſtly, he humbly requeſts, as he was a foreigner, and wholly unacquainted with the laws and cuſtoms of the republick, that they would grant him counſel to ſpeak for him. The petition was rejected, and the reaſon given for refuſing to allow him counſel implied a very coarſe compliment on the gentlemen of the long robe. The attorney-general obſerved, that the court ought not to grant the petitioner an advocate, becauſe he himſelf was thoroughly ſkilled in the art of telling lies. What chance had this poor gentleman for his life?

In this deplorable ſituation, far from his own country; fallen into the

(1) De la Roche... Chauffpie. *p.* 121. *note* 2.
(2) Chauffpie. *note* 2... Calvini. *Epiſt. Aug.* 30... *Sept.* 5. 1558.
(3) De la Roche.

hands of cruel ſtrangers, all under the influence of Calvin his avowed enemy, who bore him a mortal hatred; ſtripped of all his property; confined in a damp priſon, and neglected till he was almoſt eaten up with vermin, denied an advocate, and loaded with every indignity that barbarity could invent; in this ſituation one of the ſyndicks was moved with compaſſion for him, and adviſed him to petition that his cauſe might be removed to the council of two hundred. There was, juſt at this time, in Geneva, a diſpute concerning juriſdiction between the magiſtrates and the conſiſtory. In the city there were about fifteen hundred free burghers, who elected twenty-one councilmen, and four ſyndicks, who conſtituted the council of twenty-five. Over theſe was another court of ſixty, and over all the great council of two hundred. Calvin introduced a conſiſtory and a rigid diſcipline, which exceedingly diſpleaſed ſuch as ſaw the tendency of it. A conſiderable part, therefore, wiſhed to aboliſh the conſiſtory, or, if that could not be, to eſtabliſh an appeal from that to the civil magiſtracy. Beza calls this a dangerous conſpiracy, which tended to the deſtruction of the church, and, as uſual, he repreſents all ſuch as were concerned in it as unconverted men, who were not fond of having the word of God preached with boldneſs and efficacy (4). As for the godly, miniſters and people, they were all under Calvin zealous for the conſiſtory, and for its independence on the ungodly. Calvin nick-named the merciful ſyndick, who tried to ſave Servetus by an appeal (5). "This theatrical Cæſar," ſays he, "pretended for three days to be indiſpoſed, and when in the end he came into court, it was, truly, to try to free the wretch from puniſhment. In order to this, he had the face to move that the cognizance of the cauſe ſhould be referred to the council of two hundred." Calvin had pretended, at his firſt coming to Geneva, that he was called there by a ſpecial providence. Farell had threatened him in the moſt ſolemn manner with the curſe of God, if he did not ſtay to aſſiſt him in that part of the Lord's vineyard (6). His hiſtorians ſay he had a divine call to ſettle at Geneva. He was furniſhed, they ſay, with the whole armour of God, and he preached the goſpel with the holy ghoſt ſent down from heaven: and yet, with all theſe advantages, he could do no good without an independent conſiſtory. In thirty-eight the ſyndicks and the citizens baniſhed him and Farell and another miniſter, for their obſtinate attachment to this engine of deſpotiſm. In forty-one, when Calvin's party had influence enough to get them recalled, the firſt thing they did was to eſtabliſh the conſiſtory. In ſucceeding years parties ran high, tumults were frequent, the conſiſtory excommunicated people, the parties aggrieved appealed to the ſenate, and the ſenate granted letters of abſolution, which the miniſters would not admit. Calvin a foreigner, a french refugee, had the courage to teach the natives of Geneva, in the name of Almighty God to reſiſt their magiſtrates and his guardians, and to ſubvert the laws of the republick. " No, there ſhould be no appeal from the conſiſtory to the ſenate. He would imitate S. Chryſoſtom; he would not indeed repel force by force, but he would ſuffer himſelf to be maſſacred rather than make uſe of his hand to preſent the holy myſteries to ſuch as were judged unworthy of them." In fine he obtained a complete triumph over the ſenate, and eſtabliſhed his inquiſition. Bayle, acutely ſays, "Is there any governing of thoſe, who from a pulpit can tell the people they will ſooner ſuffer themſelves to be killed than conſent that the holy things ſhould be profaned? The example of S. Chryſoſtom properly alledged is a fine way of threatning the gentlemen of the adminiſtration with a ſedition(7)." This triumph of the church over the ſtate was obtained this year, and the affair of Servetus was played off by each party againſt the other. The pretence of hereſy was a mere farce. Calvin did but half believe the trinity himſelf, and he choſe for a wife the widow of an Anabaptiſt at Straſburg.

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(4) BEZÆ *Præfat. ad Comment. in Joſh. apud* DE LA ROCHE.

(5) *Epiſt. ad* FAREL. *Oct.* 26, 1553. Cæſar comicus, ſimulato per tridium morbo, in curiam tandem aſcendit, ut ſceleratum iſtum pœna eximeret. Neque enim erubuit petere, ut cognitio ad ducentos veniret.

(6) BEZÆ *vit.* CALVINI. Ego tibi, inquit Fareſlus, ſtudia tua prætexenti denuncio omnipotentis Dei nomine, futurum ut niſi in opus iſtud Domini nobiſcum incumbas, tibi non tam Chriſtum, quam te ipſum quærenti Dominus maledicat.

ADAMI *vit.* CALVINI. Ita factum, ut Genevam veniret, nihil ipſe quidem de illa urbe cogitans, ſed, ut mox apparuit divinitus eo perductus.

Omitting a great number of manœuvres of injuſtice and cruelty, the laſt act of this tragedy was performed at Geneva on the twenty-ſeventh of October, fifteen hundred and fifty three. Calvin had drawn up the proceſs againſt Servetus, and had extracted a catalogue of errours from his books, the ſyndicks and the council had denounced ſentence againſt him that he ſhould be burnt alive: and on this day, with many brutal circumſtances, the ſentence was executed to the encouragement of catholick cruelty, to the ſcandal of the pretended reformation, to the offence of all juſt men, and to the everlaſting diſgrace of thoſe eccleſiaſtical tyrants, who were the chief inſtruments of ſuch a wild and barbarous deed (8). Many have pretended to apologize for Calvin: but who is John Calvin, and what are his noſtrums, which end in tyranny and murder, that the great voice of nature ſhould be drowned in the din of a vain babbling about him? Servetus was not a ſubject of the republick of Geneva; he had committed no offence againſt the laws of the ſtate; he was paſſing peaceably on the road, which lay through the city; he was not a member of any reformed church: he was an uſeful an honourable member of ſociety; he was a man of unimpeached morality; he was then the admiration

(7) Bayle. *Life of* Philibert Bertelier. B.
Jacob. Spon. *Hiſt. de la Ville et Eſtat de Geneve. Geneve* 1730.

(8) *See the originals in* De la Roche.

of numbers of good judges, who afterward pleaded his cauſe; for from him proceeded partly, if not wholly, the unitarian baptiſt churches in moſt parts of Europe. Calvin's hard heart never relented at the recollection of this bloody action. On the contrary he juſtified it by publiſhing after the execution a book entitled " A faithful account of the errours of Michael Servetus, with a ſhort confutation of them: in which it is proved that hereticks ought to be reſtrained with the ſword (9)." Sebaſtian Caſtellio or Lælius Socinus confuted this book (1). Beza anſwered, and juſtified the doctrine of putting hereticks to death. The popular clamour was ſo great againſt the judges, that Colladon, one of them, tranſlated Beza's book into french, and printed it to pacify the people (2). Several endeavoured to ſanctify the crime by ſcripture texts, and godly words; and many have attempted after theſe examples to do the ſame. They go ſo far, ſome of them, as to attribute the deſtruction of Servetus to a ſpecial providence of God (3). Is it poſſible for enthuſiaſts to ſay more: and can the niceſt critick tell wherein this differs from the ſpirit and the ſtyle of the papal inquiſition?

Writers have not agreed in what claſs of hereticks to place this ſpaniſh phyſician, and it is not the buſineſs of this work to enquire, for they are men of virtue not opinioniſts, of whom this hiſtory is in purſuit. His notions of a chriſtian church were juſt, and he proteſted againſt all dominion over conſcience. He was a confirmed Baptiſt, and conſidered the baptiſm of little infants in a very ſevere and ſerious light (4). He calls it a deteſtable abomination, an extinction of the ſpirit of God, a deſolation of the church, a ſubverſion of the whole profeſſion of chriſtianity, an abolition of that regeneration which Chriſt had inſtituted and the annihilation of his kingdom. He thought none ought to be baptized till thirty years of age, after the example of Jeſus (5). He was a determined Unitarian and held the doctrine of the trinity in abhorrence (6). He thought Jeſus was a man, but, like Paul of Samoſata, he could never get over the firſt chapter of John, and therefore ſometimes called him God, and accounted for doing ſo by ſuppoſing ſome ſublime ſort of inhabitation of the deity in the man. The execution of this man occaſioned a great many excellent and unanſwerable treatiſes againſt perſecution.

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(9) *Fidelis expoſitio errorum Michaelis Serveti, et brevis eorundem refutatio; ubi docetur jure gladii coercendos eſſe hæreticos.*

JOHANNIS CALVINI *Defenſio orthodoxæ fidei de ſacra trinitate contra* SERVETI *errores, ubi oſtenditur hæreticos jure gladii coercendos eſſe, et nominatim de hoc homine impio* JUSTE *ſumptum fuiſſe ſupplicium. Oliva.* ROB. STEPHANI 1554. *in 8vo.*

(1) SANDII *Bibliot. Antitrin.* SERVETUS .... BAYLE's *Life of Marianus* SOCINUS. *B.*

(2) *Traité de l'autorité de magiſtrat, en la punition des heretiques, trad. du latin de* THEODORE DE BEZE, *par* NICOL. COLLADON. *Geneve, Badius,* 1560. *8vo.* .. BURE *N.* 957. Traité ſingulier et fort curieuz, mis au jour a l'occaſion au ſupplice du fameux Michel Servet. Colladon, un des Iuges qui aſſiſterent a la condamnation de cet hereſiarque, entreprit la traduction de ce traité, pour laver ſes confreres dans l'eſprit des peuples, qui ſe recrierent contre l'injuſtice d'un pareil jugement.

(3) ADAMI *vit.* CALVINI. Servetus Genevam fato quodam venerat, alio procul tranſiturus niſi Dei providentia factum eſſet, ut mox agnitus Calvino, cui ille jam pridem notus erat, magiſtratum admonente carceri fuiſſet mancipatus.

DANIELIS CHAMIERI *Panſtrat. tom. ii. lib. i. cap. v. ſ. iv.* Trinitatem non tantum confeſſus eſt Calvinus, ſed etiam conſtantiſſime tutatus contra novos hæreticos, etiam ſtertentibus papiſtis, apud quos Servetus, quamdiu vixit, tuto vixit: tum demum et vim veritatis expertus in Calvino, et in pio magiſtratu ſanctam ſeveritatem, cum Genevam venit.

(4) SERVET. *apud* CHAUFFPIE. w viii. Pædobaptiſmum eſſe dico deteſtandam abominationem, ſpiritus ſancti extinctionem, eccleſiæ Dei deſolationem, totius profeſſionis chriſtianæ confuſionem, innovationis per Chriſtum factæ abolitionem, ac totius ejus regni conculcationem.

The perſecutors of Servetus were attacked from all parts; by the polite and mild remonſtrances of the inimitable Dudith, by the rough and uncourtly reproaches of the honeſt Caſtellio, and by many others: but what ſtung the ſanguinary Beza moſt was what he called a farrago, which ſome, miſtaking it for other treatiſes on the ſame ſubject, attribute to Caſtellio, others to Lælius Socinus, but which probably was, like the famous Smectymnus, the joint work of ſeveral wiſe and well informed perſons (7). Beza was offended becauſe the authors ſaid he had publiſhed a book to juſtify the murder of hereticks, whereas he had only written one to prove that they ought to be put to death (8). They ſaid he was an arbitrary tranſlator of ſcripture, and gave ſeveral inſtances of words, which he had rendered to ſerve eccleſiaſtical purpoſes, ſuch as church, baptiſm and others. He replied, that it was not a proper time to alter ſuch words, and that it was impious to laugh at infant baptiſm, or to blame him for not tranſlating the word dip. He diſtinguiſhed between dipping and putting under water. They called him a bloody man for exhorting magiſtrates to put men to death for religion; and he retorted, he had wiſhed, and he continued to wiſh the magiſtrates would ſerve them ſo (9).

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(5) Ibid. Triginta annorum Chriſtus baptiſmum accepit, exemplum nobis dans, ac nos ita docens ante eam ætatem non eſſe quem ſatis aptum ad myſteria regni cœlorum.

(6) Servet. *apud* Sandii *Bibliot. Antitrin. et* De la Roche. Summa ſummarum, ut ſcias quo tendat animus meus, excepto illo unico Johannis verbo, dico univerſas ſcripturas, a prima uſque ad ultimam, loqui de homine ipſo Chriſto . . . Ipſe, id eſt *verbum*, non eſt creatura, nec finitæ potentiæ, ſed vere adorandus, veruſque Deus . . Sandius. Fuit Servetus ejuſdem fere opinionis, quam olim Paulus Samoſatanus, Photinus et eorum aſſeclæ ac homodoxi foverunt: nimirum quod diſtinctionem fecerit inter Ieſum Chriſtum filium Dei, et verbum illud de quo S. Johannes in evangelii ſui initio agit. Atque hac in re potiſſimum a cæterorum Unitariorum, qui nunc Socinianorum nomine plerumque audiunt, doctrina diſcrepavit.

(7) Andreæ Dudicii *Epiſt. ad* Bezam.

De hæreticis an ſint perſequendi, et omnino quomodo ſit cum eis agendum. Luteri et Brentii, aliorumque multorum tum veterum tum recentiorum ſententiæ. Liber hoc tam turbulento tempore pernecеſſarius, et cum omnibus, tum potiſſimum principibus et magiſtratibus utiliſſimus, ad diſcendum, quodnam ſit eorum in re tam controverſa, tamque periculoſa officium.

In hoc libro continentur,

i. Martini Bellii *præfatio, in qua quid ſit hæreticus, et quidnam cum eo agendum ſit, demonſtrantur.*

ii. Martini Luteri *ſententia, in qua aperte oſtenditur, hæreticorum punitionem ad magiſtratum non pertinere.*

iii. Joannis Brentii *de anabaptiſtis, et cæteris qui hæretici habentur, ſententia, quæ idem docet.*

iv. Aliorum *authorum, tum veterum, tum recentiorum, eadem de re ſententiæ.*

v. Basilii Montfortii *refutatio eorum, quæ pro perſecutione dici ſolent.*

There are ſo many miſnomers in falſe religion that it is difficult to bring the managers of it to a reckoning. In other hiſtories the paſſions of mankind are called by their proper names: but in church hiſtory the fiery indignation of eccleſiaſticks, although it produces the ſame evils in ſociety as the ungoverned rage of other men, aſſumes the name of zeal; and their meanneſs is graced with the character of modeſty. Beza and Melancthon were examples of both. Beza was a man of infinite vivacity. He was converted at ſixteen years of age and thirteen years after he publiſhed a collection of latin poems the moſt laſcivious that can be imagined (1). There is one epigram which in licentiouſneſs ſurpaſſes any thing that the moſt unguarded debauchees have ever ventured to offer to the publick eye. " Beza's Candida was not his wife, for his wife was never with child, and there are ſome verſes on the pregnancy of Candida in the poems (2)." It was about five years after the publication of this book that Servetus was burnt. Then the fire of the poet's conſtitution was employed in defence of the cauſe, and then it obtained the name of chriſtian zeal, a grace of the ſpirit of God, infuſed into the heart of his eminent ſervant Theodore Beza. When the Baptiſts reproached him for preaching nothing but faith to people who did believe in God, and argued for the neceſſity of preſſing home morality, ſo that the intoxicated might become ſober, and the miſer liberal; he exclaimed, "Good God, what are we come to! Is it poſſible that ſuch things can be ſpoken, written, and printed in a chriſtian city, and thewriter of them tolerated?" In Beza this was not paſſion; this was zeal for the fundamental truths of the goſpel (3). Drunkards and miſers and kept miſtreſſes were not hereticks, they were tolerated: but ſober criticks, who ſaid Mr. Beza had miſled the vulgar by ſo tranſlating the goſpels as to transform diſeaſes into devils in the caſe of the demoniacks, and baptiſm into waſhing to cover pouring and ſprinkling, were the men, whom Beza, like Saul breathing out threatnings and ſlaughters, perſecuted even unto ſtrange cities (4).

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(8) **Theodori Bezæ** *reſponſio ad defenſiones et reprehenſiones Sebaſtiani Caſtellionis, quibus ſuam novi teſtamenti interpretationem defendere adverſus Bezam, et ejus verſionem viciſſim reprehendere conatus eſt. an.* 1563. *Excudebat Henricus Stephanus illuſtris viri Huldrichi Fuggeri typographus.*

Pag. 32. Poſtremo, ut ne id quidem prætermittam, quod ultimo loco mihi objicit, me quoque in meo libro, De occidendis hæreticis eccleſiæ chriſtianæ reſp. ſive cætus vocare: rogo te, lector, etiam atque etiam ut conſideres, quouſque implacabile iſtud in hanc eccleſiam odium hominum iſtum abducat. Nullum enim librum de occidendis hæreticis ſcripſi, ſed de hæreticis a civili magiſtratu puniendis.... Res autem ita ſe habet. Quum blaſphemus ille Servetus in hac civitate, mitioribus omnibus remediis fruſtra tentatis, pœna affectus eſſet: nec quibuſdam ſatisfacere videretur Johannis Calvini liber de toto illo negotio pie, docte, et accurate ſcriptus, ego quoque iſtorum clamoribus excitatus, idem argumentum alio libello tractavi, adverſus blaſphemiarum plauſtra, quæ iſti falſo nomine Martini Bellii farraginem vocabant.

(9) *Pag.* 232. In ſumma, hic meus mos eſt, ficum ficum vocare, et ingenue loqui potius quam diſſimulatione utendo modeſtis verbis acerrima et atrociſſima convicia permiſcere. Cujuſmodi enim illa ſunt, me Chriſti beneficium elevare, ſcripturam arbitrio meo torquere, in rebus graviſſimus errare, cœcum eſſe, et oculos aliis claudere, principes denique ad fundendum ſanguinem hortari.... P. 33. Quod optavi, rurſus nunc opto, vel ut iſtorum audacia authoritate civili aut eccleſiaſtica brevi coerceatur: vel hoc ſaltem nobis tribuat Dominus, ut intra verba conſiſtat.

(1) *Juvenilia ſine loc. et an. in* 12 *porro Lutetiæ ap. Rob. Stephanum* 1548 *in* 8. **Baur** *Bibliot. Libror. rarior. Nurenburg.* 1770. *De Candida et Audeberto.*

(2) **Bayle's** *Life of* **Beza**, *note y.* Quænam illa eſt Candida? Uxor mea ſcilicet, quam in meis

It is remarkable that theſe divines were as zealous to puniſh men for denying the popular doctrine of the devil, as for rejecting that of the trinity. It was very common in thoſe times, eſpecially in monaſteries, for ſatan to carry on his affairs in the ſhape of cats and dogs and black animals (5). Luther, who died ſix years before Calvin burnt Servetus, never ſhook off this prejudice. In his life time he had often ſeen Satan, and once particularly

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meis verſiculis prægnantem ſuperis commendo, quum uxor mea nunquam etiam conceperit. Bezæ *Apol. ad Claud. de Xaintes.*

(3) *Reſpons. ad Caſtellionem, p.* 187. "Idem dico," inquis, "de credendo in Deum. Quid enim opus eſt ut perpetuo doceatur in Deum credere, qui jam diu credit? Non profecto magis quam Eſaiæ tempore opus erat ut Judæi perpetuo docerentur in Deum credere, quum jam conſtaner crederent." Deus bone, quo recidimus? Hæccine in urbe chriſtiana dici, ſcribi, excudi, et iſtorum ſcriptorem tam diu tolerari? Tibine, Caſtellio, tam facilis res eſt fides? &c.

(4) Ibid. *p.* 34. *Ad defenſionem viii. in Matth. iv.* 24. *δαιμονιζομενους, furioſos.* Hunc interpretationem merito reprehendi, non modo quia nimium eſt generale furioſi nomen, ſed etiam quia videri poſſet eorum errorem confirmare, qui demonium nihil aliud eſſe, putant quam φρενιτιν aut μανιαν, naturalem videlicet morbum, qui a medicis curatur.

Ad defens. vi. in Mat. iii. 6. *ſuper verbo baptizo.* Etiamſi ſcripſiſſem το βαπτιζειν non aliud eſſe quam immergere, quod tamen nuſquam ſcripſi: tamen non eſſet ineptum qnod dico, quia immergi, et *prorſus* immergi aliquatenus differunt.

P. 98. *De Baptiſmate Johannis.* Magnus certe Ariſtarchus, cujus anabaptiſtico ſpiritu moveamur, quamvis aſtute hic diſſimulet quod ſentit.

(5) Sebastiani Brant. *De quatuor hereſiarchis combuſtis in civitate Bernenſi hiſt.* 1509. *Spiritus apparitio ſecunda. Revelatio ſeptima*....... Notum tibi ſit ſancte frater ſemel ab hoſte maligno tentatus fueris. introeundi ordinem chartuſienſium relinquendiq noſtrum jamq; ſuſceptum. Id ſi feciſſes. *quinque catti nigri* te penitus diſcerpſiſſent. adeo diuinus noſter ordo deo placet. ut omnibus ſi deo acceptior chariorq. *Hoc opuſculum curioſum forte impreſſum fuit Baſiliæ per Michaelem Furter.*

in his garden in the ſhape of a black boar (6). He was extremely deſirous that a certain doctor ſhould ſurvive him, and combat this adverſary after his death: but Luther could not bequeath him his courage (7). This doctor was Philip Schwartzerd, who had tranſlated his name, which ſignifies black earth, into greek, and called himſelf Melancthon. Philip was not high born, and whether it was owing to his domeſtick breeding, or to the harſhneſs of his tutors to forward his education (for he went to college when he was twelve years of age, and was admitted to his bachelor's degree when he was only fourteen) or whatever were the cauſe, he was the moſt tame and timid man alive (8). He had frequently the hyp, and the cholick, and kept his room and nurſed himſelf with herb tea. When he became a proteſtant, his dejection was called chriſtian gravity, and his timidity was pronounced by caſuiſts that mixed grace of the holy ſpirit called modeſty, humility, and candour. He ſtood in awe of Luther, and dreaded his diſpleaſure as a ſlave does that of his taſkmaſter: but this was not ſervility or meanneſs, this was chriſtian diffidence, a virtue often taught, but taught in vain to thoſe ruffians the Anabaptiſts of that age. The apologiſts for Calvin urge the example of this man in proof of the juſtice of putting Servetus to death. "Melancthon himſelf," ſay they, "the moſt moderate and mildeſt of all reformers approves what has been done at Geneva (9)." This is very true, and it is equally true, that no men play the tyrant more among their inferiours than thoſe, who cringe to their ſuperiours (1). Melancthon in general durſt not have attacked a black cat with a broad bright eye in the night: but it coſt him no courage to write a quietus for Calvin over the aſhes of the dead, or even to combat the devil in the perſon of a handſome modeſt youth. There was a dutch Baptiſt who publiſhed a book entitled "Wonderful things." This book came into the hands of a young fellow, who had been, while at college, a pupil of Melancthon. He was ſo charmed with the book that he ſet himſelf to tranſlate it (2). While he was doing this, the wonderful things and the wonderful words heated his fancy ſo that a thouſand pleaſing viſions preſented themſelves to his mind. Thought he, could the mild Melancthon, my old modeſt tutor, that gentle ſoul, who loves me as his child, but ſee this book, he would be in raptures with it: it would convert him, and he would convert all Germany. Full of theſe ideas, he carefully packs up the book of wonders, folds up the ſheets, which he had tranſlated, and ſets off for Wittemberg attended by his ſervant. On his arrival, away he goes to college, ſalutes his old tutor, takes his ſeat, and begins to introduce his errand by aſking him whether he had not heard of a great light from the Lord, which had ſhone out in his country? I have underſtood, replies the old man, that beſide idolatry and popiſh tyranny, ſectaries of the moſt portentous kind ſtroll about there, and that ſome of them affirm, the devil is nothing but an empty ſound (3). The tranſlator was thunderſtruck at this, for this was an article of divinity, of which he had thought his tutor had not heard, and of which, as joyful news, he had intended to inform him, never once having ſuſpected that he would go into mourning for the death of the old dragon. Recovering himſelf he ſaid ſome awkward things on the ſubject: till Melancthon told him the doctrine was fanatical, and if he were ſure he came to ſow ſuch wild notions at Wittemberg, he would take care immediately to inform the magiſtrate, and get him clapped into irons (4). As ſoon as he heard this, ſeized with a ſpirit of trepidation at this unuſual mark of his tutor's eſteem, he takes his leave, ſcours away to his inn, hurries the ſervant out of town with the book of wonders, tarries himſelf only on tiptoe to diſcharge his bill, and flees, as on the wings of the wind, to overtake the man and the book, and get out of the territories of the duke of Wittemberg, where the moſt modeſt and mildeſt of all the reformers upheld the doctrine of the trinity, and maintained the exiſtence of the devil againſt all the wiles of the fanatical Anabaptiſts.

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(6) Adami *vita* M. Lutheri. Ad iſta omnia acceſſerunt et tentationes ſpirituales, atque Sathanæ colaphi et terriculamenta. Coburgi cum ſubſiſteret, apparuerunt ipſi aliquoties faces ardentes, aquarum conſpectu peſſime habuit, adeo ut fere deliquium animæ fuerit paſſus. Sed medicamentis, tum lectione epiſtolæ ad Galatas, malum levavit, et ad eos qui aderant, venite, inquit, in contemtum diaboli pſalmum de profundis quatuor vocibus cantemus. In horto etiam domi ſuæ apparuit ei diabolus, apri nigri forma, ſed ipſe neglexit.

(7) Lutheri *Epiſt. ad* Melancthonem. *tom. ii.* Quod cholica te diſcruciat doleo, oroque Chriſtum quantum poſſum, ut te ſanet et ſervet. Nam te ſuperſtitem mihi valde cupio in tantis perturbationibus eccleſiæ, ut ſint adverſus Sathanæ furores ineſtimabiles aliquot reliqui, qui ſe pro domo Iſrael muros opponant, in hoc die furoris Domini, viſitantis noſtram, ſicut dignum eſt ingratitudinem.

(8) Adami *vita* Melanct. Interdum etiam hypochondriacis doloribus eſt conflictatus, quos uſus herbæ chamæleontis mitigavit: cujus remedii efficacitatem ſæpe prædicavit.

(9) Chauffpie. *Life of Servetus.*

(1) *Inter Epiſt.* Calv. *Oct.* 12. Affirmo etiam veſtros magiſtratus juſte feciſſe, quod hominem blaſphemum re ordine judicata interfecerunt.

When Servetus was ſeized he was going to Naples, in hope of ſettling there in the practice of his profeſſion. He was probably induced to do ſo by a man after his own heart, who was in power there. This was John Valdeſius, otherwiſe Signior Valdeſſo, a ſpaniſh nobleman, brought up to the law and ſecretary to the king of Naples (5). This gentleman had carried out of Germany with him to Naples the works of Luther, Bucer, and the Anabaptiſts, and had embraced the principles of the latter. He was an Unitarian of eminent learning and piety, and publiſhed ſeveral books, in one of which he ſays, that he knew nothing of the diſputes about the trinity except that there was one God moſt high the father of Jeſus Chriſt, one lord Jeſus Chriſt his ſon, and one ſpirit of both (6). From this gentleman the celebrated Bernard Ochin received his religious ſentiments.

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(2) Mons. De la Chapelle. *Bib. Raiſon. tom. ii.* In hoc dum eſſet opere, tanta fuit admiratione obſtupefactus, ut ingentem ſpem ceperit, ſe Philippum Melancthonem, olim ſuum præceptorem, facillime in Davidicæ ſectæ ſocietatem pertracturum, et pereum deinde totam Germaniam, &c.

(3) Ibid. Inter quas ſectas aliqui doceant diabolum nil aliud eſſe niſi inane nomen.

(4) Cumque interpres quædam abſurda adderet poſtea, dixit tandem Melancthon, ejus doctrinam eſſe fanaticam, et ſi conſtaret eum Wittemburgam veniſſe, ut ibi ſuas furias ſeminaret, ſe effecturum apud magiſtratum, ut ſtatim in vincula conjiceretur.

(5) Sandii *Bibliot, Antitrin, p.* 2. Johannes Valdeſius, nobilis Hiſpanus, Juris conſultus, ſecretarius regis Neapolitani. Fertur ex Germania ſecum Neapolim adduxiſſe ſcripta Lutheri, Buceri, et Anabaptiſtarum, &c.

Mr. Voltaire, who deplores the fate of Servetus, and attributes his death to Calvin, adds: "The finiſhing ſtroke to this picture of Calvin may be found in a letter written with his own hand, which is ſtill preſerved in the caſtle of Baſtie Roland near Montelimar. It is directed to the Marquis de Poët, high chamberlain to the king of Navarre, and dated September the thirtieth fifteen hundred ſixty-one (7)." "Honour, glory, and riches ſhall be the reward of your pains: but above all do not fail to rid the country of thoſe zealous ſcoundrels who ſtir up the people to revolt againſt us. Such monſters ſhould be exterminated, as I have exterminated Michael Servetus the Spaniard." The moſt ample amends are now made to the aſhes of Servetus. Several learned paſtors among the engliſh proteſtants, and ſome of the greateſt philoſophers, have embraced his opinion, and that of Socinus: they have even gone further than either of them: their religion conſiſts in the adoration of one God, through the mediation of Jeſus Chriſt.

CHAP. XI.

The Church of Italy.

ITALY, the paradiſe of the Weſt, is ſeparated from the reſt of Europe by the Alps. The eaſtern, ſouthern, and weſtern ſides are waſhed by the Adriatick and Mediterranean ſeas. The ſoil hath always been celebrated for its fertility, producing the luxuries as well as the conveniencies of life. In the time of Pliny it contained fourteen millions of inhabitants: but the modern population is nothing like that of ancient times. The Campagna di Roma, which formerly contained near a million, doth not now ſupport a thouſand; and, though the decreaſe of population in other places ought not to be eſtimated in proportion to this, yet certain it is, the religion of the whole country, by enjoining celibacy on an immenſe multitude of the inhabitants, hath exceedingly diminiſhed the population. Governments, too, being almoſt all deſpotical, though under various forms of papal, ducal, regal, and republican, contribute to damage the country; for to a people, who have not, at leaſt in the britiſh ſenſe of the words, either liberty or property, it is a matter of indifference whether the fruits of their labour be applied to the ſupport of a monarch or a monaſtery, a duke or a viceroy, a biſhop, a ſenator or a pope. There are ſeveral iſlands dependent on Italy: but excluſive of theſe it is very little bigger than Great Britain.

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(6) *Le Cento e Dieci conſiderationi del* SIGNORE VALDESSO, *nelle quali ſi Ragiona coſe piu utile, piu neceſſarie, e piu perfette, della chriſtiana religione. In Baſilea,* 1550. *8vo. Commentario breve, a declaracion compendioſa, y familiar, ſobre la primera epiſtola de San. Pablo a los Corinthios, muy util para todos los amadores de la piedad chriſtiana.* Liber is prohibetur in indice expurgatorio Hiſpanico, cum et ſine nomine auctoris. *Cæt. vid. ap. Sandium.*

BAUR. *Bibliot. Libror. rarior. univerſal. Nurnberg.* 1772. VALDESSO JEAN DE. *Conſiderations divines. Lyon.* 1600.

Ejuſd. Supplement vol. ii. Nurnberg. 1774. Due Dialoghi, l'uno di Mercurio el Caronte nel quale ſi raconta quel, che accade nella guerra dopo l'anno 1521. l'altro di Lattantio et di uno Archidiacono: vel quale ſi trattano le coſe avenute in Roma nell'anno 1527. In Vinegia, S. A. in 8.

(7) MONS. DE VOLTAIRE. *Anc. and Mod. Hiſt. chap. cxiii. Of Calvin and Servetus.*

There are two periods of italian hiſtory, which do not belong to eccleſiaſtical affairs. The firſt is the province of the antiquary, and it is generally inveſtigated under the names of Saturnia, Auſonia, Oenotria, and Heſperia, the ancient names of the country before the building of Rome (8). The ſecond belongs to the claſſical hiſtorian, and includes ſeven hundred and fifty-three years, commencing at the foundation of Rome, and ending at the birth of Chriſt (9). The firſt is curious: the knowledge of the laſt is eſſential to the underſtanding of all the claſſicks, and although the hiſtory of the firſt five hundred years of the laſt period is obſcured by fable, yet the ground work of it is credible, and the remainder is authentick, and full of all ſuch great events as conſtitute the magnificence of hiſtory (1).

All the ſtates of Italy have undergone many revolutions, ariſing from different cauſes, and productive of various effects, ſome friendly to liberty, others deſtructive of it: but none ſettling at laſt in equal and univerſal freedom. The little republick of Genoa may ſerve for an example (2). From the birth of Chriſt to the preſent time, it hath changed its form of government no leſs than forty-nine times. It hath been governed by a pope (John xxii.) by emperours of Rome and Germany; by kings of Naples and France; by counts; by dukes of its own, and of Milan; by doges annnual, biennial, and perpetual; by podeſtats or principal magiſtrates; by a ſole captain of the people; by two captains of the people; by eight captains of the genoeſe liberty; by conſuls; by a council of twelve; by a council of twenty-four; till at length, in the year fifteen hundred and twenty-eight, the juſtly celebrated Andrew Doria, a native of Genoa, freed his country from the dominion of the French, put a period to the factions of Guelfs and Gibelins, and the diviſions of the great families of the Fregoſas and Adomos, and formed an ariſtocracy of twenty-eight families, out of which were elected a biennial doge, a privy council of eight curators, and a great council of four hundred. Criminal cauſes were committed to a podeſtat, who was always to be a foreigner. Strictly ſpeaking, the people had no ſhare in this revolution, and they have none legally in the government. The great council of four hundred annually elects one hundred of its members as a leſs council to be divided into committees for different affairs. This council of one hundred meet every other year in January and elect twenty-eight perſons, one of each noble family; theſe twenty-eight chooſe eighteen more, and they jointly nominate four perſons to the great council, who elect one by majority of votes doge for the ſucceeding two years. The Genoeſe call this liberty, and italian liberty it is. Factions are ſuppreſſed, and the ſtate is independent of foreigners: but it is the liberty of only twenty-eight families in a republick conſiſting of the elegant and populous city of Genoa, containing thirty-two pariſhes, and a tract of land about one hundred and fifty miles long, and at places twenty broad, lying all along the coaſt of that gulf of the Mediterranean, which was anciently called Mare Liguſticum, and on which are the ſea port towns of St. Remo, Noli, and Savona, beſide a great many villages in the back vallies, and other towns near the coaſt. The management of the bank of Genoa is chiefly in the hands of citizens, and as far as the influence of the directors goes it checks the tendency toward ſlavery in the ariſtocratical form of their government, and creates if not a balance, yet a reſtraint favourable to popular freedom: but after all, the ancient ariſtocratical republick of Venice, the little ſtate of Lucca, which is under the protection of the emperour, and that of St. Marino under the pope, and other cities enjoy as much liberty as Genoa, perhaps more. In all, it is rather a truce than a peace ariſing out of equal liberty, and the inſcription on the ſtatue of Doria, which calls him the

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(8) SAM. BOCHARTI *Geog. Sac. Chanaan. lib. i. cap. xxxiii. An Phœnices in Italiam colonias deduxerint.*

ATHAN. KIRCHERI *Latium. Amſtel.* 1671.

JACOBI SPONII *Miſcel. eruditæ antiquitatis, in quibus marmora, Statuæ, &c. illuſtrantur. Lugdun,* 1685.

F. GORII *Muſ. Etruſcum. Florent.* 1737.... *Ejuſd. Muſæum Florentinum,* 1731.

M. LE COMTE DE CAYLUS. *Recueil d'Antiquités Egypt. Etruſques, Grecques, Romaines. Paris,* 1752.

(9) *Hiſtoriæ Rom. Scriptores var. in unum Editi, et notis illuſtrati a* CAROLO HENRICO DE KLETTENBERG; *edente Bonnono* CASPARO HAURISIO *Heidelbergæ,* 1743.

ROLLIN's *Roman Hiſtory.*

(1) HOOKE's *Roman Hiſtory, vol. ii. Diſſertation on the credibility of the hiſtory of the firſt* 500 *years of Rome.*

(2) AGOSTINO GIUSTINIANO *Caſtigatiſſimi Annali, &c. Genoa,* 1537.

Uberti Folietæ *Hiſt. Genuenſium ab origine gentis ad an.* 1528. *Genuæ*, 1585.

Jacobi Bonfadii *Annal. Genuens. ab* 1528. *ad an.* 1550. *Papiæ*, 1586.

Petri Bizari *Hiſt. Senatus populique Genuens . . . atque annal. ab an.* 1100. *ad* 1578. *Antverpiæ*, 1579.

Hiſtory of the Revolutions of Genoa, London, 1751.

author of publick liberty, is to be underſtood in the italian, and not in the britiſh ſenſe (3).

Venice changed its civil polity ſeveral times before it ſettled in its preſent ſtate. It was firſt governed by conſuls; then by tribunes; next by dukes; after that by maſters of the military; and in the year ſeven hundred and forty-two the preſent form of government by a duke or doge was ſettled, which however hath undergone great alterations and improvements, and was not brought preciſely to its preſent ſtate till twelve hundred forty-nine (4). Here, and at Florence, and other places liberty is accidental not conſtitutional. No Italian ever underſtood government better than the famous Nicholas Machiavel. He was a native of Florence, and firſt ſecretary, and afterward hiſtoriographer to the republick (5). He diſcovered a ſupreme contempt for what the catholicks call religion; and thence they inferred that he was an enemy to all religion, which is a very unfair concluſion. In his political conduct he was always on the ſide of popular freedom; and therefore he was ranked by the partizans of the family of Medicis, who were lifting that houſe above law, among thoſe whom for their zeal for real freedom they named libertines. He ſuffered much on this account, and there is a great deal of reaſon in what ſome very capable judges affirm: "That Machiavel, who paſſes among all the world for a teacher of tyranny, deteſted it more than any man of the age wherein he lived (6)." They ſay, his book entitled THE PRINCE was written with no other view than to inſpire an abhorrence of tyrants, and, by repreſenting the variety and injuſtice, the cruelty and even the neceſſity of their arts, to excite all mankind to the ſupport of liberty. Lord Bacon thought ſociety was indebted to him for expoſing to the publick eye not what governours ought to do but what they too frequently do (7). Boccalini inſinuates that the politicks of Machiavel's prince were copied from the adminiſtration of ſome popes. In this world of oddities it muſt not be thought ſtrange that three ſucceſſive pontiffs of Rome honoured the author of the prince with tokens of their eſteem, that they and eleven of their ſucceſſors ſuffered the book to paſs uncenſured, that Mary of Medicis was ſaid to make it her bible, that ſhe educated the children of France in the maxims of it, that almoſt all the princes of the times exemplified the character, and that eighty years after the publication of the book a jeſuit, who had never read it, got it condemned by the inquiſition, and that the writer hath been ever ſince deemed an atheiſt. Machiavel wrote ſeveral other pieces. In the third book of the hiſtory of Florence there is an incomparable ſpeech on the ſubject of liberty, ſaid to be delivered by the citizens to the leaders of the great factions, who had all acquired popularity by vehement profeſſions of ardent attachments to liberty, but who never meant any thing more than to ruin the oppoſite party, that without controul they might exerciſe tyranny themſelves (8). Succeſs would have been impracticable in ſome ſtates: but here the people were wicked, and in all the cities of Italy diſſentions were perpetual, and ſtruggles for freedom innumerable: but this radical evil defeated all, for it lay in the corrupt character of the common people, who, nurſled in ſuperſtition and depraved by habits of evil living, never had the virtue neceſſary to make themſelves free. In this glorious diſtinction Britain ſtands unrivalled, and after all the innovations of the Genoeſe, the Florentines, and the reſt, there is not a ſingle ſtate in Italy in poſſeſſion of ſuch freedom as the ſubjects of this kingdom conſtitutionally claim, and in a great meaſure enjoy. In the italian ſtates there is liberty by favour: but Britons claim it by right of original compact.

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(3) Andreæ Doriæ, civi opt. feliciſſimoque vindici atque autori *publicæ libertatis*: ſenatus populuſque Genuenſis poſuit.

Simonis Buccanigri [*Boccanegra*] virtute priſtinam *libertatem* Genuenſes recuperaverunt. Is anno 1444 excuſſo Vicecomitum jugo rempublicam conſtituit, et Dux creatus legem condidit, &c.

Andreas Doria anno 1528 reipublicæ formam inſtituit. Recenſitis omnibus familiis *excerpta vili plebe*, ex nobilium ordine xxiii. et ex populari v. domi ſeligerentur.

(4) Iſtorici Delle coſe Veneziane, i quali hanno ſcritto per pubblico decreto: cive. M. Sabellico, P. Bembo, P. Paruta, A. Moroſini, B. Nani, M. Foſcarini. Venezia, 1718. Sabel. Decad. i. *lib. i.* Tertio ab urbe condita anno [424] novi conſules in biennium creati. . . . . Quum jam circumjectæ inſulæ incoli cæpiſſent [480] Tribuni pro conſulibus cœpti ſunt creari. . . . Illud certe convenit, ducentos triginta et amplius annos remp. tribunitia poteſtate adminiſtratam, &c.

(5) *See his Life in* BAYLE.

(6) AMELOT DE LA HOUSSAI in BAYLE.

(7) *De Augm. Scient. lib. vii. cap.* 2. Eſt quod gratias agamus Machiavello, et hujuſmodi ſcriptoribus, qui aperte et indiſſimulanter proferunt quid homines facere ſoleant non quod debeant.

The eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of Italy may be conveniently divided into three periods. The firſt may be called for diſtinction ſake imperial, and it comprehends from the birth of Chriſt to the deſtruction of the weſtern empire four hundred and ſeventy-ſix years. The ſecond may be named regal, beginning with the kingdom of Italy under Odoacer king of the Heruli, and reaching to the extinction of the ſwabian line. The third may be called municipal, beginning in different ſtates at different times: but in general extending from the twelfth century to the preſent time.

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(8) Nicolai Machiavelli Florentini *Hiſt. Florent. lib. iii.* Quod vero longe pernicioſiſſimum eſt cernimus primos partium authores duceſque conatus ſuos pietatis nominibus coheneſtare, nam nunquam non libertatem (quam tamen deteſtantur) vel optimatium, vel popularis ſtatus nomine vendicando opprimunt. Præmium ſiquidem, quod ex victoria venantur, non gloriam libertatis aſſertæ ſpectat, ſed ut de ſubjugatis civibus ſibi gratulentur, imperiumque in ipſos vendicent. Quod quidem conſecuti, nullum poſt ſupereſt injuſtitiæ, credulitatis et avaritiæ genus, in quod non effuſſe abeant. Inde leges non ad publicum, ſed privatum commodum effinguntur, inde etiam bella, pax, fœdera, non in publicam gloriam, ſed in paucorum emolumentum concedunt.... Nemo ſane erat, qui non oppreſſis Ghibellinis perſuaſum haberet, Guelfis diuturnam felicitatem partam eſſe, verum haud multo poſt, nigrorum alborumque partes invaluere. Devictis albis urbs diviſionibus nunquam caruit, dummodo ob exules, modo ob inimicitias, inter magnates atque populum digladiaremur. Atque quo in alium transferremus, quod ipſi unanimes obtinere, vel nolebamus, vel neſciebamus, aliquoties libertatem noſtram regni, modo Roberto, modo ipſius fratri, mox filio, tandem etiam Duci Athenienſi proſtituimus.... Ut verum ingenue fateamur, quidquid vel corrumpi, vel corrumpere uſpiam aptum ſit, id omne in Italiæ urbes confluxit; adoleſcentes quidem in otio, ſenes in libidinibus tabeſcunt, *omniſque ætas ſexuſque flagitioſis moribus inquinati, vi ipſa bonarum legum, quod etiam ipſæ a pravis conſuetudinibus ſuperentur, in ordinem redigi non patiuntur.*

After what hath been ſaid of other provinces concerning the ſtate of chriſtians during the firſt period, it is unneceſſary to make any additions here. In Italy, as in other parts of the empire, ſuch good men as were content to practiſe the religion of Jeſus without caballing for power enjoyed liberty, as other citizens did, as long as the emperours continued pagans. The judaizing chriſtians, who from the firſt ſtrained every nerve to form an hierarchy, always hated and perſecuted the reſt: but as they had no ſecular authority their cenſures operated no civil inconveniences worth mentioning. They ſeem to have had as little wiſdom as power, for although the eaſtern diſſidents in religion diffuſed themſelves all over the weſtern empire; and although the carthaginian Donatiſts, the roman Novatians, the grecian Marcionites, and Montaniſts, and great numbers beſide both foreign and domeſtick, totally different from the hierarchical party, abounded in Italy, and remonſtrated againſt their corruption of the doctrine of Chriſt, and of the original diſcipline, yet the latin church hath not one father of the firſt century, and only one in the ſecond, and he, Tertullian the African, whom they never ſainted, becauſe he deſerted their cauſe, and acceded to that of the Montaniſts (9). Their fort was not argument but ſecular power; that they acquired under ſome emperours, and uſed it in Italy, as they did in other provinces, to diſcountenance and ſuppreſs all but themſelves. An ancient writer ſays, " The Italians preferred two maſters that they might be ſubject to neither (1)." A vile policy productive of perpetual calamities (2).

The want of good writers in the primitive days of the papal hierarchy left a chaſm in their hiſtory, which hath been ſince filled up with the moſt extravagant romances that were ever committed to writing. Eccleſiaſticks of every church and every religious houſe in Italy have arranged and digeſted the whole into regular narrations: but as no colouring can give fables the credibility of facts the hiſtories never fail to excite pity or contempt. To ſay nothing of religion, who that feels the dignity of man can help deploring the condition of a country, where the firſt men in it employ their fine talents in patching up for modern uſe the credit of a wretched mythology, which was invented by the vulgar in remote ages of groſs ignorance, and which, hover as long as it can, muſt neceſſarily like a miſt flee away, when truth like the ſun ſhall ſhed its glorious rays abroad! Of a thouſand examples one may ſuffice to ſhew the impoſſibility, in the preſent ſtate of affairs, of writing a true hiſtory of this period of the churches of Italy (3).

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(9) Tho. Ittigii *Diſſertatio de Hæreſiarchis Ævi apoſtolici*, et apoſtolico proximi. Lips. 1790. Joan Clerici *Hiſt. Eccles. duor. prior. ſæculorum Amiſtæl*, 1716. . . Dr. Lardner's *Hiſtory of the hereticks of the two firſt centuries*. . . L'Abbe Faydit *Eclairciſſemens ſur la doct. et ſur l'hiſt. Eccles. de deux premiers ſiecles. Maeſtricht*. 1695.

(1) Luitprandi *Ticinens. Eccles. de deux premiers ſiecles. Maeſtricht*. 1695.

(2) Ferdinandi Ughelli *Italia Sacra, ſive de Epiſcopis Italiæ et inſularum adjacentium* 9 *vol. fol.*
Rubei *Monumenta Eccleſiæ Aquillienſis. fol.*
Joseph, Ripamontii *Hiſt. Eccles, Mediol*, 4 *vol.* 4*to.* &c.

About the cloſe of the ſixteenth century, pope Clement VIII. having obſerved that the roman breviary was extremely inaccurate, appointed a committee of learned men to examine and correct it. The roman breviary is the book, which contains the daily ſervice of the church, and that for the fifth of February relates the hiſtory of S. Agatha, a virgin and a martyr of Sicily. The leſſons for the feſtivals of the ſaints were taken from legends and lives written by monks. The life of Agatha as it was written in other breviaries had furniſhed materials for the leſſons proper for her day, and in ſome of them it was ſaid Catania was her native place. This differed from the account given of her by Simeon Metaphraſtes, who had written her life, and had ſaid ſhe was a native of Palermo. Simeon lived at Conſtantinople in the tenth century. He wrote the lives of one hundred and twenty-two ſaints; and five hundred and thirty-nine more, which he did not write, have been attributed to him. Agatha, it ſeems, (if ſuch a perſon ever did exiſt) was put to death in the reign of Decius at Catania in Sicily, about ſix hundred and fifty years before the time of Simeon, and ſome ſay a great deal more (4). It is eaſy to conjecture where he procured his materials. On the credit of this man, and other Greeks, who had copied him, his holineſs ordered the words, a native of Catania, to be eraſed, and the words, born at Palermo, to be inſerted inſtead of them.

Whatever may be the motives, which induce the Italians to viſit ſacred places, certain it is, all ſuch places are mines of wealth to the owners. To ſpots rendered remarkable by the births or the martyrdoms of their ſaints, and to places where miracles have been wrought by their relicks, crowds of all ranks at certain ſeaſons go, and exchange much real wealth for pleaſure, or for imaginary commodities of no value. To deprive a place of a ſaint is to take away all the reaſon of the reſort, and of courſe to impoveriſh all the inhabitants. In the preſent caſe the gain to Palermo would have equalled the loſs to Catania. The two ſenates, therefore, took up the affair, and each ſent deputies in its name to the court of Rome: the one to get the decree reverſed, the other to ſhew cauſe why it ſhould be affirmed. On the part of Palermo it was urged: that one greek manuſcript life of St. Agatha in the

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(3) MABILLON *Annales Ordinis S. Benedicti.* 6 *vol. fol.*
MABILLON *et* LUCÆ D'ACHERII *Acta Sanctor. ord. S. Benedicti.* 9 *vol. fol.*
LUCÆ WADDINGI *Annales Minorum... Studio* JOSEPH MARIÆ FONSECA 17 *vol. fol.*

(4) LEONIS ALLATII *De Simeonum ſcriptis... Pariſiis* 1664.
CONRADI GESNERI *Bibliot.* Symeon Conſtantinopolitanus, ludimagiſter compoſuit Græce metaphraſtas, id eſt, ſanctorum vitas, quæ ſingulis menſibus proprie leguntur; habenturque in bibliotheca Vaticana. Simeonis Metaphraſtæ legendæ ſanctorum extant Græce in bib. Auguſtæ Vindelicorum. Claruit circa annum 1200.

Vatican, another in the library of cardinal Sforza, and a third in a monaſtery affirmed, that ſhe was born at Palermo. To theſe were added the menologies and martyrologies of the Greeks, and particularly one of old date which had formerly belonged to one of the emperours at Conſtantinople, ſince to Lewis Sforza duke of Milan, and then to cardinal Sfondrata, all which ſaid, S. Agatha was of Palermo in Sicily; and which were of the more weight, as Palermo had in thoſe ages been ſubject to the Greeks. Then Metaphraſtes and other ſuch writers were quoted along with ſome conceſſions of the people of Catania; and it was further argued that S. Agatha was carried from Palermo to Catania to be put to death, and that the ſtone, on which ſhe had ſtepped when ſhe mounted the horſe yet retained the impreſſion of her foot, and had formerly on S. Agatha's day, as one hiſtorian reported, diſcharged a ſanative oil, which had wrought miraculous cures. The gate where the ſtone lay was to this day called by her name. Conſequently S. Agatha was born at Palermo.

In anſwer to theſe allegations the deputies of Catania obſerved, That no credit was due to the Greeks, who had been long famed for falſehood: That the french and ſpaniſh breviaries ſaid S. Agatha was of Catania: that a diploma of Urban VIII. in the eleventh century, and another of Alexander III. in the twelfth, expreſsly declared S. Agatha was born at Catania: that two ancient breviaries affirmed, that the roman governour of Catania had ordered one of the breaſts of S. Agatha to be cut off, which was done; that the night after S. Peter entered the priſon where Agatha lay, preceded by a youth bearing a lighted torch and carrying medicaments, that the apoſtle ſet the breaſt on again, and healed the wound, and that the veſtiges of his egreſs yet remained to be ſeen in the window of the ſubterranean priſon: that another breviary ſaid, when S. Agatha was carried out to be buried, a youth clothed in ſilk, attended by more than one hundred handſome children in armour, all ſtrangers, followed the corpſe, and placed at the head a marble ſlab, on which were theſe heavenly words, " a holy mind, ſpontaneous, honour to God, and deliverance to the country:" that a church had been built on the ſpot, and dedicated to her, and that many miracles had been wrought at her ſepulchre, and particularly S. Lucia about thirteen hundred years ago had obtained by her prayers to S. Agatha the cure of a bloody flux for her mother: that the liquid flames of mount Etna had been prevented from damaging the city by the intervention of the ſaint: that ſhe had been heard to ſay to S. Lucia, Do you adorn the city of Siracoſa, and I will decorate the city of Catania: and in brief, that jews and gentiles had always reverenced S. Agatha, and all Sicily flocked to Catania to adore her (5). Further it appeared, that the precious

relicks

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(5) TOMASO FAZELLO *Hiſt. di Sicilia. lib. iii. c. i.* . . GEORGII GAULTHERI *Sicilia Antiq. tabulæ. fol. lxxxv. Meſſanæ.* 1624. *Rocchi Pirri Sicil. Sacra. not. i. Eccles. Catan.*

IBID. Ex Græcis M. S. legitur, mens ſancta, ſpontanea, honor deo, et patriæ liberatio. . . cæleſtes ſpiritus marmoreæ tabulæ hæc inſcripſere verba: mentem ſanctam, ſpontaneam, hono-

rem

relicks of the virgin martyr had been kept five hundred years at Catania: that then they had been carried to Conſtantinople to prevent the decline of the eaſtern empire: that they continued there performing miracles more than three hundred years: and that at the end of the ſaid period S. Agatha appeared three times to one Giſlibert, a frenchman, an officer in the palace, and deſired him to carry her remains back to Catania. (6) The frenchman obeyed, ſtole the body by night, and after many miraculous interpoſitions of providence conveyed it to Taranto, in all which he was aſſiſted by one Goſelm of Calabria. By chance they left one of the breaſts near a ſpring at Taranto. Thither a woman with a ſucking child came to waſh ſome clothes, and after ſhe had finiſhed the work fell aſleep. The little girl lingering to ſuck ſought about for the mother's breaſt, and at length got hold of that of S. Agatha, and lay ſucking from it a ſweet and delicious milk, when the mother woke. S. Agatha had informed her of the affair in her ſleep. She, therefore, left the child, and went and informed the biſhop, who inſtantly came in proceſſion with the clergy, and a multitude of people, who all ſaw the girl ſucking. Neither the biſhop, nor any of the clergy could force the child to let go the breaſt; one therefore took her in his arms, and they all went in proceſſion to church ſinging a litany. While they were uttering the words, O Saint Agatha, pray for us, which they repeated three times, the child caſt the breaſt into the boſom of the prieſt, who gave it to the biſhop, and in a building erected for the purpoſe it receives all due honour to this day. Long it were to tell, how the reſt of the holy body was depoſited at Catania, how Palermo obtained an arm, how the church of Montreale procured a thumb, how Satan in the ſhape of a black dog puniſhed the people of Meſſina for attempting to defraud the city of Catania of the holy treaſure, how often the vail of S. Agatha turned away the burning lava of Etna, how ſhe protects the iſle of Malta from the Turks, how fully ſhe hath proved herſelf the tutelar ſaint of of Sicily, and of courſe how demonſtrative it is, that S. Agatha was born at Catania, and not at Palermo (7). When his holineſs had duly

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rem deo, et patriæ liberationem... De hoc cœleſti lapide angelica manu allato, hæc Breviarii Gallicani ſunt verba. "Cum autem Agatha ſepeliretur ecce quidam juvenis ſericis indutus, quem ſequebantur plus quam centum alii pueri armati, et pulchri, quos nemo unquam viderat, poſuit ad caput ejus tabulam brevem ex marmore, in qua ſcriptum erat: mentem ſanctam. &c." ... Ut divina nobis obſcura ſunt.

IBID. Honorificum D. Agathæ ſepulchro dicarunt templum, quod nunc S. Agathæ veteris nuncupatur; ad quod venerandum e tota Sicilia plerique accurrebant... Tam Judæi quam gentiles cœperunt venerari ſepulchrum ejus.

(6) MAURITII *monachi S. Benedicti, abbas, et Epiſcopus Catanenſis. opuſc. Ex tab. eccles. Catan.*

(7) R. PIRRI *ut ſup. not i. Eccles. Catan.* Conſtantinopoli D. Agathæ virginis corpus integrum delatum eſſe conſtat in civitatem Catanam, ubi martyrium conſummavit, ibi nunc magna veneratione aſſervatur; cujus brachium ego in theſauro reliquiarum S. S. apud regium templum S. Petri de Palatio Panormit. vidi, adoravi, et in thecis argenteis aſſervatum uti theſaurarius incluſi.

weighed the matter, as both ſides had ſtated it, he was pleaſed to order, that the corrected breviary ſhould report the caſe without deciding for either party, and that the fourth leſſon for S. Agatha's day ſhould begin with theſe words: "Agatha the virgin, born in Sicily of noble parents, whom the people of Palermo and Catania call their citizen, obtained the crown of glorious martyrdom at Catania in the perſecution under the emperour Decius (8)." This was prudently done; for the buſineſs of the court was to preſerve peace by compoſing a difference, and not like the criticks, to refine a mighty maſs of evidence down to a few particles of truth, for the ſake of rendering hiſtory clear. Such a precedent might have impoveriſhed and utterly ruined all parties, the clients, the counſel, and the judge.

When the miraculous part of this hiſtory is laid aſide, there remain a few books, ſome of which have been publiſhed, and the reſt are manuſcripts; but on all an hiſtorian cannot help making four remarks. Firſt, there is no internal evidence of the credibility of the hiſtory, for the more miraculous it is the leſs credible it appears. An hiſtory of mere miracles cannot ſupport itſelf, for motives to credibility ſink in due proportion as miracles riſe; and the greater the miracle the leſs likely to be true. Secondly, there is an high degree of probability, that all theſe different hiſtories proceeded from one original, and are in effect only different copies of the ſame hiſtory. Nobody knows who was the author. There were ſo many monks named Simon, Simeon, or Ximenes, and ſurnamed Metaphraſtes, that is compilers of lives, that it is impoſſible to diſtinguiſh them, and the very learned Leo Allatius, a man moſt profoundly verſed in this ſcience, could not determine the authors of a great number of lives, which in the manuſcripts were attributed to Simeon Metaphraſtes, although he proved, that no leſs than five hundred and thirty-nine lives of ſaints had been aſcribed to the Greek uſually called Simeon Metaphraſtes: but when he flouriſhed, whether in the tenth, or eleventh, or twelfth, or thirteenth century learned men cannot aſcertain (9). Thirdly, the writers of the life of the ſicilian Agatha, quoted in this controverſy, were Greeks, Frenchmen, Spaniards, and even S. Aldhelm a ſaxon biſhop in England in the time of the heptarchy (1). This reſembles the logick of ſome Germans, who quote french and engliſh writers, not contemporaries, to prove what the Anabaptiſts did in Germany two hundred years before thoſe writers were born. Laſtly, the oldeſt manuſcript quoted was written near ſix hundred years after the death of Agatha. That was a greek martyrology; martyrologies are regiſters of martyrs; menologies are regiſters of months; legends are chronicles of lives; breviaries are epitomes of thoſe chronicles arranged under months and days, and intermixed with pſalms, hymns, and prayers, and performed by way of ſervice to the honour of the ſuppoſed ſaints and martyrs. Of ſuch materials is the hiſtory of the firſt age of the latin church compoſed; and the glorious doctrine of the uninterrupted ſucceſſion of a viſible church, the boaſt of catholicks and the vain ſearch of proteſtants, is erected on this ſandy foundation. If it were neceſſary, it would be eaſy to adduce a great number of curious proofs of the inaccuracy of hiſtories compoſed of theſe materials, for from theſe came Saint Almanack, Saint Faith, Saint Hope, Saint Charity, Saint Happineſs, Saint Goodneſs, that is Saint Agatha, Saint Croſs, Saint Sepulchre, Saint George who killed the dragon, Saint Michael the archangel, Saint Job the Arabian, Saint Abraham the Jew, Saint Ventemoglia, or Vintimille, who was either one virgin martyr, or twenty thouſand, and criticks cannot determine which. The Romans have adopted one excellent canon of criticiſm to preſerve thoſe from errour, who deſcribe their city; and when they ſhall think fit to apply it to eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, they will exchange breviaries and martyrologies, the breath of vulgar ſuperſtition, for a few ſubſtantial and well atteſted hiſtories of real facts. The canon is: "A deſcription of Rome ought not to be taken from vulgar tales (2)."

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(8) *Breviarum Romanum ex decreto ſacro concilii Tridentini reſtitutum,* PII V. *Pont. Max. juſſu editum, et* CLEMENTIS VIII. *primum, nunc denuo* URBANI P. P. VIII. *auctoritate recognitum. Antverpiæ.* 1683. *Die v. Februar. in feſt. S. Agathæ v. et M. Lectio iv.* Agatha virgo in Sicilia nobilibus parentibus nata, quam Panormitani et Catanenſes civem ſuam eſſe dicunt, in perſecutione Decii imperatoris Catanæ glorioſi martyrii coronam conſecuta eſt . . . R. PIRRI *Eccles. Catan.* De Patria D. Agathæ diu diſceptatum eſt Romæ anno 1601 . . Decretumque tandem eſt in Bulla Clementis viii. ut in Breviario ſcriberetur: *Quam Panormitani et Catanenſes civem ſuam eſſe dicunt:* itaque ea lis dirempta eſt. Ne ſopitos ergo controverſiarum ignes ventilare videar, ſuperſedendum cenſeo ab iis rationibus in medium proferendis; quas utrinque ex tabulis tunc ibi conſcriptis (eas enim diligenter evolvi) feciſſe propoſitas compertum mihi eſt.

(9) *De Scriptis Simeonum, ut ſup.* . . EJUSDEM *Diatriba de Georgiorum ſcriptis. ad fin.* GEORGII ACROPOLITÆ *Hiſt. Byzant. Pariſiis* 1651.

Blondel. poſt 1080 . . . Genebrardus et Simlerus 1200 . . . Volaterranus 1300 . . . Caſimirus Oudin 1330 . . . Leo Allatius temp. Leonis Sapientis. circa 904.

A ſurvey of theſe intolerable fables will naturally lead any man to think, that the latin church originated in the moſt illiterate claſs of mankind, for there never was a period in the world in which wiſe and learned men had ſuch modes of thinking as the authors of theſe loweſt of all low productions had. A confuſion of ideas pervades the whole hiſtory of ſaintſhip, and a habit of clear thinking and unſophiſticated reaſoning is the deſtruction of all the ſyſtem. If to this be added a ſmall attention to hiſtorical preciſion, it will appear to a demonſtration, that martyrologies are as falſe in fact as they are vulgar in deſcription. The hiſtory of S. Agatha is a true ſample of the whole, and every church in Italy begins its narration with miracles and martyrdoms exactly like thoſe of Sicily: but primitive chriſtians were ſuperiour to ſuch productions. Pope Pius II. ſays, and it is very credible, that "before the council of Nice very little reſpect was ſhewn to the biſhop of Rome (3)." There was very little reaſon for reſpect; none of that church had made any figure in literature, as the Greeks had; and when they got themſelves eſtabliſhed by law they caſt a gloom over all the Weſt, and as they roſe into conſideration literature of every kind fled away; ſo that when the church was at the zenith of its glory, the clergy could juſt write, and the laity could not read. It was in theſe dark ages that THEIR primitive church was created. It is highly probable, that they were never perſecuted by the roman emperours except for ſedition; and, if any credit be due to Euſebius, they enjoyed perfect peace under Diocleſian till the latter end of his reign (4). Their pulpit orators were popular, as all who preach to the populace in their own way always are; their places of worſhip were too ſmall, they pulled them down and erected larger; they had one ſuperb temple at Nicomedia oppoſite to the palace of the emperour; they enjoyed places at court and in the army; their wealth and proſperity was ſo great that luxury abounded among them; the tempers of their biſhops were ſo different from thoſe of Jeſus Chriſt and his diſciples that they hatched and cheriſhed perpetual feuds and animoſities among one another about hereſy; the common people were immoral and prone to ſedition; the perſecution, as they call it, originated in the army in a diſpute between a pagan officer and catholick ſoldiers; and, when the emperour endeavoured to curb them by an edict faſtened as uſual in a publick place, one of their great men INFLUENCED BY ALMIGHTY GOD, tore it in pieces in the preſence of both the emperours, Diocleſian and Maximian, and the two other firſt men of the empire. The noble zealot was puniſhed, and in ſpite of this bold outrage, which no government could ſuffer to paſs unnoticed, Euſebius thought he died not for ſedition but a martyr for the cauſe of CHRIST. About two hundred years after, Eucherius, a monk, informed the world, that Maximian had maſſacred a whole legion, which he calls the theban, conſiſting of ſix thouſand ſix hundred chriſtian ſoldiers (5). Martyrologies of later ages continue to multiply ſufferers, all ſaints and martyrs, deſcribe Diocleſian as the moſt bloody tyrant in the world, and ſay he perſecuted to death ſuch incredible multitudes of chriſtians as paſs all belief.

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(1) ROCCH. PIR. *Eccles. Catan.* S. Anthelmus, ſive Aldhelmus occidentalium Saxonum Antiſtes, qui a D. Gregorio, ut ipſe ait, documenta eductus eſt, et baptiſmi ſacramentum ſuſcepit, &c.

D. ALDHELMI *De Laudibus virginitatis, cap. xxii.* Sed et celeberrimus virginis Agathæ rumor, &c.

(2) GEORGII FABRICII *Roma. cap. i.* De auctoribus, qui de Roma ſcripſerunt. De mirabilibus Romæ non nominati auctoris libellus, in vulgi manibus eſt, ad decipiendos, ut apparet, illiteratos et ſuperſtitioſos homines confictus. In cognoſcenda urbe ſermo vulgi audiendus non eſt.

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(3) ÆNEÆ SYLVII *Epiſt. ciii.* Ante Nicenum conſilium ſibi quiſque vivebat, et ad Romanam eccleſiam parvus habebatur reſpectus.

(4) EUSEB. *Hiſt. Eccles. lib. viii. cap. i.*

(5) EUCHERII *Hiſt. paſſionis S. Mauritii, et ſociorum martyrum legionis Thebeæ. Ingolſtadii,* 1617. *Floruit poſt. an.* 524.

Breviar. Roman. ut ſup. pag. 1023. *Sept. xxi. In ſecundis veſperis fit commemor. S. S. Mauritii et ſociorum martyrum. . . . Die xxii. Sept. S. S. Mauritii et ſocior. mart. lectio iii.* Cum Maximianus imperator, ducto in Galliam exercitu, &c.

" The ſavage wild beaſt," ſay they, " died drunk with the blood of the ſaints (6). The perſecution under him and Maximian was more cruel, of greater extent and longer duration than any other. Within thirty days in ſeveral provinces they conferred the crown of martyrdom on ſeventeen thouſand chriſtians, beſide an infinite multitude whom they baniſhed or condemned to the mines (7). In the night of one chriſtmas eve, they burnt twenty thouſand for confeſſing the faith. In Armenia thouſands of noblemen, officers, and virgins were crowned with martyrdom, and the province was hung with the limbs, the bowels, and the carcaſes of the dead: but the blood of martyrs is the ſeed of the church, for in the ſame year, in Armenia the greater, S. Gregory the biſhop interred the ſaints, and erected the croſs (8). Suddenly Tiradates the king relented, left off to perſecute, and he, and his family, and his ſubjects requeſted to be baptized. As they were all poſſeſſed with devils S. Gregory ordered them to faſt ſixty days: at the end of which he baptized them in the river Euphrates, and Chriſt, never ſparing of miracles in favour of the church, cauſed a pillar of light to riſe during the time of baptiſm, its baſe on the river, and its capital a croſs." How is it poſſible to write hiſtory of ſuch abominable materials as theſe!

It is, however, remarkable, that in all theſe fables there is a mixture of a little truth in an enormous maſs of errour, nor is it any more difficult to diſtinguiſh truth from errour than it would be to diſtinguiſh a little gold in a great lump of ore. Critical hiſtorians let martyrologies alone for the ſame reaſon that ſmelters leave ſome mines unwrought; they are not worth labour. Primitive baptiſm is a caſe in point, and it appears and ſparkles amidſt all the dull matter of anachroniſms, falſe miracles, and more ſuch materials, which are connected with it. It is indifferent whether an example be taken from the patriarchate of Aquileia, which, it ſeems, was founded by St. Mark the evangeliſt, or from the archbiſhoprick of Milan founded by St. Barnabas, or from that of Ravenna founded by S. Apollinaris, or from any of their ſuffragans, or from Rome itſelf, for the deſcriptions are ſimilar in all. Every where dipping is the mode, and believers are the ſubject. If, perchance, in the latter part of this period infants be named, the tales are ſo told as to carry conviction, that the word ſignified minors. There is, actually, no choice, and the following is one of the fables firſt at hand.

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(6) Baron. *Annal. an.* 316. Hic tandem finis truculentæ belluæ ebriæ ſanctorum ſanguine, &c.

(7) Ferdinandi de Mendoza *De confirmand. concil. Illiberatan. cap. ii.* Præ cæteris namque Diocletiani et Maximiani perſecutio diffuſior locis, immanior cruciatibus, anniſque diuturnior fuit.... Triginta dierum ſpatio per diverſas provincias decem et ſeptem millia hominum utriuſque ſexus martyrio coronata fuiſſe, præter eos qui in inſulas ſunt relegati, vel ad metallum damnati, quorum infinita prope multitudo habita eſt, ſcribit Damaſus. Nicephorus autem viginti millia chriſtianorum, nocte natalis Chriſti combuſta ob fidei confeſſionem commemorat.... Chriſtianos omnes vel afflictos vel interfectos, ſi idolis gentium ſacra non facerent, Euſebius, Oroſius, et Nicephorus teſtes locupletiſſimi ſunt.

(8) Euthymii Zigabeni *Panoplia orthodox. fidei. ii.* 20.

“ In the year two hundred and fifty-nine, in the conſulſhip of Valerian and Gallienus, many chriſtians hid themſelves to avoid the fury of perſecution; though ſeveral came forward, and obtained the crown of martyrdom (9). A law was publiſhed promiſing honours, and rewards of the goods of the convicted, to all who ſhould diſcover concealed chriſtians. Then bleſſed Stephen, biſhop of the city of Rome, having aſſembled all the clergy, addreſſed them thus: “ Brethren and fellow ſoldiers, you have heard the rumour of the diabolical and cruel edict, that if any pagan diſcovers a chriſtian, he ſhall be rewarded with all the confiſcated goods of the chriſtian. I adviſe you, brethren, to deſpiſe earthly treaſures, that you may obtain the kingdom of heaven: fear not the princes of this world, but pray to the Lord God of heaven, and Jeſus Chriſt his ſon, who is able to deliver us from the hands of our enemies, and from the rage of the devil, and to ſtrengthen us with his grace.” Then Bonus the preſbyter anſwered and ſaid, “ We are not only ready to part with our earthly goods, but even to ſhed our blood for the name of our lord Jeſus Chriſt, ſo that we may but obtain his favour.” When he had thus ſpoken all the clergy proſtrated themſelves at the feet of bleſſed Stephen, and told him that among chriſtians there were many infants yet pagans, and others related to them, who had not yet been baptized, whom they beſought him to order to be brought to him, and baptized. Bleſſed Stephen therefore ordered them to be all gathered together the next day in the nepotian cavern. The next day, an hundred and eight of both ſexes, men and women, met together in the ſaid cavern: all whom the ſaid Stephen baptized in the name of our lord Jeſus Chriſt, and conſecrated them with the ſign of the holy myſtery, and offered a ſacrifice for them, of which they all partook. Another day the ſame Stephen ſet in order the affairs of the church, committing them to three elders, ſeven deacons, and ſixteen clergymen, and ſitting down he taught them all the things pertaining to the kingdom of God, and eternal life: the pagans alſo came to him that they might hear and be baptized by him. In the mean time cometh Nemeſius the tribune, who had an only daughter, who had been blind from her infancy. Throwing himſelf at the foot of Stephen, he ſaid, I beſeech you, my lord the pope, baptize me and my daughter that ſhe may receive her ſight, and that you may reſcue us both from eternal darkneſs, for I have been always miſerable on account of the blindneſs of my daughter. Bleſſed Stephen anſwered him, If you believe with all your heart, all things are poſſible to him that believeth. Nemeſius ſaid, Verily from this day I do believe with all my heart, that our lord Jeſus Chriſt is God himſelf, and that he opens the eyes of the blind, and I come to your holineſs not unwillingly, or by the perſuaſion of any one, but by his call. As ſoon as he uttered theſe words, Stephen commanded him to be conducted to the houſe of the church, where, when he had catechized him and his daughter according to the cuſtom of chriſtians, he appointed a faſt to be kept till evening. In the evening he bleſſed the font in the ſame houſe, and, putting Nemeſius down into the water, he ſaid, I baptize thee in the name of the father, and of the ſon, and of the holy ghoſt. Then, turning to the daughter of Nemeſius, he ſaid, Doſt thou believe in God the Father Almighty? ſhe anſwered, I do believe: and in Jeſus Chriſt our lord? ſhe replied, I do believe: and in the remiſſion of all ſins? ſhe anſwered, I do believe: and in the reſurrection of the body? ſhe ſaid, Sir, I do believe. And while he was raiſing her out of the water, ſhe began to exclaim, Behold, I ſee the man that touched my eyes, and a ſplendid light around him. Then lifting her up from the font, he named her Lucilla. Then many fell at the feet of bleſſed Stephen the biſhop, and with tears beſought him to baptize them; and the ſame day that Lucilla received her ſight he baptized of both ſexes ſixty-two. Afterward many honeſt men of the pagans, who had heard of the affair, met bleſſed Stephen, and deſired him to baptize them. But bleſſed Stephen, being filled with the grace of the holy ghoſt, celebrated maſs and held councils at the tombs of the martyrs in the ſubterranean caverns."

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(9) *Acta paſſionis* STEPHANI....LIPOMANI *Metaphraſtes*.... THEOPHYLACTI HIEROMONACHI TZANPHURNARI *Menologia*.... BARONII *Annales. an. cclix. xxi.* Temporibus Valeriani et Gallieni, &c.

The ſtate of baptiſm in the catholick church of Italy during this period was briefly this. In the firſt three centuries no natural infants appear in any writings either authentick or ſpurious. Du Pin ſays, very truly, people were firſt inſtructed and then baptized by trine immerſion (1). In the fourth century, as hath been obſerved elſewhere, the jewiſh notion of dedicating children to God came up, and the monks, who firſt introduced it, took children under their care, and by inſtruction prepared them for baptiſm. In the fifth century Auguſtine invented or digeſted the doctrine of original ſin, which was natural enough to him, who had been wicked ſo young that he could not tell when he had begun to be ſo, and who extracted his body of divinity not out of the holy ſcriptures but out of his own experience, and who invented infant baptiſm under pretence of waſhing away original ſin, leſt children ſhould periſh. Such Italians as embraced his doctrine admitted his remedy, and infant-baptiſm in this century began to prevail. It is ſaid infant-BAPTISM; for infant-ſprinkling was not heard of in Italy till ſeveral hundred years after this time; nor was baptiſm adminiſtered to infants at any time except eaſter and whitſuntide, unleſs in caſes of neceſſity. One pope gave his opinion that caſes of neceſſity were four: ſickneſs, perſecution, ſiege, and danger of ſhipwreck and another, that in ſuch caſes any body might any where adminiſter baptiſm (3). The italian catholicks had no writers of any account during this period except Lactantius, and Ambroſe, and ſuch was the taſte of the times and the people, that Lactantius, who was a man of learning and real eloquence, a man of ſound ſentiments, extenſive knowledge, and inoffenſive life, the moſt excellent of the latin fathers, and juſtly called the chriſtian Cicero, was in want of common neceſſaries, while Ambroſe, who was not worthy to carry his books, was preferred to the rich ſee of Milan: and this when the people elected their own biſhops (4). It was ſaid, the hymn called TE DEUM, was compoſed in heaven, and ſung at the baptiſm of S. Auguſtine in parts, Ambroſe one verſicle, and Auguſtine another. It hath been ſince determined, that Ambroſe compoſed it againſt the Arians (5). The manners of thoſe times muſt have been altogether different from the manners of the preſent age, for with what face could a modern debauchee in company with his natural ſon walk in proceſſion all along the ſtreets, and in a large aſſembly, at the brink of a baptiſtery, pretend to be inſpired, and extempore to chant the ſixteenth verſicle of that hymn! The next verſe indeed is extremely proper for adult baptiſm: "When thou hadſt overcome the ſharpneſs of death, thou didſt open the kingdom of heaven to all BELIEVERS."

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(1) *Bibliot. des Auteurs Eccles. De la Diſcipline des trois prem. ſicles de l'egliſe.* On baptiſoit avec quelques ceremonies ceux qui eſtoient inſtruits de la religion, et qui avoient donné des marques d'une veritable converſion, on les plongeoit ordinairement trois fois dans l'eau, en invoquant la ſainte trinité, et le bapteme ne s'adminiſtroit ſolemnellement qu'aux fetes de paques et de la pentecoſte.

The ſecond period of this hiſtory begins at the taking of Rome by Odoacer, king of the Heruli, who put an end to the weſtern empire, and founded the kingdom of Italy. The Heruli were a northern people, who came firſt out of Scandinavia, and who afterward inhabited the coaſt of the Baltick. Odoacer was ſucceeded by Theodorick king of the Oſtrogoths, who fixed his regal ſeat at Ravenna (6). The oſtrogothick kingdom of Italy was brought to an end by Narſes the roman general, who defeated Totila in Tuſcany; and

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(3) WALAFRIDI STRABONIS *De rebus eccleſiaſt. cap. xxvi. De baptiſmi incremento, et merſione.*

(4) LACTANTII FIRMIANI *Opera ... cum notis et animadverſionibus* NICOLAI LENGLET DU FRESNOY. *Pariſiis*, 1748.

Deus unus et perfectus eſt. ... Dei unius, non plurium providentia mundus regitur et conſtat.. Scriptura divina non egit logica. ... Scripturæ divinæ ſimplicitas omnibus verborum pompis præferenda eſt. .. Scriptura et ratione, non vi et injuria docenda fides. .. Cogi non poteſt fides aut religio, ergo et tormentis opus non eſt. .. Chriſtiani dicuntur fratres. .. Cultus dei innocentia eſt, non ſacrificia carnalia. .. Imaginum cultores non bis pueri, ſed ſemper. .. Templum Dei homo eſt non aurum. .. Fruſtra templa ornamus auro et gemmis. .. Templum Dei in pectoribus hominum eſt. .. Virtus nulla eſt, ſublata hominum concordia, &c.

S. AMBROSII *op. ex edit.* JACOBI DU FRISCHE, *et* NICHOLAI LE NOURRY *Benedictinorum. Paris.* 1686. *et* 1690.

(5) AMBROSII *orat. in* AUXENT. .. AUGUSTINI *vita, lib. ii. cap. i. Te Deum cum Ambroſio divinitus inſpiratus cecinit*. .. HYMNODIA *Sanct. Pat.* .. MARTIN GERBERT. *De Muſica Sacra.*

(6) ANTONII PAGI *Critica Hiſtorico-chronol. an.* 493, 494, *&c*,
PROCOPII *de Bel. Gothico. lib. i.* .. JORNANDIS *Hiſt.* .. *Id. de regnor. ſucceſſ.* .. ENNODII *op.*

Teia at Cunæ, about eighty years after the conqueſt of Rome by Odoacer. General Narſes governed Italy about fifteen years in the name of the eaſtern emperour, Juſtinian, at the end of which he called the Lombards from Pannonia into Italy (7). The Lombards, or Longobards, were a nation of the ancient Suevi of Germany. Some ſay, they received their name from their cuſtom of letting their beards grow; others ſay they were ſo called becauſe they were a mixture of two nations, the Lingones, a people of belgick Gaul, and the Bardi, a neighbouring tribe. They had emigrated to Pannonia or Hungary ſeveral years before Narſes invited them into Italy. Alboin was their firſt king in Italy, Cleophis or Cloffas was their ſecond (8). Then they altered their form of government, and for twelve years were governed by elective dukes. Then they reſtored an elective monarchy again in the perſon of Antharis their third italian king, and this form of government continued till Charlemagne put a period to it by the taking of Pavia, after their kingdom had laſted from the coming of Alboin about two hundred and ſix years. During all the time of the Lombard kingdom, except about the laſt twenty years, Ravenna was governed by a viceroy of the emperour of the eaſt, called an exarch, and Rome was in ſome periods ſubject to the emperour, or his exarch, in others to the Heruli, the Oſtrogoths, or the Lombards, in others to a ſenate of its own: but reign who would the popes contended for exemption from the civil power, under pretence of religion, meaning by that to aſcend to dominion over it; other prelates in Italy, though not ſubject to the pope, purſued ſimilar meaſures with the ſame deſign; and all of them cauſed infinite trouble to the ſeveral ſtates. To them all modes of government were odious if they oppoſed the claims of the clergy, and all were indifferent, on condition they were ſubject to the hierarchy. A catholick is not neceſſarily a friend to abſolute monarchy, for the Venetians prefer an ariſtocracy, and ſome ſwiſs cantons a republick: but by all catholicks civil government is conſidered as ſubſervient to ſacred dominion.

From the coming of Odoacer to the reign of Charlemagne is a ſpace of three hundred years, and the greater part of Italy during the whole time enjoyed religious liberty. At Rome the popes, and in Ravenna the exarchs exerciſed intolerance: but the Heruli, the Oſtrogoths, and the Lombards, who had embraced chriſtianity in the unitarian form long before they came into Italy, perſecuted nobody, and protected all, who ſubmitted to civil government.

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(7) PROCOPII *de Bell. Goth. lib. iii. iv.*

LUDOV. ANT. MURATORII *Rer. Ital. Scriptor. Collectio*... PAULI WARNEFRIDI. *lib. ii. cap.* 5.... FREDEGAR. *ep. lxv.*.. PAGII *an.* 567. *n.* 7... MASCOV. *Hiſt. of the ancient Germans. vol. ii. annot. xx. of Narſes.*

(8) CAROL. SIGONII *Hiſt. de regno Italiæ. lib. i. an.* 575. Longobardi comitia creando regi iterum habuerunt, ac conſilio habito in poſterum abſtinendum a regibus decreverunt, atque ex communi ſententia rem univerſam triginta ducibus permiſerunt. Ita ſua cuique urbs gubernanda conceſſa, Zabano Ticinum, Alboino Mediolanum, Vallari Bergomum, Alahi Brixia, Eoino Tridentum, itemque ceteris ceteræ.

The catholicks were divided into independent parties, and pronounced each other ſchiſmaticks (9). The patriarch of Aquileia, whoſe ſuffragans were the biſhops of Altino, Friuli, Padua, Verona, and others, held councils, declared againſt Rome, and exerciſed the juriſdiction of a pope in his ſphere. The archbiſhop of Milan was another prelate independent of Rome, having many ſuffragans under him, as the biſhops of Vercelli, Pavia, Lodi, Cremona, and many more (1). The archbiſhoprick held councils independent of the popes, uſed a liturgy compoſed by Ambroſe different from that of Rome, and continued to practiſe trine immerſion long after the church of Rome had exchanged it for a ſingle dipping. The archbiſhop of Ravenna had under him the biſhops of Rimini, Ceſena, Ferrara, Modena, Parma, and others. The government of theſe prelates was more or leſs favourable to liberty as it was controuled in a greater or leſs degree by the civil power.

During theſe times there were, as hath been elſewhere obſerved, in moſt cities both a catholick and an arian biſhop, and that there were many diſſidents beſide, who did not unite with either, is clear by the writings of thoſe times againſt them (2). There was ſometimes a ſquabble about a church or a baptiſtery, or the election of a biſhop: but this is not perſecution. S. Gregory, who was never at a loſs for a miracle, pretended that the catholicks enjoyed their churches by extraordinary divine interpoſitions, which terrified the arian Lombards into compliance (3). Hereticks had no faith in miracles, but they thought man a rational creature, and ſuppoſed, as God had made men reaſonable beings they ought to be dealt with rationally. On this ground they allowed the catholicks places of worſhip to reaſon in, or to work miracles as they thought proper, but they did not gratify them with civil power to puniſh ſuch as did not believe them.

Never was ſuch a vain tale told in the world as that of the unity and univerſality of the church, for nothing would be eaſier to prove, if it were neceſſary, than that not only the common people of the middle ages, but prieſts, monks, biſhops, kings, emperours, and even popes exhibited variety of ſentiment, and different modes of worſhip, and that nobody ſuffered for it, except it was connected with ſome overt acts injurious to ſociety. The Lombard kingdom alone might ſerve for an example of the whole (4). Some of their kings were Arians, ſome of their queens pagans; ſome were catholicks, others were of the ſentiments of the Neſtorians, Apollinariſts, and other Greeks: but the government was juſt, and the catholicks own they were not perſecuted. There is the ſame variety among the prelates of Ravenna, Milan, Aquileia, and other places, ſome were Trinitarians, others Unitarians, and none of them thought himſelf a ſubject of Rome. Where then is uniformity? Among the miracles of Gregory, or the legends of the ſaints!

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(9) LABBEI *Concil. tom. vi. an.* 698. *Conciliabulum Aquileienſe.* Quinta Synodus a ſchiſmaticis Aquileienſibus ſecundo per errorem damnatur.

IBID. *tom. v. an.* 553. *Concil. Aquil.*

PAULI DIAC. *lib. v. cap.* 4. . . . SIGIBERTI *Chron. an.* 698. . . PLATINA *vit.* SERGII *P.*

(1) PETER ALLIX's *Remarks on the Eccles. Hiſt. of Piedmont. chap. xiii. That the Dioceſe of Italy was an independent dioceſe till the midſt of the eleventh century. ch. xiv. Separation of the churches.*

B. PETRI DAMIANI *opera. Pariſiis,* 1663. *op. v.* Non debere Ambroſianam eccleſiam Romanis legibus ſubjacere; nullumque judicandi vel diſponendi jus Romano pontifici in illa ſede competere; nimis indignum ut quæ ſub progenitoribus noſtris *ſemper* extitit libera, ad noſtræ confuſionis opprobrium, nunc alteri, quod abſit, eccleſiæ ſit ſubjecta.

(2) RUSTICI S. R. E. *Diaconi Cardinalis contra Acephalos Diſputatio Bib. Pat.*

ANASTAS. *vit.* SYMMACHI *Papæ.*

(3) CAR. SIGONII. *Hiſt. de Regn. Ital. lib. i.* 585.

A juſt notion of the condition of Italy in this period is compounded of ſeveral clear ideas of the ſeparate ſtates, which come under the general name Italy. Such ideas cannot be obtained without a diſtinct attention to each ſtate, and for the ſake of obtaining theſe, it will be convenient firſt to obſerve the kingdom of the Oſtrogoths, and the exarchate of Ravenna; next the kingdom of the Lombards; then the independent catholick provinces; after them the diſſidents; and laſtly the general ſtate of baptiſm. This period deſerves the more attention, becauſe this ſeems to have been the time of the riſe of infant baptiſm in the Weſt.

When Odoacer invaded Italy, and put an end to the weſtern empire, the eaſtern empire was governed by Zeno, and the confuſions of the Eaſt were ſo many that the emperour could not avail himſelf of the diſmemberment of the weſtern empire except by means of the Goths, who were the beſt ſoldiers in the world (5). For this purpoſe he fixed his eye on Theodorick king of the Oſtrogoths in Moeſia. This prince was the moſt accompliſhed man of his age. When he was a little infant (to uſe the words of the hiſtorian) that is, in the eighth year of his age, he was delivered by his father Theodemir as an hoſtage to the emperour Leo, and as he was brought up at the court of Conſtantinople he had united the elegance and the addreſs of the Greeks with the firm manly virtues of the Goths (6). He had no literature, but he was a lover of learned men, and a great encourager of arts and ſciences. He continued in the unitarian religion of his anceſtors, and adopted the ſame prinples of government, uniformly juſt, and perfectly free. The imperial and the gothick writers differ on one article (7). The firſt ſay, Zeno ſent Theodorick to conquer for him: the laſt affirm, the emperour ceded to him his claim on Italy, and gave him a ſettlement there, and this latter ſeems the truth, for the emperour was greatly in arrears to the Goths, he could not make his payments good, and he gave Italy, as former emperours had other places in Greece, in lieu of pay to the Goths his allies. However it were, when Theodorick appeared, his reputation was ſo great, that the troops and the people choſe to be under his government: his handſome exterior won the hearts of the imperialiſts, and his perſonal virtues rendered him the idol of the Goths. Succeſs crowned his undertaking, he founded the oſtrogothick kingdom of Italy, fixed his royal reſidence at Ravenna, and reigned in glory three and thirty years. His dominion extended over all Italy, the iſland of Sicily, a part of Provence in Gaul, Rhætia now the country of the Griſons, Vindelicia now Bavaria, Noricum containing ſeveral countries in Germany as Auſtria, Stiria, Carinthia, and part of Tirol, and a conſiderable part of Hungary then Pannonia, and Sclavonia or that part of Illyricum which lay between Croatia, Boſnia and Servia and the Adriatick ſea, and which was then called Dalmatia (8).

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(4) SIGONIUS... RUBEUS... UGHELLUS... PAUL. DIAC... EUGIPPIUS... BARONIUS ... CASSIODORUS, &c.

(5) PROCOPII *Opera*... THEOPHANIS *Chronographia ex interpret.* JACOBI GOARII, *et cum notis* COMBEFICII, *Paris.* 1655... JORNANDIS *op*... ENNODII *op.* *&c.*

(6) JORNANDIS. *cap. lii.* Statim imperator [*Leo*] animo mutato ad priſtinam recurrit amicitiam miſſaque legatione, tam præterita cum inſtantibus munera tribuit, quam etiam de futuro ſine aliqua controverſia tribuere compromittit; paciſque obſidem ab eis, quem ſupra retulimus, Theodoricum *infantulum* Theodemiris accepit. Qui jam annorum ſeptem incrementa conſcendens octavum intraverat annum... Datus igitur Theodoricus obſes a Gothis, ducitur ad urbem Conſtantinopolitanam Leoni principi; et quia puer elegans erat meruit gratiam imperialem habere.

ENNODII *Panegyr.* Educavit te in Gremio civilitatis Græcia.

Under the auſpices of this truly great man, as undoubted monuments declare, Italy reſpired, the people recovered their ſpirits, commerce thrived, artiſts were invigorated, literature revived, Rome was happier than it had been for ages, Ravenna roſe into ſplendour, and the magnificence of Theodorick is yet ſeen in the remains of palaces and ſacred edifices (9). The catholicks to their eternal diſgrace plotted to ſubvert this government. In time they ſucceeded, and now the city is become " one vaſt ſolitude, MAGNI NOMINIS UMBRA, having neither trade nor manufactures, and of courſe few handicraftſmen or artificers. The bulk of its inhabitants are idle nobles, who make the intereſt of the princes of Europe, that is, the thing of all others the moſt foreign to them, their moſt important or indeed their only buſineſs(1)." Theſe are the words of a modern celebrated author. What ideas of Almighty God muſt thoſe writers have, who pretend, he hated Ravenna when it was a paradiſe becauſe Unitarians made it ſo, and admires it now it is a deſolate ſwamp becauſe catholicks brood over it! (2)

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(7) PROCOPII *De Bell. Goth. lib. i.*.. AGATHIÆ *de Imp. Juſtiniano, lib. i. cum not.* BONAVENTURÆ VULCANII. *Paris.* 1660. MARCELLINI *Chronicon apud* SCALIGER. *Theſaur. Temp. ad an.* 487.

(8) M. AURELII CASSIODORI *Variar. lib. i. ep.* 11... *lib. v. ep.* 4... *lib. iii. ep.* 50... *lib. v. ep.* 24. *Formula Ducis Rhætiarum... Formula Principis Dalmatiarum. &c.*

(9) R. FABRETTI *Inſcript. Antiq. explicatio. Romæ* 1699. *p.* 521.

REG. DN THEODE
RICO FELIX ROME
REG. DN THEODE
RICO BONO ROMÆ

Id. Ex Schedis Piereſcii...... SALVO. D. N. THEODORICO
REGE GLORIOSISSIMO

P. 152. *n.* 8. Anxuri ſive Terracinæ, in Cæſaris templo.

DN. GLORIOSISS. ATQ. INCLUTUS. REX. THEODORICUS.
VICT. AC. TRIT. SEMPER. AUG. BONO. REIP. NATUS.
CUSTOS. LIBERTATIS. ET. PROPAGATOR. ROMANI NOMINIS. &c.

King Theodorick ſubſiſted on his own domain, and impoſed no heavy taxes on his ſubjects. The people in all parts of his empire were perfectly free: the Romans lived under roman, the Goths under gothick law. There was no ſuch being in the eye of the law as an heretick during the kingdom of the Oſtrogoths. The king was an Unitarian: but he never perſecuted the catholicks, as they called themſelves. They elected their own biſhops, who were afterward ſignified to him, and when a conteſted election happened, as in the caſe of Symmachus, and an appeal was made to him, he judged the affair by their own canons, or if they were defective by principles of natural juſtice. After the death of pope Anaſtaſius, two candidates, Symmachus and Laurence ſtarted for the pontifical chair. The ſenate and the clergy of Rome were divided, and each party elected and ordained its candidate. To put an end to contention, for it was neceſſary to nominate the new-elect to the king, they agreed to return both, and to refer the caſe to him, which of the two had been lawfully elected. Both the biſhops went to Ravenna for this purpoſe, and the wiſe and juſt Theodorick, who thought both erroneous enthuſiaſts, neither examined their perſonal qualities, nor their notions of religion, but inquired which had the majority of votes, and which was elected firſt. Symmachus was on theſe grounds declared duly elected. About four years after, Feſtus and Probinus, two ſenators, and ſome of the clergy, accuſed Symmachus of mal-adminiſtration, and ſetting up Laurence again they divided. Some communicated with Laurence, others continued with Symmachus. At length the affair broke out into open riots, it was dangerous to walk the ſtreets. Complaint was made to the king, and a petition was preſented beſeeching him to appoint a delegate to ſettle the affair at Rome. He did ſo, and ſent a roman catholick prelate, the biſhop of Altino, to compoſe the difference. Far from perſecuting the catholicks, he protected them, and loaded them with preſents, and even adorned their churches with rich utenſils. They ſay he behaved to their pope at Rome as handſomely as if he had been a catholick, AC SI CATHOLICUS. (3). It hath been ſaid, there was but one latin philoſopher in the ſixth century, the celebrated Boethius, a ſenator of Rome and a privy counſellor to Theodorick, and him the king put to death.

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(1) GROSSLEY's *Obſervations on Italy. vol. i. Ravenna.*

(2) BARONIUS. Ravenna illuſtrata ædificiis a Theodorico rege... Sed rebaptizati ab Arianis ſunt in profunda voragine demerſi. &c.

(3) CASSIODORI *Chron.* PATRITIO ET HYPATIO *coſs.* Hoc anno [500] D. N. rex Theodoricus Romam cunctorum votis expetitus advenit, et ſenatum ſuum mira affabilitate tractans, Romanæ plebi donavit annonas, &c. ANASTASII HORMISDÆ *papæ vita.* Eodem tempore Theodoricus rex obtulit B. Petro apoſtolo ceroſtrata argentea duo, penſantia libras ſeptuaginta. *plura vide apud* MASCOV. *Hiſt. German. vol. ii. lib. ii. ſ.* 6.

It ought to be added, that this great man was guilty of high treaſon, and that the ſenate condemned him. He correſponded with the eaſtern emperour Juſtin, and plotted to ſubvert the gothick government in ſavour of the Greeks: but this was no ſin becauſe the philoſopher was a catholick. Symmachus his father-in-law ſuffered for the ſame crime. Some writers ſay, in their opinion the king was offended with both becauſe they would not put Arians into their churches; but divine vengeance puniſhed him for his cruelty, for ſoon after the execution, as the king was ſitting at ſupper the head of a fiſh on the table aſſumed the likeneſs of Symmachus, and with flaming eyes yawned at him as if threatening to revenge his death (4). The king was ſo terrified he retired to his bed, and ſoon after expired. Saint Gregory declares he was told by a credible monk that a holy hermit, on the day Theodorick died at Ravenna, ſaw Symmachus and pope John lead him barefooted with his hands bound, and throw him into a burning mountain in Lipari, one of the iſles of Sicily (5). Such viſionary tales need no refutation. The caſe was this. Two or three years before the death of Theodorick, the emperour Juſtin, animated by the intolerant catholicks, publiſhed an edict againſt the Unitarians, and the Arians in the empire were deprived of their churches (6). At the ſame time the king was informed of the correſpondence juſt now mentioned, which was carrying on in order to effect the ſame purpoſe in Italy, and having full proof of the guilt and ingratitude of his catholick ſubjects, he puniſhed the principal conſpirators as their crimes deſerved. It was evidently their deſign to ſubvert the free government of the Goths under pretence that it was adminiſtered by Arians (7). Theodorick conducted his affairs with that cool dignity, which always marks the able ſtateſman. He ſent commiſſioners to the court of Conſtantinople to remonſtrate againſt the injuſtice of the perſecution, to require liberty of conſcience to be allowed, and the churches to be reſtored to ſuch Arians as had been unjuſtly deprived of them, at the ſame time threatning to ſuppreſs the catholicks under his government in caſe of refuſal. The commiſſioners were four ſenators and ſix biſhops, of whom pope John I. was one, and Eccleſius biſhop at Ravenna another. The emperour complied: but when the commiſſioners returned, the king put the pope under confinement, becauſe he had been guilty of duplicity (8). While he pretended to negotiate for liberty, he wrote a letter yet extant to the catholick biſhops of Italy, to inform them that both the emperour and he deſired them by all means to get poſſeſſion of the arian churches, and in ſpite of the king to extirpate Arians root and branch. Gregory of Tours confirms this fact. A few days after he died, the king recommended Felix, and the Romans elected him to the pontificate. Theodorick departed this life on the thirteenth of Auguſt, in the year five hundred twenty ſix. His daughter Amalaſuinth erected a monument to his memory half a mile from the city, and a porphyry vaſe ſaid to contain his aſhes is to this day ſhewn at Ravenna (9). It is faſtened to the wall of the caſtle, and under it is an honourable inſcription in marble (1).

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(4) PROCOPII *de bello gothico. lib. i. cap. i.* Paucis poſt diebus cœnanti ipſi [Theodorico] cum piſcis grandioris caput miniſtri appoſuiſſent, viſum eſt, id Symmachi caput eſſe, recens obtruncati, quod dentibus inferiori labro impreſſis, et oculis torve truculenterque tuentibus, graviter minantis haberet ſpeciem. CARIONIS *Chronicon Edit.* PHIL. MELANCTHONI *et* CASP. PEUCERI *lib. iii. De Theodorico.* Ut ego exiſtimo, quia impedierant [Boethius et Symmachus] ne Arianis eccleſiæ traderentur.

(5) S. GREGORII *Dial. lib. iv. cap. xxx. De morte Theodorici regis Ariani.* Julianus mihi quadam die narravit. &c.

(6) *Cod. lib. xii. De Hæreticis et Manichæis an.* 523. Excipiuntur Gothi, qui fiunt fœderati, et aliter, prout viſum fuerit imperatori honorantur.

(7) GROTII *Prolegom. in Hiſt. Goth.* Ultima Theodorici Oſtrogothi facta in Symmachum Boetiumque non excuſo: illud tamen video, actum ibi non de religione, quæ Boetio ſatis Platonica fuit ſed de imperii ſtatu.

JOHAN. MABILLON *et* D'MICHAEL GERMAIN *Muſeum Italicum. tom. i. Pariſiis.* 1724. *p.* 219. De Boetio ejuſque libris de conſolatione philoſophiæ in veterrimo codice Laurentianæ apud Florentiam bibliothecæ hæc præmittuntur litteris Saxonicis... Tempore Teotrici regis, inſignis auctor Boetius claruit... A Rege reus majeſtatis convictus eſt, juſſus eſt retrudi in carcerem; in quo repoſitus hos libros per ſatyram edidit.

BAYLE's *Dict.* BOETHIUS. MASCOV. *Hiſt. Germ. Annot. xv.* MURAT. *Scriptor. Ital.*

Theodorick was a fine figure in his perſon (2). His manners, acquired in his childhood at the polite court of Conſtantinople, were elegant and eaſy, at once diſplaying the dignity of his rank and the goodneſs of his heart. He had not a tincture of literature, it was not the faſhion of the times: but he had a great fund of natural ſenſe, an exquiſite taſte for the arts, and was a patron of ſciences and learned men. He was free from the vices of the princes

(8) ANASTASII *Vita* JOANNIS *Papæ i.* Eodem tempore revertens papa Joannes venerabilis, et ſenatores cum gloria, dum omnia obtinuiſſent a Juſtino Auguſto, Rex Theodoricus hæreticus cum grandi dolo et odio ſuſcepit eos, ſcilicet Joannem papam et ſenatores quos etiam gladio voluit occidere, ſed metuebat indignationem Juſtini Auguſti.

JOANNIS *papæ epiſt. ii. ad Epiſcopos Italiæ.* Quapropter fratres, hortor vos et moneo, contra arianam perfidiam, quæ olim non ſemel, ſed ſæpe damnata eſt, et modo in quibuſdam reviviſcit, armari gladio ſpiritus ſancti, ut eam ita (adminiculante divina gratia) opprimere et extirpare valeamus, ut ne radix ejus in poſterum inveniatur. Eccleſias vero Arianorum, ubicumque inveneritis, catholicas eas divinis precibus et operibus abſque ulla mora conſecrate: quia et nos, quando fuimus Conſtantinopoli, tam pro religione catholica, quam et pro regis Theodorici cauſa et negotiis, ſuadente atque hortante, Arianoſque extirpante piiſſimo atque chriſtianiſſimo Juſtino orthodoxo imperatore quaſcumque illis in partibus eorum eccleſias reperire potuimus catholicas, eas, domino opem ferente, conſecravimus. Et quanquam prædictus Theodoricus rex, eorum peſte tactus intrinſecus, et obvolutus extrinſecus, nos, et omnem regionem perdere, et gladio et igne conſumere nitetur, nolite tamen propterea deficere, ſed viriliter in agro dominico elaborare, ſtudete, et, juxta veritatis vocem, nolite timere eos qui occidunt corpus.

(9) RUBEI *Hiſt. Raven.*.. ALBERTI *Deſcriz. di tutta Ital.*

(1) VAS HOC PORPHYRIACUM, OLIM THEODERICI GOTHORUM IMP. CINERES IN ROTUNDÆ APICE RECONDENS, HUC, PETRO DANATO CÆSIONARIEN. PRESULE FAVENTE, TRANSLATUM. AD PARRENNEM MEMORIAM SAPIENTES REIP. RAV. P. P. C. MDLXIII.

(2) ENNODII *Panegyr.*

of his age, and in all caſes he diſcovered a ſound underſtanding and a love of virtue. He was deeply verſed in the politicks of the times, and conducted all his affairs with the Greeks, the Romans, and the Goths, ſo as to preſerve peace, the glory of an able ſtateſman. "He went into Italy with the knowledge and conſent of the lawful emperour, and took upon him the government, not only with the approbation of the emperour but with that of the ſenate of Rome. His valour was never doubted, but after his throne was eſtabliſhed he never took up arms except in caſe of neceſſity, and always out of Italy (3)." His munificence was ſplendid but wiſe. He erected many publick buildings, and, ſays an exquiſite judge, "Nothing is more remote from gothiciſm, than all the monuments of this king of the Oſtrogoths (4)." His court was the ſeat of weſtern magnificence, and his chancellor Caſſiodorus, whoſe writings remain, is called by the french the Fontenelle of his age (5). He was a ſincere lover of liberty. He preſerved it among all his own ſubjects by an adminiſtration of equal juſtice. He obtained it for foreigners in their ſtates by negociation. He acquired it for ſlaves by methods juſt and generous, and at one time he redeemed ſix thouſand captives from the Burgundians. He wanted nothing of an emperour but the title, and that was in his power, had he choſen to adopt it. This is the man, whom providence ſent to bleſs the weſtern world, as prophets had been anciently ſent to the Jews to guide them into paths of peace. The catholicks like the Jews never knew the worth of ſuch a meſſenger of good. Orthodoxy not liberty, hierarchy not ſocial happineſs, ritual worſhip and not virtue, were their objects: to obtain theſe they conſpired againſt him during his life, and ſince his departure they hand his name down to poſterity, from book to book, under the odious appellation of arian, anabaptiſt, heretick, perſecutor, enemy of God, blaſphemer of Chriſt, oppreſſor of the ſaints, an Agrippa, a Herod, a barbarian, and ſo on (6).

Machiavel, who cared for nothing but truth, gives Theodorick a very different character. He ſays, "Theodorick was eminent both in council and in camp, for he was victorious in the field, and moderate in his government. He ſo conciliated the Oſtrogoths by his management, that he could command them in war, and employ them without danger to the ſtate in time of peace.

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(3) **Mascov.** *Hiſt. of the ancient Germans, vol. ii. book xi. ſect. vi.*

(4) **Grossley**, *Italy, vol. i. Ravenna*... **Rubei** *Hiſt. Raven*... *Spicileg. Ravennatis Hiſt. apud* **Murator**, *tom. i. an.* 519. Theodoricus fecit conſtrui egregia opera, maxime in Ravenna, ſcilicet eccleſiam Gothicam, turrim palatii, eccleſiam Sancti Martini, &c.

(5) **Magni Aurelii Cassiodori** *variar. lib. xii*... *Chronicon ab orbe condito ad Theod.* G. J. **Vossii** *de hiſtoricis Latinis. lib. ii. cap. xix. Caſſiodori ætas, dignitas, chronicon, deque eo judicium. Item hiſtoria ejus Gothica, et hiſtoria tripartita, et vitæ quædam, et collectanea de orthographia, quæ extrema ſenectute* [*Æt. xciii.*] *edidit.*

(6) **Vigilii** *papæ Epiſt. ad Eutherium. an.* 538. *iii. De his qui ab Arianis iterum baptizantur.* De his etiam qui baptiſmatis gratia ſalutaris accepta apud Arianos iterum baptizati, profundæ voraginis ſunt morte demerſi.

He enlarged and adorned Ravenna. He reinſtated Rome, and reinveſted the citizens with all the titles of their ancient dignity, except the military. By his ſole authority he kept foreign adventurers from making irruptions into Italy, and by erecting forts from the Alps to the Adriatick he prevented all incurſions. Had he not contaminated his admirable endowments by the cruelty of putting Boethius and Symmachus to death, his memory would have merited the higheſt praiſe. He preſerved other provinces of the empire as well as Italy from the ravages of foreigners.... He was the firſt who put a ſtop to theſe incurſions, and within the thirty-eight years of his reign he elevated Italy from a heap of ruins into ſuch a proſperous ſtate, that at his death hardly a veſtige of former devaſtations could be ſeen." Machiavel was a very free writer, and he, clearly enough, inſinuates, that chriſtianity, in his opinion, was one principal cauſe of the ſubverſion of the empire: but it is worth while to mark his preciſe meaning, for it is that of all ſuch writers as he. The chriſtianity that he condemns, is that of the policy of the popes, the ſcandalous zeal of ſpeculative diſputants, and the egregious folly of the ſaints, who rebaptized all parts of Italy by new names, and exchanged Cæſars and Pompeys for Peters, Matthews, and Johns (7). He ſays, Theodorick remedied all theſe ills. It is not ſuch chriſtianity as that of Theodorick, then, which he condemns, for that was juſtice, mercy, and good government, and he applauds it: but it is the factions of the prieſts of Greece, Rome, and Ravenna for primacy, which he expreſsly cenſures (8). This celebrated Florentine is only guilty of a miſnomer; for had he affirmed that nominal chriſtianity had ruined the empire, and that real chriſtianity had contributed to reſtore peace and ſocial felicity, who but a catholick would have contradicted him? Such a man ought not to be accounted an adverſary to chriſtianity, for it is not the chriſtian religion but the abuſe of it, which he explodes; and were all that he condemns removed, the religion of Jeſus would ſtand unhurt.

Theodorick had no ſon. When he came into Italy he had two daughters. He married the eldeſt named Theudegotha to Alarick king of the Wiſigoths in Spain. Alarick died before Theodorick, and left a minor named Amalarick under the guardianſhip of his grandfather, ſo that Spain was for ſeveral years under the clement government of Theodorick. He married Oſtrogotha his ſecond daughter to Sigiſmund prince of the Burgundians. He gave his ſiſter Amalafrid in marriage to Thraſamund king of the Vandals, and by ſeveral ſuch alliances he obtained honour for himſelf, peace for his ſubjects, and an intereſt in foreign courts favourable to the liberties of all the chriſtian world (9). In perfect conſiſtence with his own principles, and thoſe of all the gothick Unitarians, after he ſettled in Italy he married a lady of the roman catholick religion, Audofledis ſiſter of Clovis king of the Franks. She was baptized into the catholick faith a little before her marriage, in the baptiſtery belonging to the church of Notre Dame along with her brother by trine immerſion, by the hands of Remigius biſhop of Rheims. By this lady he had, probably, his daughter Amalaſuinth, whom he married to Eutharick; and him he intended for his ſucceſſor. Eutharick died before his father-in-law, and left a minor named Athalarick, who ſucceeded his grandfather, under the guardianſhip of his mother Amalaſuinth, the moſt graceful, the moſt learned, and the moſt accompliſhed lady of the age. The oſtrogothick kingdom ſubſiſted under ſeveral ſucceſſors, as Theodehat, Viriges, Theodebald, Ararick, Totilas, and Teia, till Narſes put a period to it. The kings were Unitarians, Totilas was a ſecond Theodorick, and as long as this kingdom laſted, government was juſt, and conſcience was free. It was an axiom of Totilas, and it ſeems to have been an opinion univerſally received among the Goths: that God was neither a general approver of all mankind, nor of any particular party, but that he was the friend and patron of every good and upright man (1). The boaſted founder of the roman church was of the ſame ſentiment. "I perceive," ſaid he, "God is no reſpecter of perſons; but in every nation, he that feareth God, and worketh righteouſneſs, is accepted with him." When will his ſucceſſors, if ſucceſſors they be, recur to the firſt principles of their founder!

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(7) Omnium prope modum bellorum, quæ ab eo tempore in Italia geſta a barbaris ſunt, cauſæ et occaſio fuere pontifices, et ipſimet ut plurimum attraxerunt in eam barbaros, idemque adhuc ſolent facere: denique hæc una res robur atque vires Italiæ fregit, frangitque noſtra hac ætate.

Sic loco Cæſarum et Pompeiorum, habemus Petros, Joannes, Matthæos, &c.

(8) Cum etiam inter ſe contenderent eccleſia Romana, Græca, et Ravennenſis, præterea ſectæ hæreticorum cum catholicis, non mirum ſi ea res perturbationem maximam peperit in univerſo orbe.

Juſtinian, who ſucceeded Juſtin in the empire of the Eaſt, in the year five hundred twenty-ſeven, formed the deſign of recovering the weſtern empire out of the hands of the Goths and the Vandals, and of annexing it to that of the Eaſt (2). For this purpoſe by various efforts of abſolute power he iſſued edicts againſt the Unitarians, ſeized their churches, and plundered the people of immenſe riches: he introduced luxury in all its forms into his own court, and debauched the morals of the people by publick ſhows and amuſements: he built churches, careſſed the catholick clergy, and with all the rage that the moſt fiery zealots could deſire ſet himſelf up for a patron of orthodoxy: he picked quarrels and fomented diviſions in foreign courts: he collected and publiſhed a deſpotical code of law: he filled his exchequer with treaſure iniquitouſly extorted from the people, and employed it in hiring troops to enſlave them (3). Foreign conqueſts make a great glare, but they always terminate in the ſlavery of the people at home; and frequently they are nothing but fraudful pretences to enervate citizens and to keep up a ſtanding army (4). The emperour ſent Beliſarius into Africa, and Narſes into Italy, and their arms were victorious: but in the end it appeared that the whole was a preparation for the total deſtruction of the eaſtern empire by the Turks: however the time was not yet come.

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(9) JORNANDIS *cap. lviii. &c.*... CASSIODORI *Chron. et Variar. ann.* 515. *&c.*... PROCOP. *De Bell. Goth.*... ENNOD. *ut ſup.*... MASCOV. *Hiſt. vol. ii. b. xi.*

(1) PROCOP. *Bell. Goth. lib. iii. iv.*... RUBEI *Hiſt. Raven.*

(2) JUSTINIANI *Imp. vita.*

Narſes the eunuch was high chamberlain in the court of Conſtantinople. He was a man of fine talents, extremely rich and munificent, and very popular. Him the emperour nominated general of the forces in Italy (5). His office required no literature, and he had none: but he was a great general, and his victories over the Goths and the devaſtation of all Italy abundantly diſplayed his military ſkill. The Arians boaſt of the faith of Beliſarius, and the catholicks chaunt the devout exerciſes of Narſes: but it is not credible that ſuch men dabbled either in the ſpeculations of one claſs, or the ſuperſtitions of the other: Narſes formed Italy into an exarchate for the emperour, and he enriched the catholick clergy with the ſpoils of the Goths (6). He enforced the imperial edicts at Ravenna by turning the Unitarians out of their churches and placing catholicks in them, and he contented Agnellus, parſon of S. Agatha at Ravenna, by giving him all the endowments of the Unitarians in the city, by requiring him to conſecrate thoſe churches, which had been polluted with the worſhip of only one God, and of courſe he elevated him to the rank of an archbiſhop (7). This was religion enough of all conſcience for an imperial general. Papal bulls conſtituting a prelate an archbiſhop are more properly deſcriptive than donative. They preſuppoſe poſſeſſion, and they confer a name, but poſſeſſion is the thing.

The ſcheme of making Italy a province to the eaſtern empire, in order to rid the country of the Goths, whoſe political and religious principles the catholicks equally abhorred, had been formed by Boethius and others in the reign of Theodorick. Now it was effected. Italy was overrun with foreign troops of various nations in the imperial army. Cities were beſieged, towns burnt, and whole diſtricts depopulated. Bloody battles were fought, citizens were impoveriſhed, natives were murdered, and all the ills of inteſtine war ſpread themſelves over Italy from ſea to ſea. In this deplorable condition the catholicks boaſted of the orthodoxy of the emperour, the benefits of that deſpotical law the juſtinian code, the faſting and praying of Narſes, the triumph over the hereſy of believing in one God, and they gave out that the revolution was an anſwer to their prayers, and that the virgin Mary honoured the general with ſignals for battle by the expreſs command of God (8). In a few years they cooled. Narſes became unpopular at Rome. Juſtinian died. A new emperour reigned. The Romans complained of the extortions of the general, and after he had governed Italy fifteen years, the cabinet at Conſtantinople recalled him, and nominated Longinus exarch. The condition of conſcience was extremely pitiable, and there was no place in Italy for the exerciſe of it; for there was this difference between the victories of the Goths, and thoſe of the catholick Greeks and Romans: the firſt conquered for all that choſe to live quietly under their government, pagans, jews, and chriſtians of all kinds; the laſt only for themſelves. Hence the eternal din of hereſy in the one, and no ſound of it in the other ſtate. When Goths came forward into kingdoms it is as if all hereticks had ſunk into the inviſible regions of death. When the catholicks riſe into power, it is as if there was a general reſurrection of hereticks from the dead. The cauſe of both lies in the conſtitution of each government.

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(3) THEOPHANIS *Chronographia.* Imperator Juſtinianus abſtulit omnes hæreticorum eccleſias, eaſque orthodoxis conceſſit, exceptis iis, quæ Arianorum Hexacionitarum eſſent . . ALEMANNI *notæ in Procopii anecdota.* Hexacionitæ nobiliſſimi Arianorum erant, in quorum collegium adſcribi Gothorum reges Italici conſueverant.

(4) PROCOPII *Anecdota cum notis* NICOLAI ALEMANNI . . , THO. RIVII *defenſio Juſtiniani imp. contra* N. ALEMANNUM, *Helmſt.* 1654 . . . GABRIELIS TRIVORII *Obſ. apologet. adv.* PROCOPII *Anecdota, Pariſiis,* 1631.

(5) PROCOPIUS *De bell. Goth.* . . AGATHIAS *de Imp.* JUSTINIANI.

(6) SANDII *Nucleus hiſt. eccles. ann.* 535. Legimus in Idacii Chron. Beliſarium fuiſſe involutum hæreſi nefanda et blaſphema, negantem trinum et unum Deum, ſeu trinitatem inſeparabilem, Chriſtumque Dominum.

ROMUALDI *Salernitani Chron.* Narſes erat vir piiſſimus, in religione catholicus, in pauperes munificus, in reparandis ſanctorum baſilicis ſatis ſtudioſus, vigiliis et orationibus in tantum ſtudens ut plus ſupplicationibus ad Deum profuſis quam armis bellicis victoriam obtineret.

(7) F. UGHELLI *Ital. Sac. tom. ii.* Raven. Archiep. xxxi. Agnellus ab eccleſiæ archiepiſcopo diaconus eſt ordinatus, præfectuſque eccleſiæ S. Agathæ, Maximianoque defuncto ex communi conſenſu ſuffectus eſt 558. Hunc Narſes maxime dilexit, omneſque fortunas Gothorum, quæ intra civitatis muros erant, illi attribuit. Expurgavit omnia templa, in quibus vel litaverant, vel ſuos cætus agitaverant Arriani temporibus Theodorici regis.

An ingenious writer publiſhed a piece entitled, " Great events from little cauſes," and the book contains an account of many ſuch events (9). If there be any truth in ancient hiſtorians, who were contemporary or nearly ſo, the life of Narſes affords an example of this kind, and from an unpolite joke of a lady at Conſtantinople proceeded liberty of conſcience in Italy for more than two hundred years (1). In the beginning of the reign of Juſtin II. the

Romans

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(8) PAULI *Diac. De Geſt. Longobard. lib. ii. cap. ii.*.. PROCOPIUS... AGATHIAS, *&c.*.. MURATORII *Antiq. Ital. tom. i. diſſ. i. De exteris gentibus, quæ poſt declinationem Romani Imperii Italiam afflixerunt, aut ſibi ſubjecerunt*... Anno DLII. Juſtinianus I. Græcorum imperator celeberrimus per Beliſarium, ac Narſetem, profligatis barbaris, Romanum imperium rurſus in Italia erexit. Tunc, ut puto, unuſquiſque ſperaſſet, diuturnam in Italia futuram quietem.

EVAGRII *Hiſt. Eccles. lib. iv. cap. xxiii.* De Narſete, qui familiariter cum eo vixere, illud perhibent, ita ipſum ex divino numine pependiſſe, atque id omnis generis pietate coluiſſe, et virginem, eandemque dei genetricem ita veneratum eſſe, ut illa manifeſto illi apparens, quando prælium committendum eſſet, præciperet, neque illum facile prius in aciem deſcendiſſe, quam tempus opportunum ab ea cognoviſſet.

(9) A. RICHER. *Great events from little cauſes, London,* 1767.

(1) PAULI *Diac. lib. ii. cap. v.*.. FREDEGARII *Chron. Epit. lxv.*.. ANASTASII *vit. Johan-*

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Romans thought themſelves oppreſſed by Narſes, and they made intereſt at court to get him recalled from the government of Italy. It was determined in the cabinet to recall him, and to govern Italy in future by an exarch reſident at Ravenna. Longinus a moſt diſſolute courtier was nominated to the new office. It was neceſſary, however, to keep Narſes in temper, for he had rendered his adminiſtration very popular except at Rome, his military talents were formidable, and he liked his ſituation. It was propoſed to give him ſome honour: but the empreſs Sophia, who governed more than her conſort, ſaid (for Narſes was an eunuch) ſhe would appoint him in the habit of a female to be inſpector of her work-women, and ſend him a diſtaff as an enſign of his office. When Narſes heard of this, he was offended, and retorted, that he would ſet about a work, which ſhould find employment for the empreſs all her life-time. He retired immediately to Naples, and ſent to the Lombards in Hungary to invite them into Italy. Anaſtaſius ſays, Narſes died at Rome ſome time after: Romuald ſays, he died at Naples. As ſoon as the Lombard king Alboin, began his march, he was joined by Goths, Suevi, Bulgarians, Dalmatians, and others, and in a very ſhort time obtained the ſummit of his wiſhes by forming the lombard kingdom of Italy, and by fixing his royal ſeat at Pavia, which for the exuberance of its ſoil the Italians call, IL GIARDINO DI MILANO, the garden of the Milaneſe (2). Of courſe the exarchate of Ravenna was contracted into a very narrow compaſs. In the exarchate orthodoxy and the juſtinian code reigned: and in the kingdom of the Lombards univerſal freedom. Some catholicks ſay the firſt Lombard kings were idolaters: but this is falſe: they were, as all other german nations were, unitarian chriſtians (3). Such catholicks reaſon thus: "You hold the unity of the divine nature; you ſay the ſon is inferior to the father; yet you honour this ſon, and call him God; you are on your own principles idolaters." The religion of theſe kings ſignified very little to the ſtate; it was the law that reigned, and not they. Indeed, when any one became a catholick this order

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nis iii... MASCOV. *Annot. xx*... ROMUALDI *Chron. apud* MURATOR. *Script. Ital. tom. vii. pag.* 115. Narſes autem urbe Roma relicta, apud Neapolim poſt aliquantum temporis defunctus eſt.

(2) PAULI *lib. ii. cap. xxvi.* Certum eſt, tunc Alboin multos ſecum ex diverſis, quas vel alii reges, vel ipſe ceperat, gentibus ad Italiam adduxiſſe: unde uſque hodie eorum, in quibus habitant, vicos, Gepidos, Bulgares, Sarmatas, Pannonios, Suavos, Noricos, ſive aliis hujuscemodi nominibus appellamus.

MURATOR. *Antiq. Ital. tom. i. diſſ. i.* Vicus, quem vulgari nomine *Bazavara* appellamus, tria tantum millia paſſuum ab urbe noſtra diſtans, a *Noricis* illa habitantibus, ut par eſt credere, nomen traxit. Norici, ab eodem Paullo Diacono memorati, iidem ſunt ac *Bavariæ* populi, qui rudibus ſæculis *Bajoarii* appellati ſunt uti et eorum provincia *Bajovaria*... Ita et Veronenſi agro oppidum *Suave* a *Suevis* denominationem accepiſſe videtur.

(3) UGHELLI *Ital. Sac. tom. iv. Mediol. Archiep. pag.* 8. Ex Longobardorum regibus priores duo Alboinus et Clepho idolaltriæ, tertius Autharis, chriſtianus ſed Arrianus.

SANDII *Nuc. Eccles. an. DLXVIII.* Rex Alboinus erat Arianus, utebaturque uxore Chlodoſuinda filia Chlotharii &c.

was interrupted in theory by the ſubjection of the royal convert to a foreign code of hierarchical law; but it was not immediately diſconcerted in practice, for the conſtitution would not ſuffer it.

Before the birth of Jeſus, the Longobards, or Lombards, inhabited that part of Germany on the river Elbe, which is now called Magdeburg, and Halberſtadt. Cæſar and Tacitus include them, along with the Sennones and Marcomanni, in the Suevi. Tiberius who was afterwards emperour, attacked the Lombards, the Chauci, and other nations on the banks of the Elbe, as Cæſar had the Britons, and with ſimilar ſucceſs (4). Some of the natives fought, others fled into the woods, others paddled in their canoes up the river, and got out of the way, and the Romans returned from Germany as modern navigators do from Otaheite, or the upper part of the Miſſiſſippi. In later times the Lombards appear in roman hiſtory, as other german nations do, and as they appear and diſappear without hiſtorians of their own, very little certain is known about them till the reign of Juſtinian, two and forty years before they came into Italy, when they obtained a ſettlement in Hungary. Muratori obſerves there is great uncertainty in the date. Paul fixes one date, Sigebert another, Procopius a third different from both. It ſhould ſeem the laſt was beſt informed, but it is not very material.

When hiſtorians ſpeak of the infinite multitudes that emigrated from the northern hive, as they call it, they include women, children, ſervants, and others who followed the army, and lived under the protection of it. So the Vandals went into Africa, the Wiſigoths into Spain, and the Lombards into Italy. The learned Muratori hath amply ſhewn that the people called Lombards were a mixture of ſeveral nations, having, however, a general likeneſs (5).

The lombard kingdom of Italy extended northward as far as Trent, which city was governed by one of the lombard dukes (6). On the weſt it was bounded by the Alps. On the ſouth it included all the country from the city of Nizza or Nice along the coaſt to the borders of the duchy of Rome, and of courſe the dukedom of Tuſcany was contained in it. On the eaſt, the extent is leſs determinate, becauſe here it abutted on the exarchate of Ravenna, and theſe parts, like all marches or borders, were frequently diſputed, and ſo became fields of battle. Venice was not included in the kingdom of Lombardy. It is not neceſſary to be more particular here. Muratori hath inveſtigated this ſubject with wonderful preciſion, as he hath every other that was touched by his inimitable pen.

(4) Cæsaris, *lib. iv. cap. i.* Suevi centum pagos habere dicuntur... Neque multum frumento ſed maximam partem lacte atque pecore vivunt, multumque ſunt in venationibus.

(5) *Antiq. Ital. tom. i. diſſ. i. De exteris gentibus.*

(6) *Diſſ. ii. De Regno Italiæ, ejuſque finibus.* Ego in veterum chartis, non imaginationes meas, ſed veritatem unam ſinceriſſime expiſcabor. *p.* 63. *De Exarchatu Ravennatis.*

In the firſt ages of pagan Rome, Italy was governed by the laws of the twelve tables. Ten commiſſioners, called decemviri, were appointed to compile a body of law. The number of tables was at firſt ten, the other two were added the year after. Fragments of theſe laws remain (7). The eleventh table is of the worſhip of gods, and of religion, and it contains ſixteen laws, the firſt of which is this: " Let all perſons come with purity and piety to the aſſemblies of religion, and baniſh all extravagance from thence. If any one does otherwiſe may the gods themſelves revenge it." The laſt clauſe of this law hath been often quoted as a proof that the Romans did not perſecute, but left offences againſt the gods to be puniſhed only by the gods. The fact, that the Romans did not perſecute, is admitted: but this univerſal toleration roſe out of the genius of the people, and not out of any reſtraint by law. The ſecond law of this table is: " Let no perſon have particular gods of his own; or worſhip any new or foreign ones in private, unleſs they are authorized by PUBLICK authority." The remaining fourteen nominate the gods to be worſhipped, regulate the feſtivals, enforce the rites uſed by anceſtors, forbid the introduction of all grecian myſteries except thoſe of Ceres, appoint prieſts for ſome gods, flamines or arch-prieſts for others, and pontiffs to preſide over all. After theſe came edicts of the ſaints, and the prætors; then decrees of the emperours; to all which in time were added reſcripts and reſponſes. Collections of theſe formed codes of law, as the gregorian, hermogenian, and theodoſian. That in force when the Lombards came was the juſtinian code, which had been compiled a few years before, and which hath been mentioned elſewhere (8). In all this huge variety one maxim is invariably preſerved, that is, that the religion of individuals is to be regulated by PUBLICK authority: an axiom of the twelve tables, and perfectly agreeable to the ideas of all judaizing chriſtians, who allow the principle, and whoſe ſyſtem only requires a transfer of the pontificate from the emperour to the prieſt; or from a pagan to a chriſtian magiſtrate. Cicero extolled the twelve tables above all other human productions: but Cicero never knew the hiſtory of Rome papal, nor ever foreſaw the infinite damage that this axiom would do mankind (9). The Lombards came into Italy without any written laws, and they governed there one hundred years without any. The ancient cuſtoms of their anceſtors, qualified by circumſtances, and applied to particular caſes by the common ſenſe of their judges and courts, were their laws. King Rothar, in the year ſix hundred thirty-eight, cauſed a compilation of theſe to be written, and publiſhed, under the name of an edict, for law (1). Four of his ſucceſſors,

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(7) HOOKE's *Roman Hiſtory, vol. i. book ii. chap. xxvii.*

(8) MURATORII *Script. Ital. tom. i. par. ii. præfat. in leges Longobardicas.*

(9) *De Orator. lib. i. N.* 195. Fremant omnes licet, dicam quod ſentio, bibliothecas mehercule omnium philoſophorum mihi videtur xii. tabularum libellus, ſi quis legum fontes et capita viderit, et auctoritates pondere et utilitatis ubertate ſuperare.

(1) PAULI *De. Geſt. Longobard. lib. iv. cap.* 44. Rotharis rex Longobardorum leges, quas ſola memoria

Grimoald, Liutprand, Rachis, and Aiſtulf added to the laws of Rothar others made during their own reigns; and this is the whole code of lombard law. Two of theſe legiſlators were Unitarians, and the three laſt were catholicks: but the whole code is perfectly free from the fatal maxim juſt now mentioned in the roman law (2). The people were allowed to live under which they pleaſed; the catholicks generally choſe the roman, and all the reſt the lombard law, and the natural effects followed; the Romans under tyranny gradually ſunk from a ſtate of refinement into barbariſm, while the Lombards in perfect freedom roſe from barbariſm into order, trade, wealth, power, and refinement (3).

In regard to independent catholick provinces, it is not intended here to ſpeak of the dutchies of Spoleto, and Benevento, or the ſtates of Naples, Venice, Caieta, and Surrenti: but of thoſe powerful catholick corporations, which were formed both in the exarchate, and the kingdom of Italy, which during this period acquired prodigious ſtrength through the prevalence of monachiſm, and which in the end effected the ſubverſion of both, by calling in foreign aid to ſupport their claim of independence on the ſtate. The chief of theſe was the church of Rome, the biſhop of which was a powerful and dangerous ſubject of the exarchate. The archbiſhop of Milan was ſuch another in the kingdom of Lombardy. By his principles he was pontiff of the Milaneſe: by endowments ſettled on his church he, as incumbent, became a powerful lord in the ſtate. By his influence as patron of monaſteries, oratories, and baptiſmal churches, he became extremely regarded by a vaſt number of dependents: and by his eccleſiaſtical conduct he gained an independency both of Rome and the civil government of Lombardy. The ſame might be repeated of the archbiſhop of Ravenna, the patriarch of Aquileia, and other prelates. Each conſonant to the principle generally received by all

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memoria et uſu retinebant, ſcriptorum ſerie compoſuit, codicemque ipſum edictum appellare fecit.

(2) Rotharis *Legum Prolog.* Ego in Dei nomine Rothar rex, vir excellentiſſimus, ſeptimus decimus rex Longobardorum, anno Dei propitiante regni mei octavo, ætatiſque trigeſimo octavo.

Grimoaldi *Legum Prolog.* Ego Domnus Grimoaldus excellentiſſimus rex gentis Longobardorum, anno Dei propitio regni mei ſexto.

Liutprandi *Leg. Prolog.* Ego in Dei omnipotentis nomine Liutprand excellentiſſimus chriſtianus et catholicus Deo dilectæ gentis Longobardorum.

Rachis *Leg. Prolog.* Ego divino auxilio Rachis rex præexcellentiſſimus et eximius princeps .. Glorioſiſſimus et *orthodoxæ* fidei cultor Liutprandus eximius, &c.

Aistulphi *Leg. Prolog.* Ego Dei omnipotentis auxilio Aſtulphus præcelſus catholicæ gentis Longobardorum rex.

(3) Liutprandi *Leg. lib. vi. lex. xxxvii.* De ſcribis hoc proſpeximus, ut qui chartam ſcripſerit, ſive ad legem Langobardorum, quæ apertiſſima ét pene omnibus nota eſt, ſive ad legem Romanorum non aliter faciant, niſi quomodo in illis legibus continetur. Nam contra Langobardorum legem, aut Romanorum non ſcribant. Quia ſi neſciverint, interrogent alios; et ſi non potuerint ipſas leges plene ſcire, non ſcribant ipſas chartas.

catholicks was in his clerical capacity not amenable to the ſtate; and each according to the politicks of thoſe times was metropolitan in his own province, and not reſponſible to any other metropolitan, either in what was called the dioceſe of Italy, or in that of Rome. Dr. Allix hath demonſtrated the independency of the dioceſe of Italy on that of Rome, and it would be very eaſy to add to his proofs if it were neceſſary (4). The introduction of feodal tenures, eſſential at firſt to the ſafety of the ſtate, helped forward the growth of clerical power, for the transfer of fiefs from the laity to the clergy weakened the ſtate in proportion as it ſtrengthened the church (5). Muratori obſerves, that there is no trace of feodal tenures among the Lombards, however he proves there were tenures very much like them even in the times of pagan Rome. He ſays fiefs, ſtrictly ſpeaking, are of german origin. However it were, in later times, many prelates had large landed eſtates. The patriarch of Aquileia had a great deal of landed property, and more tenants in fee than many princes (6). Such prelates felt their conſequence, and the princes feared it. Soon after the diſſolution of the lombard government, Angelbert, archbiſhop of Milan, who ſet the pope at defiance, had occaſion to wait on the emperour Lotharius (7). Leſt he ſhould ſeem to imply by his behaviour that the church was ſubject to the ſtate, he did not at his entrance ſalute the emperour by kneeling as was cuſtomary: he only bowed his head. Lotharius was offended, and exclaimed, "Who are you, Saint Ambroſe!" The haughty prelate replied: "No. Neither am I Saint Ambroſe, nor are you almighty God."

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(4) DR. ALLIX's *Remarks on the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſt. of Piedmont. chap. xiii. That the dioceſe of Italy was an independent dioceſe, till after the midſt of the eleventh century . . xiv. That the churches of Italy ſeparated from the church of Rome.*

(5) MURATORII *Antiq. Ital. tom. i. diſſ. xi. De Allodiis, Vaſſis, Vaſſallis, Beneficiis, Feudis, Caſtellanis, &c.* Qui *beneficium* ac *feudum* pro una eademque re apud veteres ſumunt (et quidem non pauci, neque ſine cauſa in eam opinionem deſcenderunt) uſque a Romanorum dominantium ævo originem *feudorum* arceſſunt. Scilicet cœperunt imperatores, et fortaſſis antea ipſi quoque Romani rerum domini, prædia aut ad fiſcum devoluta, aut parta in bello militibus aliiſque ſuis fidelibus elargiri, ut eorum fidei ac laboribus ſuum eſſet præmium ac merces. . . . Legitur apud Gruterum inſcriptio poſita *M. Ulpio Auguſti liberto Phædimo*, qui Trajano imperatori fuerat A. COMMENT. BENEFICIORUM. Quid plura? Cicero ipſe videtur ejuſmodi *beneficia* memoraſſe in oratione pro Archia. . . . Hæc revera ſpeciem *feudorum* præferunt. . . . Attamen ne quidem juſtam tenemus *feudorum* imaginem.

Ea igitur ſententia præferenda omnino mihi creditur, quæ a Germaniæ populis *feudorum* originem arceſſit. . . . Sunt qui e Longobardis Germaniæ populis feudorum uſum derivant, quibus aſſentiri nequeas, quum neque in Longobardorum regum legibus, neque in vetuſtis gentis illius monumentis quidquam occurrat, unde eluceat, apud eos populos feuda in uſu fuiſſe. Plerique vero ex eruditis cenſent, Francorum gentem, quæ et ipſa Germaniam matrem habuit, originem dediſſe feudis, et quidem ante Longobardorum tempora. . . . Verum mihi nondum ſatis perſuaſum eſt, &c.

(6) *Tractatulus de feudis olim per patriarcham Aquileienſem conceſſis.*

GIANNONE *Iſtoria civile del regno di Napoli. tom. i. lib. iv. cap. i. ſ. iii. Origine de Feudi in Italia.*

(7) UGHELLI *Ital. Sac. tom. iv. Mediol. Archiep. lvi.* Ungilbertus Puſtrella per inauditam ſuperbiam cum Romano pontifice de poteſtate, deque dignitate decertare non verecundaretur. Peſſimum exemplum ita ad ſucceſſores pertranſiit, ut per *ducentos* ipſos annos ea contumacia illos abduxerit, infeceritque.

ANDREÆ *preſbyt. Chronicon. apud* MURAT. *Antiq. i.* Dum ante imperatorem ducerent, ille tantum caput inclinavit, et verba ſalutatoria dixit: ad pedes noluit venire propter reverentiam et honorem eccleſiarum.

Such unprovoked and unneceſſary inſults are ſhocking, and, when they are offered to the ſupreme civil magiſtrate, they are ſeditious. Angelbert did not underſtand the chriſtian doctrine of liberty, and he made it a cloke of licentiouſneſs: but there were many, who did underſtand it, and who were ſome time ago called diſſidents. To ſay nothing of Deiſts and Jews, many of whom reſided in Italy in theſe times, there were ſeveral claſſes of chriſtians, who differed extremely from the catholick party, becauſe they thought for themſelves. In the oſtrogothick and lombard kingdoms, there were no ſtate creeds, and of courſe there were diſſidents but no hereticks. The catholick corporations in theſe ſtates might publiſh creeds and threaten with excommunication: but they could not inflict any civil penalties. In the exarchate the law required uniformity, and there diſſidents were held guilty and ſometimes puniſhed. Frequently it happened, that the emperour and the courtiers embraced one ſyſtem, the prelates another, and the monks a third different from both. Each taxed the other with hereſy, excommunications flew from Rome to Ravenna, from Ravenna to Conſtantinople, from Conſtantinople back again to Rome; the great point, the ſupreme pontificate, was litigated, and ſometimes each party cleanſed itſelf of ſuſpicion, and exhibited its purity and power by perſecuting mere ſpectators of their ſcandalous quarrels. In the reign of Theodorick, the emperour Anaſtaſius reproached pope Symmachus with being a Manichean (8). Symmachus wrote an apology in which he cleared himſelf, retorted the charge on the emperour, gave him to underſtand that he was inſpired, that emperours could not judge biſhops, that Peter of Alexandria ought not to contend with Peter of Rome, that to cenſure them was to cenſure God: and he backed his apology by an unjuſt action in order to wipe off the ſcandal in the eyes of the world. There were then, as there always had been, even at the ſeat of tyranny, diſſidents at Rome. Symmachus beſtirred himſelf, brought out the people called Manicheans, baniſhed them from the city, and made a publick bonfire of their books (9). Gelaſius had done the ſame nine years before; and Hormiſdas did ſo a few years after. This perpetual ſtruggle for the ſupreme pontificate became ſo exceſſively inconvenient to themſelves, that they ſometimes relented, and prayed for king Theodorick (1). Modern writers juſtify them by obſerving, that indeed Theodorick was an impious Unitarian, but however his juſtice and clemency to the catholicks deſerved praiſe, and moreover the Lord had directed them in ſcripture to pray for ſuch as he, for the holy ſpirit had ſaid to the prophet Baruch when he was in captivity: "Pray for the life of Nebuchodonoſor king of Babylon, and for the life of Balthazar his ſon, that their days may be on earth as the days of heaven. And the LORD will give us ſtrength and lighten OUR eyes, and we ſhall live under the ſhadow of Nebuchodonoſor king of Babylon, and under the ſhadow of Balthazar his ſon."

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(8) SYMMACHI *Epiſc. Rom. Apologet. adverſus Anaſtaſiam imperatorem. apud* BARON. *an. DIII.* An quia imperator es, contra Petri niteris poteſtatem? Et qui Petrum Alexandrinum recipis, beatum Petrum apoſtolum in ſuo qualicumque vicario calcare contendis? Fortaſſis dicturus es, ſcriptum eſſe, omni poteſtati nos ſubditos eſſe debere. Nos quidem poteſtates humanas ſuo loco ſuſcipimus, donec contra Deum ſuas non erigunt voluntates. Cæterum ſi omnis poteſtas a Deo eſt, *magis* ergo quæ rebus eſt præſtituta divinis. Defer Deo in nobis, ſenatu et collegio clericorum Romæ, et nos deferemus Deo in te.

(9) ANASTASII *Vita Symmachi Papæ.* Poſt hæc omnia beatus Symmachus invenit Manichæos in urbe Roma, quorum omnia ſimulacra vel codices, ante fores baſilicæ Conſtantinianæ incendio concremavit, et eos ipſos exilio relegavit.

A ſuperficial reader running his eye over the catholick church hiſtory of the middle ages may be led to ſuppoſe, that the lives of all the inhabitants of the empire of the Eaſt, and of the kingdoms and ſtates of the Weſt, were employed about nothing elſe but the Romans and their church: that all catholicks were pious; that all the monks were ſinging, praying, and faſting; that all biſhops and ſaints were collecting relicks and working miracles; that popes were about nothing but the weighty affairs of the church; and that ſynods and councils were through life ſettling the faith by determining that Jeſus had only one will, that he was of the ſame ſubſtance with the Father, and that the holy ghoſt proceeded both from the Father and the Son; and moreover that a prieſt ought not to contradict his biſhop. On the contrary, that the eyes of all the world were attracted to theſe important affairs; that the emperours ſpent the chief of their time in defending or oppoſing articles of this ſort; that Goths and Franks, Lombards and Vandals drank one another's blood in ſculls, and ate all the ſaints that came in their way; that the barbarous Lombards made it the chief buſineſs of their lives to mangle and murder the catholicks, in which they were aſſiſted by Mohammedans, and Jews, and that the latter were ever prowling about to ſteal chriſtian children to crucify (2).

True

GELASII *papæ vit.* Hujus temporibus inventi ſunt Manichæi in urbe Roma quos in exilium deportari præcepit, quorum quoque codices ante fores baſilicæ S. Mariæ incendio concremavit. ... Hic fecit libros adverſus Neſtorium et Eutychetem... Fecit et hymnos in modum beati Ambroſii epiſcopi, item duos libros adverſus Arium... HORMISDÆ *vita.* Hic invenit Manichæos, &c.

(1) ENNODIUS... BARON. *an.* 503... BARUCH. *i.* 11, 12.

(2) GODEFRIDI *Viterbienſis Pantheon.*

Primus in Italiam Rex Albuinus eorum,
Vicit ab Ungaria bello gentem Gepidorum,
Interimens regem, diripienſque forum.

Tunc Gepidi caput inde tulit regis Cunimundi,
Sub ſpecieque ſcyphi capitis parat oſſa rotundi,
Victor et inde bibit pocula chara ſibi.

Interea

True it is, catholicks themſelves were wonderfully abſorbed in popular errours, and very deſirous to impoſe them on the world for religion, and this proves that they were a ſet of turbulent enthuſiaſts: but they were deſpiſed by men of ſenſe, and other things, things of conſequence, employed the attention of ſuch men. There is one ſalique law "which," ſays an excellent judge, "ſtrongly marks the contempt into which the Romans were fallen among thoſe barbarous nations (3). The Frank who had killed a roman citizen paid but one thouſand and fifty deniers; whereas the Roman paid two thouſand and five hundred for having embrued his hands in the blood of a Frank." The Saracens were employed in extending their empire, refining arts and poliſhing ſciences. The Jews were enriching themſelves by trade. The Goths and Lombards were tilling lands, manufacturing ſtuffs and woollens, working in ſilver and gold, and preparing to be the firſt bankers in Europe. The Venetians, the Genoeſe, and the merchants on the coaſt of Tuſcany were driving a foreign trade with the Greeks at Conſtantinople and the Mohammedans at Alexandria, and importing the riches of Aſia into Europe. Seats of war and buſineſs, pleaſure and improvements have no room for the crabbed queſtions of idle ſchoolmen, or the ſigns and wonders of a drowſy monk. Their dilatory ſaws would diſtract animated men, and to ſuch men no religion is fitted except that of the adoration of one ſupreme God, and an imitation of his moral excellence. This they can practiſe any where: but ritual ſervice is fit for none but the idle. After all, did the catholicks of thoſe times much mind their own religion? It is doubtful. Of all popes Saint Gregory the great was the firſt of the middle ages. He was ſuch a pious monk, and ſuch a good biſhop, and ſuch a great author, and he converted ſo many thouſand hereticks, and extended the empire of the church ſo far, that he was the idol of the clergy and people of Rome, and he died in the higheſt odour of ſanctity. He was ſucceeded in his office by Sabinian a Tuſcan (4). The firſt winter of his pontificate was exceſſively ſevere, and there was a great ſcarcity of corn. The popes had uſed at ſuch times to give ſupplies to the poor, or

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Interea ſua ſponſa prior moritur Glodoſunda,
Filia regis ei Gepidi fit ſponſa ſecunda,
Hæc Roſimunda fuit, cujus et arte luit.

Ipſe caput ſoceri, quem fecerat enſe necari,
Arte ſcyphum fieri ſtatuens, auroque ligari,
Vina ſuæ ſponſæ præcipit inde dari.

Femina neſciſſet quod teſta paterna fuiſſet,
Vina nec hauſiſſet, niſi diceret impius ipſe
Teſta tui patris eſt, cum patre nata bibe, &c.

(3) VOLTAIRE's *Ancient Hiſtory. vol. i. chap. xiii. Cuſtoms in the time of Charlemagne.*

(4) SABINIANI *P. vita*... S. GREGORII *M. vita*... JOHANNIS *de oppido Chron.*.. TREVIRENS. *Epiſc. Catal.*.. SIGEBERTI *Chron.*.. PAULI *Diac. lib. iv. cap. ix.*

to ſpeak more properly, to ſell the wheat of the church at a low price. It was a prudent method of conciliating the lower ſort to the wealth and luxury of the pontiff. The people preſſed by neceſſity beſought Sabinian to imitate the piety of Gregory, and relieve their wants. Sabinian informed them it was not yet in his power: Gregory had deceived them, he was a wicked ambitious man, and had left his ſucceſſor nothing but an empty treaſury and a liſt of dilapidations. This information turned the tables: they threatened to burn all the books of Gregory, and raſe his name out of the liſt of biſhops of Rome, and would certainly have done ſo, had not Mr. Archdeacon Peter made oath that he was a man divinely inſpired, and that he had ſeen with his own eyes the holy ghoſt in the ſhape of a milk-white dove ſitting on his head while he wrote his books. Very luckily at the ſame time the Lombards ſupplied the city with wheat, markets fell, and Gregory's books were put into a preſs, where they lay near fifty years unperceived. Then a ſpaniſh biſhop named Taio came in ſearch of them, for there was not a copy in Spain, and king Chindaſuinth ſent him to fetch one. Nobody could tell where to look for them, till Gregory himſelf, in anſwer to the prayers of Taio, returned from heaven in company with Peter and Paul, and all his other predeceſſors, and told the Spaniard where to find them. This tale is printed in the front of the works of Gregory, and of ſuch tales, and vulgar ſongs, falſe miracles, and puerile diſputes is their hiſtory compoſed.

Baptiſm in this period underwent a conſiderable change among the catholicks. It is ſaid among the catholicks, becauſe it doth not appear that any other party baptized natural infants, and this is the change. The ſtate Arians did not believe original ſin, therefore they did not baptize on that account. They never encouraged monachiſm, therefore they did not baptize infants by way of dedicating them to God. Diſſenters of all ſorts acted on the one great principle the ground of their whole practice, which was, that a chriſtian church was a ſociety of virtuous believers in Chriſt, and they diſſented from all eſtabliſhments leſt their churches ſhould degenerate into worldly corporations. It was the cauſe of their diſſent. The Novatians who believed the trinity, and the Manicheans who laughed at it, and all others agreed in this leading point. It doth not appear that any of them had any legiſlative power to make alterations, or any executive power to enforce them. They did not hold themſelves bound by catholick canon law: and they were not bound by any other. It is therefore chiefly, if not wholly, among the catholicks that the change is to be ſought. If there were any change among anticatholicks, it was merely accidental: among the catholicks it was conſtitutional, and every new pope made ſome addition to the ritual, or ſome alteration in it, which, by the way, was an admirable method of ſhewing the abſolute perfection of Peter, and the infallibility of their predeceſſors! A few diſtinct obſervations may elucidate the ſubject.

No alteration was made in the mode of adminiſtering baptiſm. It was dipping every where, and nothing elſe. The words of pope Gregory are ſo expreſs that no doubt can be formed of the practice of the dioceſe of Rome: "We baptize by dipping three times (5)." Nobody in the dioceſe of Italy ever imagined that Ambroſe of Milan, the model of the reſt, baptized in any other method than that of trine immerſion, and his ritual was the rule of practice in that church.

It is alſo to be obſerved, that the words INFANT, and BAPTISM, either alone or in conjunction, prove nothing unleſs they be accompanied with explanatory circumſtances. This ſubject hath been ſpoken of in other places: but there is a particular reaſon for repeating it here. It was in this period that the roman language, latin, fell into diſuſe in Italy (6). A while the Oſtrogoths and Lombards ſpoke the old german tongue, and the roman Italians latin. Then a mixture followed, and the lombard laws, and all future inſtruments contain a multitude of gothick words mixed with broken latin. Hence came a confuſion of meaning that affected property. To prevent this notaries were regulated. Notaries, or as they are called ſcribes, chancellors, ſcriveners, regiſters, or more properly regiſtrars, were men of conſequence, and a licence from the crown was neceſſary to the exerciſe of the profeſſion of a ſcribe (7). Dukes, counts, judges, courts, biſhops, and abbots kept their own notaries, and probably ſome epiſcopal officers originated in this cuſtom. The office of a notary licenced by authority for the ſervice of a biſhop or a chapter is a ſort of chancellorſhip, and the licence gives it the air of a place in the gift of the crown. Catholick biſhops preſerved the roman language in their records, councils, and rituals, and here, it ſhould ſeem, the diſpute concerning worſhip in an unknown tongue ſhould be taken up. In proceſs of time various circumſtances produced the romance, as it is called, and thence came the preſent italian tongue. By the way, a licence to a biſhop to keep a chancellor doth not imply any crown influence over the religion of the biſhop. Theodorick in a golden precept to a catholick ſynod expreſsly renounced all authority over their eccleſiaſtical regulations, and declared the inſtrument was only intended to ſecure publick peace and order (8). He wiſhed them to pleaſe themſelves, and only deſired them to avoid rioting and to pray for him. The unitarian Baptiſts may be allowed to boaſt of this king.

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(5) GREGORII *Epiſt. ad Leandrum. lib. i. epiſt. xli.* Nos tertio mergimus.

(6) PIETRO GIANNONE *Iſtoria del regno di Napoli. p.* 284. *Napoli,* 1733.

(7) MURATOR. *Antiq. Ital. tom. i. diſſ. xii. De notariis.* Scribas in regum Longobardorum legibus eos appellatos invenio. Tabellarii, Tabelliones, Actuarii, Scribæ, Logographi, Cancellarii, Chartularii, &c. apud veteres hoc eodem officio ſunt celebres. Quid vero diſcriminis inter eos foret, inſtituti mei non eſt inquirere. . . . Epiſcopi, ut notarios ſibi crearent, a rege facultatem impetrare conſueverunt. Cujus mores inter multa exemplum unum proferam, Diploma nempe, cujus Archetypum vidi in Archivo canonicorum Regienſium. Hugo et Lotharius reges . . concedimus . . Regienſi eccleſiæ . . Advocatos, ſive notarios, quantos et quales pontifices vel miniſtri eccleſiæ elegerint, tam de ſuis, quamque de alienis liberis hominibus.

(8) SYNODUS ROMANA III. *an. D.I. Præceptio regis.* Flavius Theodoricus rex univerſis epiſcopis ad ſynodum convocatis. . . Quia non noſtrum judicavimus de eccleſiaſticis aliquid conferre negotiis, ideo vos de diverſis provinciis fecimus evocari, ut ſub divini timore judicii totius

In the laws and diplomas of the middle ages the word INFANT perpetually ſtands for a MINOR. Puer, puerulus, infans, infantulus, infantula, are all uſed for perſons under age. The word baptize, too, is by corruption uſed for ſomething very different from baptiſm. One example may ſuffice. There is ſome difficulty in giving an engliſh reader a clear notion of the ſubject, however, an attempt to do ſo may not be improper. Let him imagine himſelf, in the middle of the eighth century in the reign of Rachis, preſent in a lombard court of law, at Pavia. Two companies come in, and place themſelves before the judge, one on this ſide, the other on that, oppoſite to each other. The head of one party gives the proper officer a ſcroll, which he, looking at the oppoſite party, reads aloud: "Peter, Martina, with Donatus her guardian, challenges you, and ſays, that you was her mundauld, and you have famiſhed her, and ſhamefully BAPTIZED her, and wounded her (9). Peter denies the charge, and they proceed to trial. Peter acknowledges that he was to Martina a mundauld, or in other words ſhe had been under his tuition. He owns he had ſometimes ſtinted her diet, he thought her health required it. He had never wounded her. Indeed he had BAPTIZED her, but not ſhamefully, for he had done it as the law allowed it to be done. In proof of this he quotes the ſixty-ſeventh law of the ſixth book of the code of king Liutprand, entitled, of the ill treatment of a FREA, that is, a female in ward. There ill treatment is defined, and BAPTIZING is a part of the definition: but there is an exception made in the caſe of infants, and a tutor is allowed to BAPTIZE them, if their ill qualities render it neceſſary to their education. Now Martina is an infant, under eighteen years of age, the time fixed by law for the expiration of infancy, and therefore I ought to be acquitted. Such was the jargon of the middle ages, when the latin language was breaking up, and when foreign modes of ſpeaking were interweaving themſelves with it. In the preſent caſe, Peter had beaten Martina, and to beat was BAPTIDERE, and you have ſtruck, ſtricken or beaten was BAPTISTI. Hence the engliſh words beat, batter, and the french battre. Here is an infant baptiſm performed with a ſwitch, without water.

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totius certaminis vobis diſponentibus cauſa tranſierit, urbique noſtræ, Deo favente, optata per vos concordia redderetur... Vos qualiter vultis ordinate, ſive diſcuſſa, ſive indiſcuſſa cauſa, proferte ſententiam, de qua eſtis rationem divino judicio reddituri, dummodo, ſicuti ſæpe diximus, hoc deliberatio veſtra provideat, ut pax ſenatui populoque Romano, ſubmota omni confuſione, reddatur.... Orate pro nobis, domini ſancti, et venerabiles patres.

(9) LIUTPRANDI *Leges. Formulæ veteres.* Petre, te appellat Martina, cum Donato ſuo tutore, quod ipſa erat tua mundualda, et necaſti eam per famem, aut turpiter *baptiſti*, vel plagaſti eam... Secundum quoſdam hoc ſit a.. &c.

(1) *Frea*, mulier ſub mundio alicujus... *Mundium* id eſt tutelam... *Mundoaldus* tutor mulieris... *Batere* pro percutere, hinc batidere, baptidere, baptiſſe, baptiſti.

This vague language not only pervaded the populace, and ſlid into the laws of the Lombards: but it was adopted and uſed by the Romans, and father Mabillon very truly ſays, that they called all candidates for baptiſm infants, adults as well as little ones (2). He hath given many examples, and many more might be added, for rituals are full of them. In thoſe times almoſt every dioceſe had a ſeparate ritual. The Greeks had many. Rome had one called Ordo Romanus, Milan another, called from its author the Ambroſian. The Mozarabs in Spain had theirs, the Franks theirs, and ſo on. It doth not appear that the Oſtrogoths and Lombards had any, and the neareſt to them is the Burgundian. Father Mabillon found one in a monaſtery, which had been written, he thought, in a very early age, and had been in uſe in Burgundy among the Sequani, neighbours and allies of the Lombards, in the times now under conſideration (3). It is evidently very ancient, and ſeems to have been compoſed like thoſe of the Greeks expreſsly for adult baptiſm, for although the terms are undefined, yet the order ſpeaks for itſelf. The ſervice begins, as it ought, by MAKING A CHRISTIAN; theſe are the words: and the gothick is the ſame. Firſt the prieſt ſaid four ſhort prayers. Then ſigned him [this HIM is the ſame as a CATECHUMEN in other rituals] with the ſign of the croſs, and the creed was repeated. Next he blowed three times into his mouth, and ſaid: "Receive the holy ghoſt, and keep him in your heart." Verily it ought not to aſtoniſh people, that as the catholicks increaſed they transferred the buſineſs of baptiſm from themſelves to their children; for as none but the very loweſt dregs of the people could poſſibly invent ſuch filthy ceremonies, ſo none but they or natural infants could ſubmit to them. After the chriſtian is made, the water was prepared by a benediction, and the prieſt prayed that it might be a bleſſing to all who WENT DOWN into it. After baptiſm and chriſm, came the white garment, which the prieſt put upon the perſon with theſe words: "Take this white veſtment, and ſhew it unſpotted at the judgement ſeat of Chriſt." Then he waſhed his feet with theſe words: "I waſh your feet, as our Lord Jeſus Chriſt did thoſe of his diſciples, and as you muſt do thoſe of travellers and ſtrangers (4)." It would be tedious to the laſt degree to copy, compare, explain, and digeſt ancient rituals: moſt of the above have been mentioned elſewhere, and others belong to other countries. In general, it may ſuffice to remark that they were evidently compoſed for the uſe of adults, and practiſed among enthuſiaſts; that they were exceedingly diverſified, and very vague and equivocal; and that in regard to baptiſm they kept receding from men to minors, and then went over from minors to natural infants. On the whole what hath been ſaid on the vague uſe of words is intended only to ſhew that it is difficult to ſay preciſely when the tranſition was made.

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(2) *Muſei Ital. tom ii. Ord. Roman. vii. Ordo ſcrutinii ad electos.* Deinde pontifex baptizat unum, aut duos, vel quantos ei placuerit de ipſis infantibus. *Not.* MABIL. Infantes recens baptizatos, etiam adultos, appellari mos erat.

(3) *Muſ. Ital. tom. i. Sacramentarium Gallicanum.*

(4) *Collectio ad pedes lavandos.* Ego tibi lavo pedes ſicut Dominus noſter, &c.

The moſt probable conjecture is, that the revolution begun among the catholicks in the fifth century and was gradually effected by the eighth. Within this period, and within no other, there was a coincidence of events, which naturally produced it. Theſe were the increaſe of a people proper to undertake it; a theory plauſible to require it; a ſtrong worldly motive to apply the theory to practice; and a claſs of accommodations to conciliate the people to it. A brief view of each will not be foreign to the purpoſe.

Preparatory to the alteration of an inſtitute of revealed religion there muſt be a people who lay down a ground of action different from that on which the apoſtles and primitive chriſtians went. They all conſidered Jeſus as their only maſter, themſelves as his ſervants, and the new teſtament as a perfect code of religious law. They appointed no new inſtitutes, on their principles they could not appoint any. They even rejected the old teſtament as a rule of chriſtian practice. Say the roman catholicks what they will of their own antiquity, a fact it is they were the laſt and leaſt of their father's houſe. They have concealed the nakedneſs of their land by throwing over the firſt ages the greek fathers: but let them diſmiſs theſe foreigners, and the hiſtory of their firſt ages is a blank. Till the middle of the fourth century they were of no conſideration; after that their writers are evidently men of infinite enthuſiaſm, and of little knowledge: but they got uppermoſt, and when in power they diſcovered that principle, which had always been the true ground of their action, while their religion had lain among the populace. That principle was that they were inſpired by the holy ghoſt. To this principle, which is made for weak minds, and which never reſts long in the reaſonable part of mankind, they added a few vulgar errours, of the influence of devils, and departed human ſpirits, particular providences, divine judgements, the practicability of making local laws of the old teſtament univerſal, the deliciouſneſs of having nothing to do, the charms of the idle lives of maids and bachelors, the glory of making all mankind think alike, and many more of the ſame kind: all romantick, but all to be reduced to practice for the glory of the firſt great cauſe. To quote proofs would be to tranſcribe Gregory and Ambroſe, and fathers and chroniclers without end. If it were neceſſary to epitomize proof, the works of Saint Gregory the great are unexceptionable evidence, and he was the principal actor in the middle ages. Since the church of Rome became learned, miracles have ceaſed, and ſpirituality and infallibility are either openly ridiculed or ſilently paſſed by. Satan is departed, living ſaints have diſappeared, and there is not a prelate in Italy, who would hazard his reputation by becoming the author of another golden legend. Men who fancy themſelves inſpired decry literature, diſcard reaſon, deſpiſe maxims of common ſenſe, diſuſe the written word of God, or uſe it only in ſubſervience to ſuperiour impulſes within. Such were the roman catholicks of the middle ages; and ſuch were neceſſary to the appointment of new rites without authority of ſcripture. There were no Muratoris in thoſe days among the catholicks of Italy.

Saint Gregory the great about the beginning of the ſeventh century, while he was pope of Rome, wrote a volume of the lives and miracles of the fathers of Italy, ſeveral of whom were his contemporaries, or nearly ſo (5). No doubt he choſe the moſt eminent. The firſt book contains twelve chapters, the ſecond thirty-eight, the third thirty-eight, the fourth ſixty, in all one hundred and forty-eight. This curious biography of eminent men conſiſts of lives of biſhops, preſbyters, abbots, monks, gardeners, boys and girls, people of all ranks (6). Gregory, who was no ſcholar, informed Mr. Archdeacon Peter (for it is written in dialogue) that in narrating the lives he ſhould repeat the very words of ſome, but not of all, becauſe their ruſtick ſtyle would not be intelligible (7). Of ſuch he ſhould ſpeak the ſenſe, but not the language. Modern catholicks ſay, "the book was undoubtedly written by Gregory, but it is ſo full of extraordinary miracles, and incredible hiſtories, that it is unſuitable to the gravity and diſcernment of Saint Gregory (8)." Proteſtants admit his gravity, and apologize for his diſcernment. He wrote as any man in his condition muſt write. He deſcribed his church exactly as it was, and exactly as he wiſhed it ſhould be: what could a man of diſcernment do more? Whether popes be infallible or not this book is an infallible evidence, that in this period the roman catholick church was in a ſtate of illiteracy and enthuſiaſm. A brief ſpecimen may ſuffice. Benedict, a child who had as much wiſdom as an old man, when he was a little boy was put to ſchool at Rome (9). Being very deſirous to pleaſe God, he contemned literature, and left his maſters and his family, and went, "knowingly ignorant, and learnedly illiterate," into the country. His nurſe followed him, and found him at a country town along with ſome monks at church. Nurſe was very fond of him, and ſhe borrowed a ſieve of one of the neighbours to prepare a little wheat for bread. While her back was turned, the ſieve was thrown down and broke in halves. Benedict, ſeeing her diſtreſs, for ſhe roared moſt vehemently, took the two parts of the ſieve, kneeled down, and cried and prayed to God to pity their miſerable caſe, and reſtore the ſieve, and preſently riſing from prayer he joyed the heart of the old woman by delivering the ſieve to her as perfect as if it had not been broken. Every body ſaw this, and in commemoration of the miracle, the ſieve was hung upon the door of the church, and continued there till the times of the Lombards. After a great number of ſuch feats, Benedict founded twelve monaſteries, which he filled with other good boys, who in due time, being united by almighty God, and aſſiſted by almighty Jeſus, took in the children of the gentry of Rome to bring them up for almighty God. There was one naughty little boy, who without leave of the abbot ran home to ſee his mother. As ſoon as he got there he died, and his parents buried him. Next morning the corpſe lay above ground. They buried him again, but next day the corpſe lay as before. Terrified at this ſtrange event, they went and informed father Benedict. He gave them a bit of ſacramental bread, and bade them go back, lay that with due reverence on the breaſt of the child, and then bury him. They did ſo, and the corpſe came up no more. One day the monks, men and boys, were all employed in raiſing a wall, which was too low. The abbot ſat within at his ſtudy. Suddenly in comes the devil, and tells him he was going to interrupt the brethren in their work. Benedict ſent a meſſenger inſtantly to the monks, to ſay, " Brothers, take care what you do, for the wicked ſpirit is a coming." The meſſenger had hardly uttered the words before that old ſerpent overſet the wall, and buried under it a little brother. The monks were terribly frighted. They did not care about the wall, but they ran crying to the abbot for the loſs of the child. Benedict ordered them to fetch him. They returned, cleared away the rubbiſh, took up the mangled limbs, and put them into a ſack, for they were ſo broken they could not be carried any other way. This made no difference to the man of God. He took the bag of bones, put them together, prayed to God, reſtored the child to perfect health, and alſo ſo quick that he went to work at the wall again directly, and ſo an infant triumphed over that old enemy of mankind, who had the impudence a little before to pretend to inſult the father of the family, Benedict. Let not Gregory be taxed with forgery. He was one of theſe men himſelf. The church of Rome elected him for theſe qualities. It was a true fact that monks did take little children to educate. It is a true fact that they were all illiterate both maſters and diſciples. It is true that they thought literature diſpleaſing to God, becauſe it was inimical to monachiſm. It is true that they believed both divine and infernal influence, and were ſo ignorant as to account for common events by it, to attribute the falling of an ill built wall to the devil, and a recovery from a ſwoon to the miraculous interpoſition of God at the requeſt of a ſaint. It is true that they placed religion in telling over ſuch tales and in a courſe of godly goſſipping, and it is true that their religion was impracticable in ſociety, where men of buſineſs and ſenſe abounded, and therefore they retired into deſerts. It is true that catholicks in towns believed theſe taleſ, that Gregory believed them, that the church believed them, and of courſe it is true that the catholicks of Italy between the fifth and the eighth century, on ſuppoſition infant-baptiſm be an human invention, were in a high ſtate of preparation to introduce it.

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(5) **Gregor.** *op. De vita et miraculis patrum Italicorum.*

(6) *De Honorato Abbate. . . . De Bonifacio epiſcopo. . . . De Severo preſbytero provinciæ. . . . De Martyris monacho hortulano, &c.*

(7) Hoc vero ſcire te cupio, quia in quibuſdam ſenſum ſolummodo, in quibuſdam vero verba cum ſenſu teneo, quia ſi de perſonis omnibus ipſa ſpecialiter verba tenere voluiſſem, hoc ruſticano uſu prolata ſtylus ſcribentis non apte ſuſciperet.

(8) Du Pin. *Bib. Eccles.* S. Gregoire. Quoique l'on ne puiſſe pas douter que les dialogues qui portent le nom de Saint Gregoire, ne ſoient de ce pape; il ſemble neanmoins que cet ouvrage ne ſoit pas digne de la gravité et du diſcernment de ce ſaint pape, tant il eſt plein de miracles extraordinaires, et d'hiſtoires preſque incroyables.

(9) *Lib. ii. cap. i. De vita et miraculis beati* Benedicti. *cap. ii. De capiſterio fracto et conſolidato.*

A plauſible theory to require the baptiſm of infants is a ſecond character of the times. One of theſe monks, a dark confuſed genius, ſince known by the name of Saint Auguſtine, either invented or compiled from popular errours the doctrine of original ſin; not in the manichean ſenſe of moral evil iſſuing out of natural imperfection, nor in the ſcripture ſenſe of a granted fact not neceſſary or poſſible to be accounted for, the one a philoſophical, the other a popular ſtatement of the ſame thing; but in a meaning groſs, falſe, horrible: a meaning, however, which required the baptiſm of infants (1). According to this theory, God created one man and one woman upright, and no more. He contracted with them for happineſs on condition of obedience, and he threatened to puniſh them and all their poſterity for ever and ever if they diſobeyed. They did diſobey, and it was adjudged juſt that the guilt of their ſingle act of diſobedience ſhould be charged on them, on their children, on their grandchildren, and on all their poſterity in all future generations: a guilt to be puniſhed with everlaſting deſtruction, or rather everlaſting exiſtence in inſufferable pain and miſery. This is not all. It was ſuppoſed, that Adam conveyed along with the guilt a diſpoſition to diſobedience, ſo that all actual tranſgreſſions proceed from this diſpoſition, and are nothing but reducing to practice the inherent and inviolable temper of Adam. To this theory they added a vulgar errour of the inhabitation of wicked unembodied ſpirits in the foul and hateful hearts of newborn babes. This theory doth not agree, either with itſelf, or with ſcripture, or with the condition of man, or with the perfections of God, who had expreſsly ſaid by one of his prophets, "Have I any pleaſure at all that the wicked ſhould die? Are not my ways equal? What mean ye that ye uſe this proverb, The fathers have eaten ſour grapes, and the children's teeth are ſet on edge? Ye ſhall not uſe this proverb. Behold all ſouls are mine, as the ſoul of the father, ſo alſo the ſoul of the ſon is mine. The ſon ſhall not bear the iniquity of the father: neither ſhall the father bear the iniquity of the ſon. The ſoul that ſinneth it ſhall die." This is manifeſt juſtice, and gives content: the other inſpires doubts and hard thoughts of man's only friend. To remove this objection, the theory went on to ſhew that God had provided a remedy for this ſad caſe, and had connected the benefit of it with water-baptiſm, which if it were rightly adminiſtered took away the guilt of the ſin of Adam, and conveyed a good diſpoſition, called grace, to counteract the bad qualities of nature, and infuſed the holy ſpirit of God to dwell in the heart and diſpoſſeſs Satan. This theory, and no other, renders the baptiſm of babes neceſſary. This roſe in the fifth century, and was taken for granted by all catholicks before the cloſe of the eighth. Tertullian had reaſoned conſequentially in former times, when he ſaid, "Baptiſm waſhes away ſin: children are innocent: why then ſhould children be baptized?" Auguſtine on the contrary had ſaid very properly, "If they be guilty and polluted and baptiſm have a cleanſing virtue, WHO CAN FORBID WATER?" Saint Gregory affirmed; every individual had in him Adam and Eve and ſatan: baptiſm waſhes away all the three, and ſuperinduces the holy ſpirit of God, and ſaving grace: therefore nothing can be more natural than to baptize infants as ſoon as poſſible (2).

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(1) AUGUSTINUS *De gratia Chriſti, et de peccato originali contra* PELAGIUM *et* CELESTIUM. . . . *De natura et gratia contra* PELAGIANOS. . . . *Contra* JULIANUM *Pelagianum*. . . . . *Contra duas epiſtolas Pelagianorum*. . . . *De Baptiſmo contra Donatiſtas*. . . . *De unico baptiſmo contra* PETILIANUM *Donatiſtarum epiſcopum*. *Contra Epiſt*. PARMENIANI *Donatiſtar. Epiſcopi*, &c. *paſſim*.

In this part of the theory of the times the neceſſity of infant-baptiſm was inferred from a preſuppoſed opinion of infernal influence: but the monks adopted, not invented, another opinion, from which they deduced an argument taken from heavenly influence. It was their opinion that the whole bible was a rule of action to chriſtians. In that part of it which was written for the uſe of the Jews they found hiſtory, prophecy, a ritual, the levitical prieſthood, and many articles, which ſuited their taſte. They incorporated much of this old oeconomy into their religion and formed a ritual (3). They called their biſhops high prieſts, their aſſiſtants prieſts and levites, their ſervice ſacrifice, and their tables altars: they aſſumed a ſpirit of prophecy, and a power of working miracles: they built churches after the model of ſynagogues; and cathedrals on the plan of the temple, and formed councils after the pattern of the ſanhedrim: they kept the paſſover and the pentecoſt; and among the reſt they adopted the vow of a Nazarite, applied to a vow of monachiſm, and called the putting of a child into their hands a dedicating of him to God. In all abbies there were children, who were under tuition, and who were called, for reaſons not neceſſary now to be given, infants, petitioners, novices, and ſo on. In the latter days of the lombard kingdom, there was one Anſelm, a man of fortune, who built a monaſtery near Modena, and ſeveral more at other places, and who had ſubject to him eleven hundred and forty-four profeſſed monks, and infants under tuition in proportion (4).

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(2) GREGOR. *in vii. pſalmos pœnitentiales explanatio.* Ad vocem gemitus mei adhæſit os meum carni meæ. Poſſumus per vocem ſerpentis accipere. . . . Illa eſt vox gemitus per quam omnes peccavimus. . . . Per hanc vocem os carni adhæſit, quia Adam Evæ conſenſit. Habet in ſe unuſquiſque Adam et Evam.

Epiſt. lib. ix. ep. xxxix. Omnes qui in ſancto baptiſmate tinguntur eorum peccata præterita omnia laxantur. . . . Dominus dicit, Qui lotus eſt, mundus eſt totus. Si igitur peccata in baptiſmate funditus minime dimittuntur, quomodo is qui lotus eſt mundus eſt totus? Totus enim mundus dici non poteſt, cui de peccato aliquid remanſit.

(3) *Ordines Romani. varios vide apud* MABILLON. *Iter Ital. tom. ii.* Cum vero eccleſiam introierit Pontifex. . . . Pontifex veſtimenta mutat. . . . Incipiat clerus . . aſcendit ſacerdos ad altare. . . Hunc ordinem in Sabbato paſchæ, ſicut et in ſabbato pentecoſten celebretur, &c. *paſſim.*

It is extremely difficult to give effect to an unnatural theory, and the theoriſts in the preſent caſe were ſo ſenſible of this that they aſcribed it to miracles, and not to rational conviction. Such as do not credit their miracles muſt account for it on other principles. Some powerful motives undoubtedly there were; and the ſtruggle of catholicks with arians for wealth and ſecular dominion is a cauſe adequate to the effect: for without ſuppoſing any extraordinary interpoſitions, the getting poſſeſſion of children was a method of ſtrengthening the party ſuggeſted by common ſenſe. While the weſtern empire continued, the roman catholicks had powerful patrons in the emperours: but when the german nations, all Unitarians, diſmembered it, and parcelled it out into ſeparate kingdoms, the catholicks were reduced ſo low, that in the beginning of the ſixth century, there was but one king in the world in communion with them. It was natural in this low ſtate to feel, and the condition rouſed up emotions of envy, pride, and reſentment, which kindled into rage, and they expended theſe violent paſſions in the acquiſition of children. In Spain the monk Leander practiſed on the royal family, and effected a revolution there by corrupting Hermenegild and Reccared, the children of king Leovigild. In Italy Gregory practiſed on the children of Agilulf and Theodelinda; and as this was their only hope, ſo it was that of all others to which they moſt indefatigably devoted themſelves. Original ſin was a fine pretence; the paſſions of mothers were ſoft materials; the minds of children were pliable; and the flaming fiery diſpoſitions of the monks were accounted by themſelves the ſpirit, the almighty ſpirit of God. In a word, the temptation was powerful, and the catholicks had not the virtue to reſiſt it. The ſubject will be ſufficiently elucidated by a brief attention to three things during a ſhort period of the ſixth century.

The practice of baptiſm at that time demands attention (5). The german nations in the empire were all Unitarians. They baptized minors at eaſter, probably becauſe it was a leiſure time, when Jews and Pagans had an opportunity of attending. Some of theſe Unitarians adminiſtered baptiſm in the name of Chriſt: others in the name of the father, and of the ſon, and of the holy ghoſt, which they underſtood as the Jews did when they named Jehovah the God of Abraham, the God of Iſaac, and the God of Jacob: not as deſcriptive of the nature of God, but of three different characters, or modes of manifeſtation. In one point they all agreed: they rebaptized all who had been baptized among the catholicks, and for this reaſon the catholicks called them Anabaptiſts. The catholicks were Trinitarians, and they held unitarian baptiſm valid, where it was performed in three names, which they explained in their own way: but they rebaptized ſuch as had been baptized only in the name of Chriſt. They baptized their own children in childhood after inſtruction, except the ſickly, and them they baptized at any time. Thus ſtood baptiſm in the weſt in the middle of the ſixth century.

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(4) MURAT. *Rer. Ital. Scriptor. tom. i. p.* 2. De fundatione monaſterii Nonantulani. Habuit hic Dei famulus ſub ſuo regimine monachos regulares M.C.XLIV. exceptis parvulis et pulſantibus [*novitiis*] qui non conſtringebantur ad regulam; quos ille paterno amore fovebat et regebat.

(5) GREGORII *epiſt. lib. ix. ep. lxi.* QUIRINO *et cæteris epiſcopis in Hybernia catholicis. De his qui ab hæreticis in trinitatis nomine baptizantur non rebaptizandis, qui in occidente per manus impoſitionem, criſmate vero in oriente ſanctæ eccleſiæ reconciliantur. De his vero qui in trinitatis nomine non baptizantur rebaptizandis.* Arianos per impoſitionem manus, monophyſitas vero et alios ex ſola vera confeſſione eccleſia recipit. Hi vero qui in trinitatis nomine minine baptizantur, ſunt Bonoſiaci et Cataphrygæ, quorum ſimiles multi ſunt. Illi cum ad ſanctam eccleſiam veniunt baptizantur. Neſtoriani in ſanctæ trinitatis nomine baptizantur, ſed eos Judaicæ perfidiæ ſimiles incarnationem unigeniti non credentes, ſuæ hæreſeos error obſcurat.

Lib. ii. ep. xxxii. JOANNI *Epiſcopo Ravennæ. De baptizatis non rebaptizandis.*

Epiſt. xxxiii. Columbo Epiſcopo Numidiæ. De hæreſi Donatiſtarum. Præſentium latorum inſinuatione didicimus, Donatiſtarum hæreſim propeccatis noſtris quotidie dilatari: et valde data per venalitatem licentia, poſt catholicum baptiſma a Donatiſtis denuo baptizari.

This notion of the ſtate of baptiſm in theſe contending parties accounts for a great many incidents in the hiſtories of thoſe times. Three examples are in point. The catholicks held the baptiſm of the arian courtiers valid, for they adminiſtered it by immerſing three times in the three names; and therefore when any of this claſs came over to them, they did not rebaptize them (6). When the two ſons of Leovigild acceded to the catholick faith, they were both baptized by catholick prieſts; conſequently they had not been baptized in their infancy (7). Hence it follows that Unitarians did not baptize infants, for the catholicks did not rebaptize theſe princes becauſe they had partaken of an invalid baptiſm: but they baptized them becauſe they had not been baptized at all. In like manner, when the royal family of France embraced the catholick faith, Clovis and his ſiſter Audofledis were baptized: but Lanthildis the other ſiſter, who had before been baptized into the arian faith, was only confirmed by the laying on of hands, or the application of chriſm (8). Pope Gregory ſays, biſhop Felix told him the following ſtory on his own knowledge. A young monk named Mellitus lay dangerouſly ill in a neighbouring monaſtery, where he had been brought up. Felix paid him a viſit, and endeavoured to comfort him with the hope of recovery. No, ſaid Mellitus, I ſhall not recover, my courſe is juſt finiſhed. Methought, added he, I ſaw a young man bring me a letter, and deſire me to open and read it. I did ſo, and

(6) *Lib. i. ep. xli.* LEANDRO *epiſcopo Hiſpaniarum.* DE RECHAREDO *rege.* *Et de trina merſione baptiſmi.* Sed quia nunc hucuſque ab hæreticis infans in baptiſmate tertio mergebatur, fiendum apud nos eſſe non cenſeo.

(7) FREDEGARII *chron. c. viii.*

(8) GREGORII *Turonens. lib. ii. cap. xxxi.* Rex omnipotentem deum in trinitate confeſſus baptizatus eſt in nomine patris, et filii, et ſpiritus ſancti, delibutuſque ſacro chriſmate, cum ſignaculo crucis Chriſti. Baptizata eſt et ſoror ejus Albofledis. Converſa eſt enim et alia ſoror ejus Lanthildis nomine quæ in hæreſin arianorum dilapſa fuerat, quæ confeſſa æqualem filium patri, et ſpirituum ſanctum, chriſmata eſt.

there I ſaw in letters of gold, firſt my own name, and after that the names of all the reſt of us, whom you baptized laſt eaſter. I ſhall therefore die firſt, and the others will quickly follow me. This came to paſs, for Mellitus died the ſame day, and within a few days after the reſt had all deceaſed, not one remained. Gregory adds many wonderful tales of children in the monaſteries, and of ſome in his own, and he very prudently adviſes Peter not to reaſon about them but to fear and tremble at the incomprehenſible ways of God: however, to the truth of the facts, that chriſtians in general did not baptize their healthful infants, and that monks firſt inſtructed ſuch as were under their care before they baptized them, Gregory is good evidence, becauſe his teſtimony is authenticated by all monaſtical writers, and by father Mabillon in particular, than whom no man underſtood the hiſtory of monachiſm better (9).

A ſecond article that merits attention regards the edicts of thoſe days. After Beliſarius had ſubdued the african Vandals, the emperour Juſtinian iſſued an edict to forbid the Arians to baptize their children at the enſuing eaſter (1). This was cruel and unjuſt, becauſe in the baptiſm of an arian minor the conſent of both parent and child was obtained. A few years after Antharis the arian king of the Lombards, publiſhed an edict to forbid the catholicks baptizing the children of the Lombards the eaſter following. This was juſt, for it ſuppoſed a right in the Romans to diſpoſe of their children, and it only prohibited their practiſing on the weak minds of the orphans, or minors of arian families. It did not forbid them to baptize Lombards at age, who had a right to diſpoſe of themſelves, but it reſtrained minors from diſpoſing of themſelves before they were competent to judge of what they were about. So it happened Antharis died before the eaſter of the next year, and pope Gregory wrote to all the Roman biſhops of Italy to congratulate them on the event (2). He calls this moſt juſt and excellent king the moſt execrable of men, and ſays, his death was a judgment inflicted on him by God for the late edict, and he adviſed them by all means to inculcate among the Lombards that the wrath of Almighty God was then inflicting on them a general mortality, and that the only way to appeaſe the anger of the deity was to give their children catholick baptiſm. He adviſed them to be inceſſantly laviſh of their promiſes of heaven in caſe of compliance. A fine ſtory for children! The wiſdom of the late edict, however, ſoon appeared, for Theodelinda the widow of Antharis married Agilulf duke of Turin, and the Lombards made him king. Gregory corrupted this lady, practiſed his arts on her children by ſending them books, toys, and trinkets, and tales, and procured the baptiſm of her eldeſt ſon Adelwald into the catholick faith, at which he felt raptures neither few nor ſmall (3). It ſhould ſeem Adelwald was about ſeven years of age at his baptiſm. Gregory ſent the prince a book, for he could read: and he ſent three things to the princeſs, who probably had not learnt to read, and of whoſe baptiſm he makes no mention. At the ſame time he requeſts the queen to ply hard at the king, who was an Arian. The baptiſm of Adelwald is another proof that the lombard Arians did not practiſe infant-baptiſm, and that the catholicks did not adminiſter it to healthy children until they were ſeven years of age. The father was an Arian, the mother was a catholick, and yet the child was not baptized till he was ſeven.

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(9) *Traité des Etudes monaſtiques.*
(1) Procopii *de Bell. Vandal. lib. i.*
(2) *Epiſt. lib. i. ep. xvii. Univerſis Epiſcopis Italiæ.*

On the third article, the power of alienation in favour of the church, granted to minors by the latter lombard laws, Muratori very juſtly obſerves, it is very credible that monks and clergymen were not indifferent to this benign law, and that they often profited by practiſing on the tender minds of wealthy children. He confirms this by deeds of unſuſpected authenticity. As this affair hath been mentioned elſewhere, it is needleſs to repeat it now. Theſe three articles collected into one point throw a clear light on the introduction of infant-baptiſm, and amply account for the paſſage of the ordinance from minors to babes. Here is a period in which a ſet of enthuſiaſts prepared to do any thing abounds: here is an oſtenſible reaſon hung out in godly guiſe under the name of original ſin: and here is a powerful worldly motive in the condition of children to give the deſign, of attaching them and their property to a party, effect: a ſubject of ſo much conſequence that emperours, kings, and prelates were all attentive to it, for it extended to the children of Jews and Pagans, as a thouſand inſtances would prove. Gregory, who would not force the Jews, took care, however, to offer them bribes. This is a more probable account of the general prevalence of infant-baptiſm than any that can be taken from canons, which had not and which could not have univerſal influence before the elevation of an univerſal biſhop. Infant-baptiſm was not an eccleſiaſtical law: it was a piece of covert church polity. Of how much conſequence the clergy thought it is evident by their old rubricks (4). In the moſt ancient of theſe the directory runs thus. The city of Rome is divided into ſeven eccleſiaſtical regions called ſtations, a ſort of wards. Each of theſe hath its peculiar feſtivals, and to ſome principal church in each on certain days the pope and his retinue go in proceſſion. On eaſter-day the ſtation is at the church of great St. Mary. Early in the morning the proper officers in their habits attend at the papal palace to conduct his holineſs to church. One at due diſtance walks immediately before the pontiff carrying chriſm in a veſſel wrapped up in a napkin. When his holineſs

(3) *Lib. xii. ep. vii.* THEODELINDÆ *reginæ Longobardorum.* Adulualdo . . lectionem ſancti Evangelii theca Perſica incluſam tranſmittere curavimus. . . Sorori ejus tres annulos tranſmiſi, duos cum hyacinthis, et unum cum albula, quæ eis per vos peto dari, ut apud eos noſtra charitas ex veſtra excellentia condiatur.

(4) MABILLON *Muſ. Ital. tom. ii.*

arrives at the church of St. Matthew, he ſtops, and the notary of the ſtation, who had been waiting in readineſs, properly ſalutes him, and ſays, "Laſt night in the church of holy Mary the mother of God, ſo many male infants and ſo many female were baptized in the name of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt." The pontiff anſwers: "Thank God." His holineſs rides on, and his treaſurer pays the notary a fee. This is taken from a ritual of the age now in queſtion, as it was publiſhed by father Mabillon corrected by a copy, in his time eight hundred years old, in the monaſtery of Saint Gall: and it is deſcriptive of the practice in the time of pope Gregory.

It remains only to ſpeak of that claſs of accommodations, which were invented in thoſe times to conciliate people to the change. This is a ſubject of magnitude, and would fill a volume of itſelf; for of this inſtitute and of no other, it is remarkable, that there are many adjuſtments evidently intended to reconcile people to a novel practice of it. On ſuppoſition the preſent mode of ſprinkling infants was inſtituted by Jeſus, and practiſed by the apoſtles, and primitive chriſtians, what probable reaſon can be aſſigned for the ſize of baptiſteries, for baptiſteries in monaſteries, for the free ſchools of the monks to prepare children for baptiſm by inſtruction; for the multitudes of children whom parents ſent there; for the formation of the offices of choriſters, and acolothiſts; and for the conferring of orders on boys, ſo that in the middle ages it was worth while for parents to buy deacons orders for a child as a benefice in a conventual church (5). Laying aſide, however, a great many obſervations of this ſort, there is one, which by way of ſample merits attention. This regards the rituals of thoſe ages. The practice of the preſent times regulated by thoſe rituals reſembles a manſion in modern taſte affixed and adjuſted to the portal of an old baronial caſtle, in which the thrifty architect hath diſplayed his love of antiquity more than the correctneſs of his taſte.

The more a man examines, the more reaſon will he find to ſuſpect, that the ſervice of the preſent church of Rome is nothing but monachiſm impoſed on the laity, and that the ritual was firſt formed for men in ſolitude, and afterward inſerted into the public worſhip of citizens. The ceremonies are ſo circumſtantially puerile that they ſavour wholly of the cloiſter in its infancy, very little of monaſteries in their ſtate of improvement, and nothing at all of courts, ſenates, univerſities, or the world. They are alſo ſo numerous that it is plain they were compiled for men who had nothing elſe to do.

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(5) GREG. *Ep. lib. xi. ep. xlvi.* EULOGIO *patriarchæ Alexandrino.* De puero ordinato in diaconum, et de ſimoniaca hæreſi. Quidam collectorem ſe apud ſophiſtam ſuum habuiſſe perhibuit, ſummæ pravitatis puerum, quem repente dixit eſſe diaconum ordinatum. Atque addidit quod per præmia et donationes ordinatus fuiſſet, quia eandem conſuetudinem in ſancta Alexandrina eccleſia convaluiſſe fatebatur .. propter hoc contingit ut eccleſiaſtici ordinis a plurimis ſanctitas caderet, quia perſonæ non pro vita et actibus, ſed pro præmiis ad eos ordines adducuntur.

The riſe of them therefore is to be placed after monks had left off manual labour, and before they were beneficed in the church, while idleneſs needed an apology. What is the whole except a ſhow performed by the clergy in the preſence of the laity. The firſt monks regulated themſelves by arbitrary rules. The next conformed to rules given by their founders. A third, and a later ſort, having got into power, drew after them the rules of their maſters into publick, and framed a church-ſervice out of them with the addition of popular adjuſtments; and of theſe materials rituals are compoſed.

The lombard kingdom ſubſiſted two hundred and ſix years. In the latter part of this period the popes by a miſtaken policy had called the Franks into Italy, and Charlemagne put an end to the kingdom by taking Pavia in the year ſeven hundred and ſeventy-four. From this time forward, till the ſettlement of Italy in its preſent form, the hiſtory of the country becomes exceedingly diverſified, and, as it is impoſſible to treat of it here in every form, it will be ſufficient to run the eye over the ſupreme governours, and the condition of the country, and to fix it on the tenth century, when the catholick church and the diſſidents will appear objects which deſerve attention.

Charlemagne was declared at Rome emperour of the Weſt in the year eight hundred (6). His immediate ſucceſſor was Lewis the debonnair, whoſe ſons divided the empire: Lotharius became emperour of the Weſt, Charles the bald was king of France, and Lewis was king of Germany. Lotharius was ſucceeded by Lewis, at whoſe death Charles the bald added the empire of the Weſt to the title of the king of France. Charles was poiſoned by a jew phyſician, and Charles the fat ſucceeded to all the dominions of Charlemagne. In his time Italy was erected into a new kingdom by Guido and Berenger, and a ſucceſſion of kings governed it till the year nine hundred and ſixty-four, when Otho I. ſirnamed the great, ſubdued Berenger II. and united it to the empire of Germany. The fate of Italy under ſucceeding emperours was various, and in time it crumbled away, and fell, as if forgotten, into its preſent diverſity of forms. The hiſtory of theſe emperours and kings exhibits very little worthy of imitation, and much that deſerves cenſure, as treachery, perjury, cruelty and miſery.

The condition of the country demands a little more attention, and chiefly with regard to religious liberty. For this purpoſe four articles require each a moment's attention: ſubordinate governours; the tenures of lands in the country; the commotions of cities; and the iſſue of the whole.

In regard to the firſt: ſubordinate governours. In the times of the Lombards, the executive part of government was conducted by dukes and judges, who were ſometimes called counts; viſcounts, who were elected by the counts as a ſort of deputies; gaſtaldi, officers of the exchequer; ſculdaſcii, or rural judges; and ſeveral others of inferior rank (7). The frankiſh and german emperours made very few alterations in this form of adminiſtering juſtice. The crown nominated to theſe offices, and they were executed in the names of the kings or emperours. The diſtance of Italy from the ſeat of empire produced a very natural and common effect: the emperour had little more of dominion than the name: ſome of the offices and honours annexed to them became hereditary, and as it was dangerous for enterprizing families to oppreſs the people, they in general enjoyed accidental liberty, mixed, however, with ſqualls of oppreſſion.

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(6) MURATORI *Antiq. Ital. tom. i. diſſ. iii. De imperatorum Romanorum, ac regum Italicorum electione.*
MACHIAVELLI *Hiſt. Florent. lib. i.*.. LEAND. ALBERTI *Deſcript. Ital.*
LUITPRANDI *Rerum geſtarum ab Europæ imperatoribus et regibus libri ſex. Antverpiæ.* 1640.

The tenures of the Lombards were of the feudal kind; ſome were allodial, that is wholly independent, and held of no ſuperiour at all; others were emphyteutick, held on payment of rent or ſervices (8). Theſe were of two ſorts; the one were granted by land owners either to a creditor in lieu of money, or ſold for a given ſum to raiſe money, and on theſe a ſmall quitrent was reſerved; the other reſembled corporation or college leaſes, and the tenants paid an annual rent, and the leſſors were obliged to renew to the leſſees or their heirs on certain conditions. Farms, houſes, granges, mills, and villages, or, more ſtrictly manſes, which in time became villages, were held by this tenure: and in many ſuch places free religious worſhip was practicable, and, as will be obſerved preſently, was actually practiſed.

Commotions in the cities caſt them into different conditions. It ſhould ſeem they may be comprehended in five claſſes. The two maritime powers of Genoa and Venice had become populous, rich and independent. Genoa was the moſt ancient (9). Venice was only at firſt the retreat of ſome fiſhermen, who had fled from Aquileia from the Goths in the fifth century. A few cabins on the borders of the Rialto were the firſt outlines of this celebrated republick.

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(7) MURAT. *Antiq. tom. i. diſs. xviii.* Agreſtis ac effera gens (Langobardorum) omnia turbavit, indigenas, illorumque inſtituta contemſit, eumque in urbes ordinem regiminis invexit, qui barbaris ante erat majoribus ſuis. Duces et Judices, qui interdum Comites appellati ſunt, Vicecomites, Gaſtaldios, Sculdaſcios, Actionarios, alioſque hujuſmodi miniſtros populis præfecere: eamdemque formam regiminis, paucis mutatis, obſervarunt deinde Franci et Germani imperatores.

Diſſ. viii. De Comitibus et Vicecomitibus. Vel ipſis temporibus S. Gregorii M. Papæ occurrit mentio *Vicecomitum*, quos deinde Italica lingua appellare conſuevit Viſconti. . . Mos invectus, ut et ipſis comitibus Vicarius daretur, appellatus propterea *Vicecomes*. . . An iis temporibus plures forent unius comitis vicecomites, et an caſtellis ſeu pagis præeſſent miniſtri, titulo Vicecomitis uſi, exploratum ſatis non habeo.

(8) MURAT. *tom i. diſſ. xi. De Allodiis, Vaſſis, Vaſſallis, Beneficiis, Feudis, Caſtellanis. &c. Tom. iii. diſſ. xxxvi. De Emphyteuſibus, Precariis, et Laicorum Decimis.* Norant omnes ea voce (*emphyteuſi*) deſignari contractum, quo traditur alicui fundus ad fruendum ſpatio interdum certo temporis, aut, ut plerumque fit, in perpetuum, et in heredes tranſiens, ea lege ſive conditione, ut is fundus melior, aut ſaltem non deterior efficiatur, directum vero dominium concedenti reſervetur, et emphyteuta quotannis domino eidem penſionem quampiam aut gravem aut levem perſolvet.

(9) UBERT. FOLIETA *Hiſt. Genuens. ab origine.*

In the eighth century the inhabitants formed a government, and in the tenth they had riſen into great conſideration. A ſecond claſs had fallen into the hands of foreign adventurers, and Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily were ſubject to the Saracens, and ſeveral other little republicks may be included in this claſs, though not immediately in foreign hands: a third conſiſts of the lombard cities; for in the reign of that haughty german emperour, Frederick Barbaroſſa, many cities of Italy felt themſelves ſo much oppreſſed by him, that they entered into a mutual league to reſiſt him, and all other foreigners, and to recover their liberty (1). Of this claſs were Milan, Breſcia, Mantua, Verona, Padua, and many more. A fourth claſs adhered to the emperour, as Trent and others; or to the pope, as Rome, Ravenna, and more. A fifth preſerved a kind of neutrality, and took different ſides at different periods, as ſuited their convenience. The pope was the ſource of all the troubles in Italy, and his boundleſs ambition diſſolved the weſtern empire (2). One while he invited greek emperours into Italy: then he invited the Franks to oppoſe the Goths and Lombards: from them he turned his attention to the german emperours; in order to defeat theſe emperours for ſeveral centuries he kept up a multitudinous faction called Guelfs, which was oppoſed by another in favour of the emperour called Ghibbelines; and through the whole there was nothing leſs in their manoeuvres than religion, nothing more than an inſatiable thirſt for wealth and abſolute dominion. The means of obtaining theſe were always matters of indifference at Rome. Beſide natives, Greeks, Normans, Huns, and various pretenders to dominion harraſſed this fine country: but the pontiff triumphed in the end over all.

Theſe innumerable changes iſſued in the union of the catholicks under the pope as the abſolute high prieſt of their whole religion; the government of a large diſtrict of Italy by the ſame pontiff as a ſecular prince: the independent municipal polity of a great many corporate cities and adjacent diſtricts, under various forms of government legiſlative and executive: and, while the conteſts were agitating a conſiderable ſhare of religious freedom fell to the people. At preſent, indeed, in all parts of Italy the civil magiſtrate is lord of religion, the pope at Rome, the pregadi at Venice, and ſo elſewhere (3). Jews are tolerated every where, even at Rome, at Venice the clergy have no part in the government. The pariſh prieſts are elected by the pariſhioners. None but Venetians are admitted into religious houſes. The Jeſuits endeavoured to diſtinguiſh themſelves, and refuſed to walk in proceſſions becauſe the clergy would not allow them rank. The republick ſoon ſettled the matter by a ſhort meſſage, O Andeve, O Andeve, Either go, or Begone. The fathers ſubmitted, but they gratified their vanity, as well as they could, and diſtinguiſhed themſelves by walking three a-breaſt. An engliſh gentleman one day in St. Mark's church continued ſtanding, while at the expoſition of the hoſt the whole aſſembly were kneeling. A ſenator ſent to him to kneel, but as he did not immediately comply, he went himſelf. “Sir,” ſaid the gentleman, “I do not hold with tranſubſtantiation.” “Nor I neither,” warmly replied the ſenator, “but down on your knees or get out of the church.” Jews, Greeks, Armenians and Proteſtants enjoy toleration at Venice. The firſt three have all their places of publick worſhip. The Greeks have an archbiſhop, who beſides exerciſing all the epiſcopal functions, has even a ſeminary compoſed of young perſons, natives of Greece, or of the Archipelago iſlands. Italian liberty ſeems to have originated at Genoa. By their example Venice was emboldened; and when Frederick Barbaroſſa had driven the Italians to madneſs, or to ſpeak more like a briton, to manly hatred of tyranny, by exacting implicit obedience, and by reducing Milan to aſhes for non-compliance, which happened in the year eleven hundred ſixty-two, the lombard aſſociation was formed, and the Venetians furniſhed money to the confederates to enable them to ſupport their claim. It is highly probable, that this famous aſſociation, to which Italy owes almoſt all it hath of liberty, was the invention of ſome deſcendents of old unitarian Lombards, for the firſt oaths, contracts, and deeds run not in the catholick ſtyle of the holy trinity: but in the name of the Lord, or in the name of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, which was the ſtyle of their anceſtors before they profeſſed the catholick faith (4). It happened juſt then

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(1) JOANNIS BAPTISTÆ CARUSII. *Saracenico—Siculæ varia monumenta.*

Chron. Sicul. ex cod. Arabico Cantabrig. An. 827. Hoc anno venerunt Moſlemii (*fideles*) in Siciliam medio menſis Julii... An. 831. Capta eſt Meſſana... An. 832. Capta eſt Panormus. An. 870. Capta eſt Maltah. &c.

ISMAELIS ALEMUJADAD, *Abulphed. Chron. An.* 861. *et* 62. Moritur Alabbas Amiras ſecundus Siciliæ, tum populus elegit ejus filium nuncupatum Abdalla Ben Abbas: poſt venit ex Africa Ciafagias Benſafian ut Siciliæ eſſet Amiras... An. 868 et 69. Interiit Ciafagias Benſafian, qui cum ſummæ bonitatis Amiras eſſet, per inſidias eſt interfectus a quodam milite, qui transfugit ad chriſtianos, populuſque conſtituit Mahomettum Benciafagiam, qui confirmatus fuit Amiras a Mahometto Ben Amed Benilagleb, rege Cairovani, et ita remanſit gubernator uſque ad an. 870. &c.

MURAT. *tom. iv. diſſ. xlviii. De Societate Lombardorum aliiſque civitatum Italicarum, ſervandæ libertatis cauſſa.*

(2) MACHIAVELLI *Hiſt. Florent. lib. i.* Pontifices Romani cauſa omnium natorum in utroque imperio.

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(3) Grossley's *Obſervations on Italy, vol. i. Venice.*

(4) Sacramentum Civitatum. Ego juro, quod adjuvabo Venetias, et Veronam, et Caſtrum, et ſuburbia, et Vincentiam, et Paduam ... Contra omnem hominem quicumque nobiſcum facere voluerit guerram aut malum. &c.

Pacta inter Opizovem *Marchionem Malaſpinam, et civitates ſocietatis Lombardæ pro communi ſecuritate et defenſione an.* 1168. In nomine Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti.

Sacramenta populorum, qui ſocietati Lombardorum nomen dedere. cir. an. 1170. In nomine Domini: Amen ego juro ad ſancta dei evangelia, quod non faciam neque trequam, neque guerram recredictam, nec aliquam aliam concordiam cum Frederico imperatore, neque cum filiis ejus, nec cum uxore ejus. &c.

Alterum Sacramentum. In nomine Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti Amen. Concordias civitatum Lombardiæ, et Marchiæ, et Romagnæ. . . bona fide et ſine fraude et malo ingenio, ex mea parte obſervabo. Et guerram vivam faciam imperatori Frederico, ſi intraverit Longobardiam. &c.

Juramentum

that the emperour was ſupporting an antipope, and pope Alexander III. Manuel the emperour of the eaſt, William king of Sicily, and others eſpouſed the confederacy, not for the ſake of liberty, but for the purpoſe of reducing the power of the emperour.

When pope Stephen the firſt invited the Franks into Italy he did not aſk the favour merely in his own name, but he preſented Pepin with a letter written by S. Peter in heaven addreſſed to Pepin and his ſons, and informing them the virgin mother of God, the thrones, dominions, martyrs, confeſſors, and all the heavenly hoſt would hold themſelves much obliged to them, if they would ſecure Rome for a ſheepfold for the lambs of Chriſt, and deſtroy the execrable Lombards, who were all doomed to perdition (5). Future letters of Stephen and ſucceeding popes to the kings of the Franks all ran in very ſubmiſſive ſtyle, and a great many were addreſſed to " our moſt excellent lord, and ſon, and ſpiritual godfather, Charles or Pepin (6)." Theſe kings for the ſake of receiving the title of emperour with ſome ſhew of right procured the popes to crown them, and they even condeſcended to be catechiſed on their belief of the trinity, and their hatred of hereticks, as a part of the coronation ſervice (7). The german emperours ſubmitted to the ceremony, but they exerciſed

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Juramentum præſtitum a rectoribus ſocietatis Lombardorum. an. 1176. In nomine Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti. Ego juro ad ſancta Dei Evangelia, &c.

Juramentum Conſulum quarumdam civitatum Lombardiæ . . contra FREDERICUM. *an.* 1173. In Dei nomine. Ego juro ad ſancta Dei evangelia, &c. . . Taliter jurat Comes Azo conſul Brixiæ . . Albertonus conſul Cremonæ . . Maladobatus Conſul Parmæ, &c.

(5) STEPHANI II. *epiſt. iii.* Petrus vocatus apoſtolus . . atque Stephanus præſul . . Gratia, pax . . a Domino . . vobis viris excellentiſſimis Pippino, Carolo, et Carlomanno. . . Ego Apoſtolus Dei Petrus, qui vos adoptivos habeo filios, ad defendendum de manibus adverſariorum hanc Romanam civitatem . . adhortor. . . Sed et Domina noſtra, Dei genetrix ſemper virgo Maria, nobiſcum vos magnis obligationibus adjurans proteſtatur atque admonet et jubet, ſimul etiam throni, atque dominationes, &c.

(6) STEPH. *epiſt. vi.* Domno excellentiſſimo filio, et noſtro ſpirituali compatri, Pippino regi Francorum, et Patricio Romanorum, Stephanus papa.

STEPH. *ep. vii.* Domnis excellentiſſimis filiis Pippino regi, et noſtro ſpirituali compatri, Carolo et Carlomanno item regibus; et utriſque patriciis Romanorum, Stephanus papa.

PAULI *Papæ ep. xiv.* Domno excellentiſſimo filio, et noſtro ſpiritali compatri Pippino . . Paulus papa.

PAULI *ep. xxv.* Domno excellentiſſimo filio, et noſtro ſpiritali compatri, Pippino . . Paulus papa . . Peto, et deprecor te, excellentiſſime fili, ſpiritalis compater, atque per omnipotentem Deum, et corpus Petri conjuro.

ADRIANI I. *ep. lxvi.* Domno excellentiſſimo filio, noſtroque ſpirituali compatri, Carolo regi Francorum, et Longobardorum . . Adrianus papa. Plura vide apud MURAT. *Script. Ital. tom. iii. p. ii. De vit. pontiff.*

(7) *Ex* CENCII *Camerarii Cod. MSS. Cenſuum Rom. Eccleſiæ. de coronatione Auguſtorum Ordo Romanus. apud* MURAT. Dominus papa *dicit:* Antiqua Sanctorum patrum inſtitutio docet et præcipit, ut quiſquis eligitur. ut præeſſe debeat, antea diligentiſſime examinetur cum omni caritate de fide ſanctæ trinitatis. . . *Interrogatur:* Credis ſecundum intelligentiam tuam et capacitatem ſenſus tui ſanctam trinitatem, patrem, et filium, et ſpiritum ſanctum, unum Deum omnipotentem, totamque in trinitate Deitatem, coeſſentialem, conſubſtantialem, coæternam, et

exerciſed an abſolute dominion over the popes in civil matters, and had any one of them fixed his reſidence at Rome, the pope would have been no more than the patriarch of Conſtantinople, or the biſhop of any other place. The pontiffs had not foreſeen this, but when they found they had given themſelves a maſter, their whole ſtudy was to ſubdue him. The lombard aſſociation fell in with the policy of the conclave, and the two popes of the time humbled Frederick, and elevated the papal chair into an independent throne. There was a poor fellow named Breakſpeare, a labourer on Langley farm belonging to the abbey of S. Albans, who had a ſon named Nicholas. This boy firſt ſtrolled about as a beggar, till he got admittance into a monaſtery at Arles in Provence as a ſervant to the canons of S. Rufus. (8). Here he became a monk, and after many adventures, when Frederick Barbaroſſa became emperour Nicholas had become pope, and had taken the name of Adrian IV. It fell to the lot of this pontiff to crown the emperour. The roman ceremonial required the emperour to proſtrate himſelf before the pope, and to kiſs his feet (9). Frederick ſubmitted to this ceremony: but he could not bear another article, which required him to hold the ſtirrup of his holineſs, and to lead his white palfrey by the bridle nine roman paces (1). Great as the pride of the emperour was, he was obliged to comply, or a civil war would have been kindled. The pope argued from theſe ceremonies that Frederick was his vaſſal, and the empire a benefice conferred by the pontiff. Alexander III. ſucceeded Adrian, and by heading the aſſociated Lombards, and the whole confederacy, he drove the emperour fairly out, and roſe himſelf above law. When ſuch affairs are reported as hiſtorical facts, it is very well, they go among a thouſand other caprices of mankind: but when they are called religion, and attributed to the extraordinary interpoſitions of

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et omnipotentem..? *Reſpondet:* Aſſentio, et ita credo... *Interrogatur.* Credis ſanctam catholicam et apoſtolicam unam eſſe veram eccleſiam, in qua unum datur baptiſma, et vera omnium remiſſio peccatorum? *Reſpondet:* Credo. *Interrogatur.* Anathematizas etiam omnem hæreſim extollentem ſe adverſus ſanctam eccleſiam catholicam? *Reſpondet:* Anathematizo... Et induunt eum [*electum*] amictu, et alba, et cingulo. Et ſic deducunt eum ad Dominum Papam in ſecretarium. Ibique facit eum clericum. Et concedit ei tunicam et dalmaticam et pluvialem et mithram, caligas et ſandalia, quibus utatur in coronatione ſua. Et ſic indutus ſtat ante Dominum papam.

(8) ADRIANI IV. *Papæ vita.*

(9) *Ordo Roman. ut ſup.* In capite graduum ante portas æreas Sanctæ Mariæ in turri ſedet Dominus papa in ſede ſua, circumſtantibus epiſcopis et cardinalibus, diaconis, et ceteris eccleſiæ ordinibus. Tunc electus imperator cum conjuge ſua et omnibus baronibus ſuis clericis et laicis oſculantur pedes domini papæ.. et electus jurat fidelitatem domino papæ in hunc modum. In nomine, &c.

(1) Finita miſſa, accedat ad imperatorem comes palatii, et diſcalciet eum ſandaliis et caligis et calciet eum ocreas imperiales, et calcaria ſancti Mauritii. Et acceptis coronis ſequantur Dominum papam pergentem ad equitandum, deducti uſque ad equos a ſupradictis ductoribus. Quum Dominus papa venerit ad equum, imperator teneat ſtapham, et coronetur, et intret in proceſſionem. Imperator cum ſuis ductoribus eum ſequantur... Quibus finitis Imperator deſcendit, et tenet ſtapham Domino papa deſcendente depoſita prius corona.

providence to ſupport chriſtianity, they become contemptible, and ſink the dignity of goodneſs in the ſame proportion as they colour and embolden inſolence and fraud.

Proteſtants obſerve, very truly, that during the darkeſt ages of the catholick church there were many of the community, who oppoſed the reigning errours and vices of the times. There were ſeveral in Italy, as Paulinus of Aquileia, who oppoſed, along with a council at Franckfort, the worſhip of images: Angilbert archbiſhop of Milan, who reſiſted the ſupremacy of Rome, and Roboald, Anſelm, and other biſhops of Lombardy, who declared they would ſooner agree to have their noſes ſlit up to their eyes, than ſubmit to ſuch an indignity: Claude, biſhop of Turin, who imbibed his religious principles at Urgel in Spain, under Felix, and who ſowed, as it were, the ſeeds of the reformation in his dioceſe: Fluentius, biſhop of Florence: Arnold of Breſcia, who was burnt at Rome in the year eleven hundred fifty-five: Jeronimo Savonarola, who was burnt at Florence: and many more (2). The laſt book of the new teſtament entitled the Revelation of S. John the divine, is ſuppoſed by moſt chriſtians to be the work of the evangeliſt of that name. Moſt proteſtants think it a prophecy of the ſtate of the church from the time of the apoſtles to the end of the world; and they ſuppoſe it foretells the riſe, ſucceſs, and duration of falſe chriſtianity, and aſſigns to it a period of twelve hundred and ſixty years. In the eleventh chapter mention is made of TWO WITNESSES, who are to PROPHESY IN SACKCLOTH againſt the reigning corruption during the whole period. Hence proteſtant expoſitors infer the propriety, not to ſay neceſſity of making out a liſt of perſons, who in different ages remonſtrated againſt the errours of the catholick church. Of the Germans the famous Matthew Francowitz was the firſt who publiſhed a catalogue of this kind; the celebrated Turretin, Allix, and others of the French did the ſame; the late learned biſhop of Briſtol, after many of the Engliſh, gives a liſt; the dutch baptiſt martyrology is a large folio of the ſame kind, and the ſmall work in engliſh of D'Anvers is an epitome of it (3). Books of this kind are innumerable: but, although the facts are in general true, and though each compiler throws light on the ſubject, yet this branch of eccleſiaſtical hiſtory ſtands in great need of reviſal. Neither the greek emperours, Leo, Copronymus and others, nor Charlemagne or any of his ſucceſſors, who proteſted againſt image worſhip: nor the councils of Francfort, Friuli, and others, which remonſtrated againſt abuſes: nor pope Gregory who oppoſed the ſupremacy of Conſtantinople, nor italian and other prelates, who reſiſted the ſupremacy of Rome: nor any of this claſs PROPHESIED IN SACKCLOTH againſt the corruption of chriſtianity: on the contrary they approved of it, and encouraged it, and attempted only to model it, each according to his fancy or intereſt. It is therefore with great propriety, that the learned prelate juſt now mentioned makes a diſtinction between theſe witneſſes, and ſome others who actually and openly diſſented from the catholick community; "for theſe," to uſe his lordſhip's own words, "were the TRUE witneſſes, and as I may ſay the proteſtants of this age," that is of the twelfth century; for his lordſhip apprehended, with moſt writers, that the earlier diſſenters being erroneous were not the witneſſes intended by S. John. With all poſſible deference to the prophecy, and to the great abilities of hiſtorical expoſitors, it may not be improper to examine theſe diſcarded chriſtians. Certain it is, they did not bear witneſs to the truth of the chief doctrines of the reformers: they did not believe their poſitions: it is credible they would have diſſented from the reformed as well as the catholicks: however, they did bear a TESTIMONY to ſome truths, and the catholicks took care they ſhould do ſo in SACKCLOTH.

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(2) UGHELLI *Ital. Sac. tom. iv. Mediolanenſis Archiep. lxxxiv.* ANSELMVS PUSTELLA. V. LANDULFI, *cap. xxxviii.* Domnus Mediolanenſis [*Anſelmus*] Roboaldum Albenſem adjuravit, ut ſibi conſuleret. Tunc Roboaldus ille Albenſis ſic ait, quod prius ſubſtineret naſum ſuum ſcindi uſque ad oculos quam daret ſibi conſilium, ut ſuſciperet Romæ ſtolam, et eccleſiæ Mediolanenſi præpararet hanc novam et graviſſimam, quam Honorius papa dicebat ſibi imponere, menſuram.

(3) MATTHEI FLACCI ILLYRICI. *Catalogus Teſtium.*
ALLIX. *Remarks on the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of the Churches of Piedmont, &c.*
NEWTON *on the Prophecies, vol. iii. Rev. chap. xi.*
Het Bloedig Toonel. T. I. V. BRAGHT .. HEN. D'ANVERS *Treatiſe of Baptiſm.*

During the kingdoms of the Goths and Lombards the unitarian Baptiſts, or as the catholicks called them Anabaptiſts, had their ſhare of churches and baptiſteries, and held no communion with either Rome, Milan, Aquileia, Ravenna, or any other hierarchy. Chapels and oratories were annexed to baptiſmal churches, and went along with them. After the ruin of theſe kingdoms laws were iſſued by the emperours to deprive the laity and the Unitarians of baptiſmal churches, and to ſecure them to the catholick clergy (4). It was not very eaſy to effect this, however, time did effect it. Then diſſidents under various names worſhipped either in their own houſes, or in places hired for the purpoſe, which places, it ſhould ſeem, were tenanted by one of the brethren. Their publick religion conſiſted of nothing but ſocial prayer, reading and reaſoning on the goſpel, baptiſm once, and the Lord's ſupper as often as was convenient; and this was practicable in any place where two or three could aſſemble together. Italy was full of ſuch chriſtians, and, omitting many names by which they were called, and which are local and indeſcriptive, there are three, which deſcribe them in different points of light, and the union of the three is probably their true character (5). They were called Manicheans: this regarded their ſpeculations. They were called Paterines;

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(4) CAROLI MAGNI *Capitular*.. PIPPINI *Leges. De Eccleſiis Baptiſmalibus xxvi.* Ut nullatenus laici homines eccleſias baptiſmales tenere debeant, ſed per ſacerdotes fiant, ſicut ordo eſt, gubernate.

(5) MURATORI *Antiq. Ital. tom. v. diſſ. lx. Quænam hæreſes ſæculis rudibus Italiam divexarint.*

this deſcribed their condition in life. They were called Gazari: this regarded their morals. They were moreover denominated hereticks: for their whole religion implied the belief of ſome political principles, which were accounted hereſy by popes, prelates, viſcontis, and tyrants of every name, and which they avowed when they were interrogated. It may be proper to take a brief view of each.

As there are no hiſtories of theſe diſſidents written by themſelves, and as all the accounts of them come from their perſecutors, who deteſted them with a mortal hatred, ſo the inference which is drawn by all proteſtants and by many modern catholicks is very fair, that it is credible their names were unjuſtly aſperſed, their characters blackened, and their opinions groſsly miſrepreſented. Clear as noon it is, they well underſtood civil and religious liberty, and practiſed the duties of it. They are reproached with diverſity of ſentiment, but this was no crime in their ſocieties, for virtue more than faith ſeems to have been the bond of their union. Their hiſtory defies every effort to claſs them, after the modern faſhion, in ſpeculative diviſions, and it is certain they allowed of a variety of modes of ſpeculation, and were held together by ties of a far ſuperiour kind, principles of freedom and virtue, in which they all had a general intereſt.

If they were called Manicheans, it was becauſe they denied the catholick doctrine of a trinity, held the indiviſible unity of the firſt great cauſe, and of courſe believed that Jeſus was a man (6). They denied the popular doctrine of original ſin, and accounted for the origin of evil, as the perſian Manicheans and the magi had done, by ſuppoſing moral evil to ariſe out of natural imperfection, for this ſeems to be what they intended. They thought with the ſpaniſh Priſcillianiſts, that children dying in infancy were not objects of either reward or puniſhment, and therefore that they returned to their original nothing. They rejected the popular notion of a devil, and a local hell, and believed nothing of an intermediate ſtate. Profeſſor Wolf of Wittemberg, in the beginning of the preſent century publiſhed a ſmall book entitled, "Manicheiſm before the Manicheans, and revived amongſt chriſtians," which he divided into three parts, the firſt treats of the origin of manicheiſm, by which he meant the doctrines of the two firſt principles, the ſecond of the univerſality of it, and the third ſhews the folly of it. The ſecond part is intended to prove all parties except his own, the Lutheran, guilty of believing manicheiſm. It is not common to ſee a book ſo crowded with authorities, and ſo void of information. This is not the place to diſpute points: but it is very doubtful whether the profeſſor, or any writers of this kind, who have formed the opinions of the Manicheans into a ſyſtem, have ever taken the pains, the

(6) Rodulphi Glabri *Hiſt. lib. iii. cvp. viii.* . . *Bonacurſi vita Hæreticorum.* D'Acherii *Spicileg. tom. i. ann.* 1190. Non credunt filium æqualem patri, quia dixit: Pater major me eſt. . Peregrini *Priſciani MSS. apud* Murat. *ubi ſup.*

(7) M. Jo. Christ. Wolfii *Manichæiſmus ante Manichæos. Hamburgi*, 1707.

critical pains, neceſſary to a thorough underſtanding of them. Mr. Beauſobre, who hath unravelled many of the ſophiſms of ſuch writers, hath given a very different account of the men and their manners, and hath clearly ſhewn that real manicheiſm is but little underſtood, and that the paſſions of divines for criminating all churches but their own is not under the government of a kind and wiſe criticiſm, as it ought to be.

Almoſt all writers affirm, the italian diſſidents denied and prohibited marriage. That they denied the ſeven ſacraments of the church, of which matrimony is one, is admitted: but they denied theſe only in the ſenſe, in which the catholicks affirmed them, as all proteſtants do. That they married and had families is beyond all doubt, for in an authentick trial of Arman Punzilupe, of Ferrara, who had held offices among them, his wife, and the wives and children of many more are mentioned. They are ſaid to have held two firſt principles, a good God and a wicked God: but this is utterly incredible of a people, who were ſo zealous for the doctrine of the unity of God, that they denied the popular notions of the trinity, the deity of Chriſt, and the ſeparate exiſtence of the holy ſpirit.

Much hath been written on the etymology of the word PATERINE: but as the Italians themſelves are not agreed on the derivation, it is not likely foreigners ſhould be able to determine it (8). In Milan, where it was firſt uſed, it anſwered to the engliſh words, vulgar, illiterate, low-bred, and theſe religioniſts were called ſo, becauſe they were chiefly of the lower order of people, mechanicks, artificers, manufacturers, and others, who lived of their honeſt labours. GAZARI is a corruption of Cathari, puritans: and it is remarkable that in the examinations of theſe people, they are not taxed with any immoralities, but were condemned for ſpeculations, or rather for virtuous rules of action, which all in power accounted hereſies. They ſaid: a chriſtian church ought to conſiſt of only good people: a church had no power to frame any conſtitutions: it was not right to take oaths: it was not lawful to kill mankind: a man ought not to be delivered up to officers of juſtice to be converted: the benefits of ſociety belonged alike to all the members of it: faith alone could not ſave a man: the church ought not to perſecute any even the wicked: the church cannot excommunicate: the law of Moſes was no rule to chriſtians: there was no need of prieſts, eſpecially wicked ones: the ſacraments, and orders, and ceremonies of the church of Rome were futile, expenſive, oppreſſive and wicked: with many more ſuch poſitions all inimical to the hierarchy. In theſe reaſons and rules of action they all agreed, but in doctrinal ſpeculations they widely differed.

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(8) MURAT. *diſſ. lx. Patalia*, ſive *Pataria*, aut uti Bonizo epiſcopus Sutrinus apud Lambecium ſcribit, *Patarea*. ſi quid video, nihil aliud ſignificavit primo, quam vilium perſonarum congeriem, ac deinde ſeditionem abjectorum artificum, ac gentis indoctæ rudiſque, ab Arialdo ſcilicet contra clerum incontinentem primo excitatam, tum a quibuſdam nobilibus magno animi æſtu amplificatam. Fortaſſis aut primi, aut plures, ad inchoandum hunc motum fuere propolæ, quos Mediolanenſibus appellare mos eſt *Pate*, atque inde adinventum *Patariæ* et *Patarinorum* vocabulum, irriſionis et contemtus cauſa, quum adeo abjecta gens ac illiterata ſeſe adverſus clerum erigeret... Aut Manichæi, aut chriſtiani Mediolanenſes in preſbyteros incontinentes, zelo diſciplinæ eccleſiaſticæ incenſi, *Paterini* appellati fuere.

As the catholicks of thoſe times baptized by immerſion, the Paterines, by what name ſoever they were called, as Manicheans, Gazari, Joſephiſts, Arnoldiſts, Paſſagines, Bulgarians or Bougares, made no complaint of the mode of baptizing: but, when they were examined, they objected vehemently againſt the baptiſm of infants, and condemned it as an errour (9). They ſaid, among other things, that a child knew nothing of the matter, that he had no deſire to be baptized, and was incapable of making any confeſſion of faith, and that the willing and profeſſing of another could be of no ſervice to him. "Here then," ſays doctor Allix very truly, "we have found a body of men in Italy, before the year one thouſand and twenty-ſix," five hundred years before the reformation, "who believed contrary to the opinions of the church of Rome, and who highly condemned their errours (1)." Atto, biſhop of Vercelli, had complained of ſuch people eighty years before, and ſo had others before him, and there is the higheſt reaſon to believe that they had always been in Italy, and that a great addition was made to them when the Unitarians were ejected from the baptiſmal churches (2). It is obſervable that theſe who are noted by doctor Allix, were brought to light by mere accident. No notice was taken of them in Italy, but ſome diſciples of Gundulf one of their teachers went to ſettle in the low countries, and Gerard, biſhop of Cambray, impriſoned them under pretence of converting them. For this purpoſe he aſſembled his clergy, and ſaid maſs, and held a ſynod, and priſoners uttered an harangue in latin of which they did not underſtand one word, and drew up a recantation, in the ſame language, to which, after it had been interpreted, toward evening they ſet their hands, that is, made a croſs, glad, no doubt, to eſcape at ſuch a price, and laugh in private at the vanity and folly of ſuch a ſpiritual father as Gerard.

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(9) GREGORII *contra Manichæos, qui Paterini dicuntur, opuſculi ſpecimen. cap. vi. De Johanne baptiſta, quem catholicus approbat, Paterinus damnat. vel de baptiſmo aquæ, et de baptiſmo puerorum, quem Patarinus damnat.*

Synodus Attrebatenſis a GERARDO *Cameracens. et Atrebatens. epiſc. anno M.XXV. apud* D'ACHER *Spicileg. tom. i. Pariſiis,* 1723. Ad hæc illi dederunt hujuſmodi reſponſum. Lex et diſciplina noſtra.. hujuſmodi eſt, mundum relinquere, carnem a concupiſcentiis frænare, de laboribus manuum ſuarum victum parare, nulli læſionem quærere, charitatem cunctis, quos zelus hujus noſtri propoſiti teneat, exhibere. Servata igitur hac juſtitia, nullum opus eſſe baptiſmi; prævaricati vero iſta, *baptiſmum ad nullam proficere ſalutem*... Si quis autem in baptiſmate aliquod dicat latere ſacramentum, hoc tribus ex cauſis evacuatur. Una, quia vita reproba miniſtrorum baptizandis nullum proteſt præbere ſalutis remedium. Altera, quia quidquid vitiorum in fonte renuntiatur, poſtmodum in vita repetitur. Tertia, quia ad parvulum non volentem neque currentem, fidei neſcium ſuæue ſalutis atque utilitatis ignarum, in quem nulla regenerationis petitio, nulla fidei poteſt ineſſe confeſſio, aliena voluntas, alienaſi des, aliena confeſſio, nequaquam pertinere videtur.

(1) *Remarks on the hiſt. of the churches of Piedmont. chap. xi. Enquiry into the opinions of* GUNDULPHUS *and his followers.*

(2) UGHELLI *Ital. Sac. tom. iv. Vercellenſes Epiſc. ep. xliv.* Atto epiſcopus Vercellenſis fuit anno 945.

ATTONI *Capitulare xlviii.* Si quis.. pravis doctrinis inhæſerit, anathema ſit. Dominus in evangelio docet: Surgent enim pſeudo-Chriſti et pſeudo-prophetæ, et ſeducent multos. Et Paulus Apoſtolus: Doctrinis variis et peregrinis nolito abduci.

MINGARELLI *Anecdota. Gloſſæ in Exod. cap. xv.* Ipſe Deus Patriarcharum, non alius, ut hæretici volunt, qui dicunt illum, id eſt, veteris teſtamenti Deum injuſtum, vel crudelem; hunc autem, novi videlicet, mitem et bonum.

From the tenth to the thirteenth century the italian diſſidents continued to multiply and increaſe (3). Several reaſons may be aſſigned for this. The exceſſive wickedneſs of the court of Rome and the italian prelates was better known in Italy than in other countries (4). There was no legal power in Italy in thoſe times to put diſſidents to death. There were many Greeks from Bulgaria and Philippopolis, who came to ſettle in Italy, about the time that the emperour Alexias Comnenas diſturbed the Philippopolitans, and burnt Baſil the Bogomilan. There was a zealous bohemian female, named Guillelmina, who ſettled at Milan, and who taught and baptized with great ſucceſs (5). Errours the moſt groſs are laid to her charge, but they ſcent ſtrongly of fable. Popular preachers in the church, ſuch as Arnold of Breſcia, and Claude of Turin, increaſed the number of diſſenters, for their diſciples went further than their maſters. The adjacency of France and Spain, too, contributed to their increaſe, for both abounded with chriſtians of their ſort. Their churches were divided into ſixteen compartments, ſuch as the engliſh Baptiſts would call aſſociations (6). Each of theſe was ſubdivided into parts, which would here be called churches, or congregations. In Milan there was a ſtreet called Pararia, where it is ſuppoſed they met for divine worſhip. At Modena they aſſembled at ſome water-mills. They had houſes at Ferrara, Breſcia, Viterbo, Verona, Vicenza; and ſeveral in Rimini, Romandiola, and other places (7). One of the principal churches was that of Concorezzo, in

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(3) Murat. *Antiq. Ital. tom v. diſſ. lx.* Poſt annum a Chriſto nato milleſimum ſerpere in Italia cœpere Manicheiſmi ſemina, &c.

(4) Reineri *contra Waldens. cap. vi.* Eccleſiam Romanam dicunt *meretricem.* Unde Domino papæ, et omnibus epiſcopis, ſacerdotibus et clericis catholicis contradicunt dicentes, ſe eccleſiam Dei, et illos mundi ſeductores.

(5) Murat. *ut ſup.* E Bohemia Mediolanum ſe contulit perditiſſima hæc femina. Proceſſus inſcribitur contra Guilielmam Bohemam, vulgo Guilielminam, ejuſqne ſectam... Baptizavit mulieres in nomine patris, et filii, ac ſui... Virgo decora valde, pariterque facunda.

(6) Reineri *cap. vi.* Sunt autem xvi. omnes eccleſiæ catharorum... Illi autem de Concorezzo ſunt fere per totam Lombardiam, et ſunt bene mille quingenti, vel etiam plures... Albanenſes morantur Veronæ, et in pluribus civitatibus Lombardiæ, et ſunt numero fere quingenti utriuſque ſexus.

(7) *Examen teſtium contra Armannum Punzilupum Hæreticum Ferrarienſem ab anno* 1270, *uſque ad annum* 1288... Murat. *Not.* Ex hoc complurium teſtium examine colligimus, Catharorum, Patarenorum, ſeu Manichæorum hæreſim, ſæculo Chriſti tertio decimo virus ſuum nedum late in civitate Ferrarienſi effudiſſe, ſed et peſtifera contagione ſua Mantuanam,

Veronenſem,

the Milaneſe, and the members of churches, in this aſſociation, were more than fifteen hundred. The houſes where they met ſeem to have been hired by the people, and tenanted by one of the brethren; there were ſeveral in each city, and each was diſtinguiſhed by a mark known only by themſelves. They had three, ſome ſay four, ſorts of officers: the firſt were teachers, called biſhops. John de Caſalolto was the reſident teacher at Mantua; Albert and Bonaventura Belaſmagra at Verona; Lorenzo or Lawrence at Sermione (8). The ſecond are called quæſtors, and by ſome, elder and younger ſons: here they would be named teaching elders or deacons. The third were meſſengers, that is men employed in travelling to adminiſter to the relief and comfort of the poor, and perſecuted. In times of perſecution they met in ſmall companies of eight, twenty, thirty, or as it happened, but never in large aſſemblies for fear of conſequences. The different aſſociations held different doctrines, but they were all united in opinion againſt the whole of popery, and in perfect agreement among themſelves on the great leading points above-mentioned (9). They received members by impoſition of hands, and ſome practiſed the waſhing of feet.

The Paterines were decent in their deportment, modeſt in their dreſs and diſcourſe, and their morals were irreproachable. In their converſation there was no levity, no ſcurrility, no detraction, no falſhood, no ſwearing. Their dreſs was neither fine nor mean. They were chaſte and temperate, never frequenting taverns or places of publick amuſement. They were not given

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Veronenſem, Bergomenſem, Vicentinam urbes, ac Sermionis oppidum infeciſſe, atque per Romandiolam radices protendiſſe, et Arimini præſertim domicilium ſibi quæſiviſſe.

Cap. vi. Magiſter Johannes . . juratus dicit. Quod ſemel invenit Punzilupum in Contrata Sancti Pauli, et dixit ei dictus Punzilupus, quod veniebat de Arimino, et quod erant in Arimino multæ *domus* Paterenorum. Et quum ipſe teſtis quæreret ab eo, quomodo cognoſceret dictas domos, reſpondit ei: Ego bene cognoſco eas, quia habent aliqua ſigna, per quæ cognoſco eas. Et quum ipſe teſtis diceret: Indicate illa: ipſe Punzilupus dixit: Hoc ego nolo facere.

OTTONIS IV. *Edictum contra Patarenos ſive Gazaros*. . . Statuimus . . quod eorum *domus*, in quibus ſteterint, vel in antea recepti fuerint, vel ſe *congregaverint*, deſtruantur, et ulterius non liceat alicui eas reædificare.

FRANCISCI PIPPINI *Chron. ab an.* 1176. *ad an.* 1314. *lib. ii. cap. xxxviii. De legibus contra hæreticos*. Fredericus II. nonnullas contra hæreticos ſeveriſſimas condidit leges. . . Quod *domus* Paterenorum, ſive ubi *docuerint*, vel ubi aliis manus impoſuerint, deſtruantur, nullo umquam tempore reparandæ.

(8) *Examen teſtium. ut ſup.* Videas, Johannem de Caſalolto circiter an. 1258 Mantuæ agentem epiſcopum Hæreticorum ſectæ de Bagnolo: et circiter an. 1267. in urbe veronenſi Albertum epiſcopum ſectæ de Bagnolo: in Sermione vero degentem an. 1273. Laurentium epiſcopum: circiter an. 1268. Bonaventura Belaſmagra. Epiſcopus Veronæ morabatur.

(9) REINERI. *cap. vi.* Nulla eccleſia Catharorum concordat in omnibus cum Catharis eccleſiæ de Concorezzo. Eccleſia Franciæ concordat cum Bagnolenſibus. Illi vero de Marchia, Terviſina, Tuſcia, et Valle Spoletana concordant cum Bagnolenſibus in pluribus, quam cum Albanenſibus. Item omnes eccleſiæ Catharorum recipiunt ſe invicem, licet diverſas habeant opiniones, et contrarias. Et Concorezenſes, qui ſe damnant ad invicem, ſicut ſupra dictum eſt.

to anger, and other violent paſſions. They were not eager to accumulate wealth, but were content with a plain plenty of the neceſſaries of life. They avoided commerce, becauſe they thought it would expoſe them to the temptation of colluſion, falſhood and oaths; and they choſe to live by labour or handicraft. They were always employed in ſpare hours either in giving or receiving inſtruction (1). Their biſhops and officers were mechanicks, weavers, ſhoemakers, and others, who maintained themſelves by their induſtry. In vain, to avoid the fury of the clergy, they ſometimes took a croſs, and walked in proceſſion with their neighbours, their ſpeech, and even their looks betrayed them.

About the year one thouſand and forty the Paterines had become very numerous and conſpicuous at Milan, which was their principal reſidence, and here they flouriſhed at leaſt two hundred years (2). They had no connection with the church, for they rejected not only Jerom of Syria, Auguſtine of Africa, and Gregory of Rome, but Ambroſe of Milan, and they conſidered them and all other pretended fathers as corrupters of chriſtianity. They particularly condemned pope Sylveſter as the antichriſt, the ſon of perdition, mentioned by Paul, as ſitting in the temple of God as God. They called the croſs the abomination of deſolation ſtanding in the holy place, and they ſaid, that it was the mark of the beaſt. Nor had they any ſhare in the ſtate, for they took no oaths, and bore no arms (3). The ſtate did not trouble them, but the clergy preached, prayed, and publiſhed books againſt them with unabating zeal. About the year eleven hundred ſeventy ſix, Galdin de Sala, archbiſhop of Milan, an old infirm man, as he was preaching againſt them with great eagerneſs, dropped down in a fit, and expired as ſoon as he had received extreme unction (4). About fourteen years after one Bonacurſi, who pretended he had been one of theſe Paterines, made a publick renunciation of his opinions, and embraced the catholick faith, and filled Milan with fables, as all renegades do. This good chriſtian publiſhed, that cities, ſuburbs, towns, and caſtles were full of theſe falſe prophets; that this was the time to ſuppreſs them; and that the prophet Jeremiah had directed the Milaneſe what to do, when he ſaid: "Curſed be he that keepeth back his ſword from blood." He ſays, the Paterines affirmed the devil wrote the old teſtament (5). He ſhould have ſaid, he expounded it, for this was their meaning. Bonacurſi was the Sacheverell of Lombardy.

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(1) Reineri *cap. vii. Quomodo ſectæ agnoſcantur.* Hæretici cognoſcuntur per mores et verba. In verbis præciſis et modeſtis. Cavent etiam a ſcurrilitate, et detractatione, et verborum levitate, et mendacio et juramento ... In moribus compoſiti et modeſti: ſuperbiam in veſtibus non habent, quia nec precioſis, nec multum abjectis utuntur ... Caſti etiam ſunt.. Temperati etiam ſunt in cibo et potu. Ad tabernas non eunt, nec ad choreas, nec ad alias vanitates. Ab ira ſe cohibent. Divitias non multiplicant, ſed neceſſariis ſunt contenti ... Negotiationes non habent propter mendacia, et juramenta, et fraudes vitandas, ſed tantum vivunt de labore, ut opifices. Semper operantur, diſcunt vel docent, et ideo parum orant ... Doctores etiam ipſorum ſunt ſutores et textores ... Ad eccleſiam ficte vadunt, &c.

(2) Sicardi *Epiſcopi Cremonenſis Chronicon ad an.* 1213. Anno MXL. Heinricus .. regnavit xvii annos cujus temporibus in papatu ſederunt Leo, .. Victor, Stephanus, cujus tempore Pathera Mediolani exorta eſt.

Romualdi II. *Archiepiſcopi Salernitani Chronicon. Anno MLIII.* Quibus temporibus Paterea, id eſt Patareanorum ſecta apud Mediolanum exorta eſt.

(3) Bonacursi *vita hæreticorum. Manifeſtatio hæreſis Catharorum.* Doctores autem damnant omnes; videlicet Ambroſium, Gregorium, Auguſtinum, Hieronymum, et alios univerſaliter damnant.... Beatum Sylveſtrem dicunt Antichriſtum... Crucem dicunt characterem beſtiæ... Credunt etiam quod omnis qui jurat damnabitur.

(4) Ughelli *Ital. ſac. tom. iv. Archiep. Mediolanenſis. Arch. lxxxvii.*

In twelve hundred and ten they had become ſo numerous, and ſo odious, for Paterine was become a common name for all ſorts of perſons ill-affected to the church, that Ugo, Uguccio, or Hugh, the old biſhop of Ferrara, obtained an edict of the emperour Otho IV. for the ſuppreſſion of them; but this extended only to the city of Ferrara. Five years after, pope Innocent III. held a council at the Lateran, and denounced anathemas againſt hereticks of all deſcriptions, and againſt the lords and their bailiffs, who ſuffered them to reſide on their eſtates. The canons complain of the Greeks for rebaptizing the catholicks, and declare that baptiſm was efficacious to little ones as well as adults (6). In this council the Milaneſe were cenſured for ſheltering the Paterines (7). To the honour of the italian biſhops be it ſaid, they were not in general of the bloody diſpoſition of the court of Rome, and the biſhop of Ferrara. Romuald II. archbiſhop of Salerno, who was contemporary with Galdin of Milan, obſerves that pope Leo IX. was the firſt biſhop of Rome, who perſonally made uſe of the temporal ſword. He adds; "Leo was a ſaint, and acted with a good intent, but he was not executing his own office; for the Lord Jeſus had not commanded his diſciples, or the ſucceſſors of the apoſtles to intermeddle with ſecular affairs, and like princes to make uſe of the material ſword, but he had commanded them to inſtruct people in ſound doctrine, and to confirm it by giving mankind a good example of living (8)." The roman policy, however, prevailed, and in twelve hundred and twenty pope Honorius III. procured an edict of Frederick II. the day of his coronation, and this extended over all the imperial cities (9). Thirteen years after a ſtone a ſtone was placed in a ſquare at Milan, with an inſcription on it to the honour of Oldrad the governour of the city for doing his duty by burning the Gazzari (1). The bloody office, however, was generally performed by inquiſitors, who made it the ſole buſineſs of life (to uſe the language of Jeſus Chriſt) TO STEAL, TO KILL, AND TO DESTROY (2). It would be miſerable to attend the courts and the executions of theſe mercileſs men, and it ſhall ſuffice to explain a vague expreſſion of doctor Moſheim, which regards one party of milaneſe diſſidents.

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(5) D'Acherii *Spicileg. tom. i. pag.* 208. *De Catharis monitum.*

Bonacursus *adverſus Hæreticos, qui Cathari vocantur.* Quis tam parvi ſenſus eſt, qui non apertiſſime intelligat iſtud eſſe tempus, de quo prophetiæ prædictæ loquuntur? nonne jam civitates, ſuburbia, villas et caſtella hujuſmodi pſeudoprophetis plena eſſe videmus?

(6) Concil. Lateranens. IV. *cap. iv.* Baptizatos etiam a Latinis, et ipſi Græci rebaptizare auſu temerario præſumebant: et adhuc, ſicut accepimus, quidam agere hoc non verentur... *cap. i.* Sacramentum baptiſmi.. tam parvulis quam adultis.. proficit ad ſalutem.

(7) Richardi de S. Germano *chronicon.* Marchio Montis-Ferrati. .opponens.. quod non deberent Mediolanenſes audiri,... quia eorum civitas Paterenos fovebat.

(8) Romualdi *Chron. An. M.LIII.*

(9) Murat. *ut ſup.* Anno Chriſti 1220, atque eo ipſo die, quo imperialem coronam ex manibus Honorii III. Romæ ſuſcepit, promulgavit in ipſa baſilica principis apoſtolorum celebre alterum edictum, graviſſimas pænas complectens adverſus hæreticos, eorumque fautores, quod in

Moſheim, ſpeaking of Wilhelmina, the Bohemian mentioned a little while ago, ſays: "This mad woman died at Milan in the year 1281, in the moſt fragrant odour of ſanctity, and her memory was not only held in the higheſt veneration by her numerous FOLLOWERS and the ignorant multitude, but was alſo honoured with religious worſhip both in publick and in private (3). HER SECT nevertheleſs was diſcovered by the curious eye of perſecution in the year 1300, and fell into the clutches of the inquiſitors:" and ſo on. It ſhould ſeem by this account, that the followers of Wilhelmina formed themſelves into a ſect, and worſhipped her aſhes. This was not the caſe. Wilhelmina lived and died at Milan, and had many diſciples, fifty or ſixty years after the edicts to deſtroy hereticks were publiſhed. This proves that the imperial civil magiſtrates were ſlower to puniſh hereſy than prieſts were. Wilhelmina died in twelve hundred eighty one, and was buried at Milan in the church of St. Peter ad hortum (4). Not her followers, but the ignorant catholicks, having known the holineſs of her life, ſaid their prayers at her tomb. The monks of a monaſtery in the ſuburbs, obſerving which way trade was likely to run, obtained the body the year after its interment, raiſed a ſplendid tomb, lighted up lamps and torches, inſtituted three annual feſtivals, and chanted the miracles of Saint Wilhelmina. A ſimilar affair had been tranſacted at Ferrara. Arman Punzilupe, a man of eminence among the Paterines, a member of the church at Bagnolo, and an officer in it of ſingular zeal, piety and benevolence, died in twelve hundred ſixty nine, and was buried in the cathedral. The populace having known the goodneſs of the man, crowded to worſhip at his tomb, and the canons, and Albert the biſhop entered in due

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in corpore juris civilis adhuc legitur. Inter cetera inquit; Gazaros, Patarenos, Leoniſtas, Speroniſtas, Arnaldiſtas, circumciſos, et omnes hæreticos utriuſque ſexus, quocunque nomine cenſeantur, perpetua damnamus infamia, diffidamus atque bannimus.

(1) Mediolani in mercatorum platea adhuc viſitur lapis poſitus Oldrado Prætori urbis anno 1233, inter cujus laudes hæc recenſetur:

QUI SOLIUM STRUXIT: CATHAROS, UT DEBUIT, UXIT.

Ita ibi ſcriptum pro *uſſit*.

(2) JOHN. X. 10.

(3) *Eccleſ. Hiſt. cent. xiii. part. ii. chap. v. ſ. xiii.*

(4) MURAT. *ut ſup.*

form on a proceſs toward the canonization of Punzilupe (5). Inquiſitions were made, and miracles wrought at his tomb were atteſted on oath. Punzilupe continued to be worſhipped about twenty-four years, and Wilhelmina twenty. Whether ſome envious monks grudged their brethren ſuch rich acquiſitions, or whatever were the cauſe, in thirteen hundred the inquiſitors entered on new proceſſes, and made out with the utmoſt evidence, that the two ſaints had lived and died incurable hereticks (6). Accordingly their bones were taken up and burnt, and along with thoſe of Wilhelmina, Andrew, Mayfreda, and others of her diſciples were conſumed to aſhes. There was a female witneſs, named Bengepare, examined in the cauſe of Punzilupe, and ſhe ſwore: "that ſhe, having formerly been one of the number, had heard the Gazzari utter much ſcurrilous language in ridicule of the church of Rome, ſaying: How can they of the CHURCH OF ROME hereafter call us bad men, now that they have made one of us a ſaint (7)?" The Paterines deſpiſed the whole of ſaintſhip, and, had they not known that the avarice of the clergy would have ruined them for witholding burying fees, they would rather have buried their dead in the fields than the churches, for they abhorred every part of the proceſs.

The wiſdom of the Paterines in ſeparating wholly from the church of Rome appears in a ſtriking light, when contraſted with the weakneſs of thoſe, who endeavoured to incorporate the morality of the Paterines into the eſtabliſhed church, in order to reform the community. In ſuch little free ſocieties as thoſe of the Paterines every houſe hath an allowed right, and a real power to reform itſelf, and an impropriety diſcovered in April may be remedied in May by a vote of the houſe, or if this cannot be obtained diſſidents may conſtitutionally depart in peace: but in the catholick church, which is a great monarchy ſubject to the will of one, none but the deſpot hath a right, and he generally hath no power, becauſe his deſpotiſm is reſtrained by cabinets and councils, to reform the church. The people have no right to reform, and when they imagine they have, and aſſume power, they are obliged to diſpute both by attacking their governours, as their governours rule over them, that is by force of arms. The prophet Jeremiah ſaith: "He that hath a dream, let him tell a dream; and he that hath my word, let him ſpeak my word faithfully: what is the chaff to the wheat? ſaith the Lord (8)." This is practicable only in free ſtates, where the reveries of ſome of the inhabitants are left to be corrected by the reaſoning of the reſt. In ſuch ſtates dreams, viſions and predictions are annually told without any damage to ſociety: but in governments, where ſome viſions are protected by law, oppoſite predictions cannot paſs with impunity, for government is ſtruck at. The thirteenth century exhibited in Italy two objects that ſtruck devout obſervers; the one was the ſimple manners of the Paterines, which appeared to great advantage in contraſt with the lives of their neighbours; the other was the predictions that had been uttered by one Joachim abbot of the monaſtery of Flora in Calabria, which foretold a reformation of the whole catholick church then juſt at hand (9). The book of Joachim called THE EVERLASTING GOSPEL, a title taken from Rev. xiv. 6. whether written by him or not, ran like wildfire. In the year twelve hundred and fifty another monkiſh production appeared, entitled AN INTRODUCTION TO THE EVERLASTING GOSPEL. This determined the angel of the apocalypſe, flying in the midſt of heaven to preach the everlaſting goſpel, to be Saint Francis, and his humble barefooted followers, and the year ſixty was fixed upon for the abrogation of the then goſpel diſpenſation, and the introduction of a new ſtate, for they ſaid the old teſtament had been the age of the Father, twelve hundred and ſixty years was the age of the Son, and the ſucceeding time was to be the age of the Holy Ghoſt. Out of this mighty maſs of abſurdity and monaſtical devotion, roſe in Italy the Fratricelli, the Bizochi, the followers of Sagarelli and Dulcinus, the party called Apoſtles, and others in different countries (1). Theſe were all inconvenient to their maſters, and they were therefore hunted down and deſtroyed under the odious names of Hereticks, Gnoſticks, Paterines, Manicheans, Gazzari, and ſo on: but they were altogether a different ſet of men, acting on a wild principle, which had never entered the minds of the Paterines, as their diſſent from the church proved (2). The Paterines knew their diſcipline could not poſſibly be practiſed in the church: they therefore withdrew, and let the church alone, conſtantly avowing the ſufficiency of ſcripture, the competency of each to reform himſelf, the right of all, even women, to teach: and openly diſclaiming all manner of coercion: but theſe prepoſterous reformers foretold that the emperour Frederick III. was to deſtroy the pope and the wicked monks, and to ſet up a new and holy pontiff, and ſo to purify the church (3). Gerard Sagarelli, the firſt reformer of theſe apoſtolical reformers, was an eccleſiaſtick of Parma, and there the inquiſitors burnt him in the year thirteen hundred. Dulcinus was the ſpurious ſon of a prieſt. He headed the party after the death of Sagarelli, when his fate had extremely exaſperated them. Vaſt multitudes followed Dulcinus up the mountains, where they built huts, dug wells, and formed a camp. More than two years they held out againſt the forces of the biſhop of Vercelli, and ſeveral bloody battles were fought. In the end the biſhop conquered, and Dulcinus was put to death in a barbarous manner at Vercelli ſeven years after Sagarelli. Their books were condemned, and the party was ſcattered, but it ſubſiſted at leaſt an hundred years (4).

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(5) *Inquiſitio miraculorum, quæ ferebantur patrata ad ſepulchrum Armanni Ferrarienſis. an.* 1269... *Altera inquiſitio, an.* 1270... *Tertia. eodem anno... Quarta.* 1280.,.*Quincta.* 1280, *&c.*

(6) MURAT. *Diſſert. lviii. De chriſtianorum veneratione erga ſanctos poſt declinationem Romani imperii.* Fortaſſis etiam terrenæ potius utilitatis quam pietatis intuitu, erga ſanctos tanta veneratione ferebantur.

(7) *Examen teſtium contra* ARMANNUM PUNGILUPUM, *cap. i.*

REINERI, *cap. v.* Sepulchra ſanctorum contemnunt. Eccleſiaſticam ſepulturam reprobant, *Væ,* dicunt, *qui ædificatis ſepulchra. Mat. xxiii.* Vellent etiam potius ſepeliri in campo, quam in cæmiterio, ſi non timerent eccleſiam. Item dicunt, quod exequiæ mortuorum, miſſæ defunctorum, oblationes funerum, teſtamenta, legata, viſitatio ſepulchrorum, vigiliæ lectæ, anniverſarius, triceſimus, ſeptimus, &c. non proſint animabus... Nullum ſanctum invocant, niſi Deum ſolum... Cantum eccleſiæ dicunt clamorem infernalem... Dicunt, quod miſſa nihil ſit, et fiat propter quæſtum.

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(8) Jer. *xxiii.* 23.

(9) Mosheim. *Eccleſ. Hiſt. cent. xiii. part ii. chap. v. ſ. xiii. &c.*

(1) Fran. Pipini. *chron. lib. i. cap. xii. &c. De Abbate* Joachim *et ſcriptis ejus. xvi. de Magiſtro* Gerardo *cremonenſi, et ſcriptis ejus.*

(2) *Hiſtoria* Dulcini *hæreſiarchæ Novarienſis, cum animadverſionibus* Jos. Ant. Saxii. *apud* Murat. *ſcript. Ital. tom. ix. præfat.*

When ſuch learned and well-informed hiſtorians as Saxius and Muratori affirm that Sagarelli, Dulcinus, and their diſciples called Apoſtles, were Gazzari; when they produce contemporary writers, ſuch as Villanus, Pelagius, Eymerick, and many more, who affirm the ſame; ſuch authorities are beyond contradiction, and there can be no reaſonable doubt of the fact. However, as the ſame writers explain themſelves, the fact is to be admitted only in that ſenſe, which they affixed to their terms: and that ſenſe is this (5). Sagarelli and his followers approved of the catholick doctrines, continued in the community, and adopted ſome of the moral ſpeculations of the Paterines, which they endeavoured to reduce to practice in the church, that is in the world, a corporation not capable of ſuch a diſcipline. They were, therefore, not diſſenters, but a faction in the church: as hiſtorians pretend no more than that they adopted the moral ſpeculations of the Paterines, the Paterines ought not to bear the ſcandal of their weak manners. Their weakneſs appeared in their attempting to purify the world on catholick principles; and in imagining the cauſe of religion was to be improved by imperial arms. They ſeem to have taken up arms only in their own defence: but the enterprize was wild from the firſt. Their expoſition of the ſeven churches of the revelation of John clearly proves that they were catholicks, and not Paterines (6).

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(3) GREGORII *opuſc. contra Manichæos qui Paterini dicuntur. an.* 1240. *cap. x. De pænis, quas Paterinus penitus in hoc mundo fieri prohibet, ſed eccleſia recipit, et regibus gladium materialem concedit.* Paterini non in uno ſolo articulo fidei errant, ſed in omnibus, &c.

G. BERGOMENSIS *contra Catharos et Paſagios. An.* 1230. Dicunt (Paſagini) Chriſtum eſſe primam et puram creaturam, &c.

(4) RICOBALDI *Ferrarienſis Hiſt. Pontif. Roman.* 1254. *Alex. iv.* Hic papa reprobavit duos peſtiferos libellos, quorum unus damnabat religioſos eleemoſynis viventes; alter vero aſſerebat quod evangelium Chriſti, et novi teſtamenti doctrina neminem ad perfectum perduxit, et evacuari debere, et debere inchoari doctrinam Joachim, quam conditor libri evangelium æternum nominavit... Hos libellos Alexander irritos et frivolos duxit.

(5) MURAT. *Scrip. Ital. tom. ix. In hiſt.* DULCINI *præfat.*...SAXII *Epiſt. ad* MURAT. *in Monit. ad additament.*

(6) *Addit. pag.* 453. Dulcinus circa finem epiſtolæ ſuæ prædictæ exponit de primis ſeptem angelis cum eccleſiis ſuis, qui ſcribuntur in Apocalypſi, dicens, quod Angelus Epheſi fuit beatus Benedictus, et congregatio monachorum fuit ſua eccleſia. Item Angelus Pergami fuit beatus Silveſter papa, et clerici fuerunt ſua eccleſia, &c.

Dulcinus ſaid: “The angel of the church of Epheſus was bleſſed Benedict, and the benedictine monks were his church. The angel of Pergamos was bleſſed pope Sylveſter, and the clergy were his church. The angel of Sardis was bleſſed Francis, and the franciſcan friars were his church. The angel of Laodicea was bleſſed Dominick, and the preaching friars were his church. The angel of Smyrna was brother Gerard Sagarelli of Parma, whom the wicked ſlew. The angel of Thyatira was Dulcinus of Novara. The angel of Philadelphia was to be that holy pope, whom Frederick was to ſet over the church after he had put to death Boniface VIII. the then reigning pontiff.” The Gazzari were ſo far from this kind of theology, that they held all the clergy in extreme abhorrence, and ſaid, they were the LOCUSTS of the apocalypſe, that came OUT OF THE BOTTOMLESS PIT, and like a plague of noiſome inſects darkened and tormented the world. In the trial of Punzilupe, one Manfredine made oath, that he had more than an hundred times heard Punzilupe ſay: “The miniſters of the church are wicked men, deceivers of mankind, ravenous wolves, who perſecute good men (7). The clergy, added he, would make me believe that the ſacramental wine is the blood of Chriſt: but it is not long ago ſince I ſaw the prieſt of Saint Julian get drunk with it at the altar.” Three made oath, that one eaſter day, according to cuſtom, he refreſhed a great number of poor people with a huge loaf and a great bottle of wine, and when they had done, he ſaid: “How dare thoſe ravenous wolves, the hungry friars ſay, the body of Chriſt cannot be conſumed. See now: we have finiſhed all the bread and wine, and had the body of Chriſt been as big as a mountain, it would have been eaten up before now.” When old Martin de Campitello was burnt for hereſy, Punzilupe ſtood by, and ſaid, “What ſhocking work is this! Burn that good old man! The ground is too good to bear men that do ſuch things.” He ſaid: “There could be no good in a church, where their miniſters were ſuch demons; and where ſuch barbarity was called juſtice.” Whatever were the errours of the Paterines their plan was work, peace, and virtue, and, far from reliſhing ſuch prophecies as thoſe of Joachim, and ſetting the emperour to kill one pope, and create another, their ſcheme was to ſupport the emperour as a civil magiſtrate, and to reduce the pope and the clergy and the monks to the neceſſity of working for their bread. The great Muratori obſerves that authentick writers of thoſe times do not charge them with immorality (8).

Silence is one thing, faith is another: the terrour of the inquiſition awed the Italians into the firſt, but it appears highly credible, that this kind of people, Paterines, continued there till the reformation. That the Piedmonteſe did is beyond a doubt: but they will be ſpoken of in a following chapter along with the reſt on the french ſide of the mountains. Of many reaſons, which render it highly probable that diſſidents of the kind, called Manicheans,

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(7) *Examen teſtium. cap. iv. v.*

(8) *Antiq. Ital. tom. v. diſſ. lx. p.* 149.

Paterines, or Gazzari did continue diſperſed in Italy till the reformation, there are five, which merit ſome attention.

Firſt. The practice of their ſocial worſhip required no exteriour appendages: no temples, no prieſts, no feſtivals or proceſſions, no particular habits, nothing to attract the publick eye. In any place, at any time, by any perſon in the name of the reſt their worſhip was practicable, as hath been obſerved before.

Secondly. At leaſt fifty years after the publication of the edict by Otho, this one party had four thouſand members of churches in various parts (9). So Reiner Saccho the inquiſitor ſays, and he adds, this number was on their own liſts. Above thirty years after the edict came out, Ivo of Narbon viſited a great many families at Comi, Milan, Cremona, and ſeveral other places, where they entertained him hoſpitably, and he ſays, they lived in ſplendour and voluptuouſneſs: their ſons were ſent out to publick ſchools, and their merchants traded largely at annual fairs. Probably, what the ungrateful monk called voluptuouſneſs, was nothing but domeſtick plenty: but this implies a ſtate of comparative proſperity and eaſe (1). It hath been ſeen in the caſes of Wilhelmina and Punzilupe, that they and a great many more, who are mentioned in the trial, lived at Milan and Ferrara much at their eaſe, in good reputation, and died in their beds fifty or ſixty years after the edicts were publiſhed, and what was practicable for fifty was practicable for a hundred years. True it is: there were officials whom the Ferrareſe called Cazzagazzari, heretick-catchers, or heretick-hunters, and ſome they caught for their maſters to burn: but thouſands eſcaped their fraud and fury, and if ſome were impriſoned, the reſt maintained them (2). Punzilupe collected for the priſoners, and carried them relief.

Thirdly. There was a circumſtance, almoſt peculiar to Italy, which,

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(9) Ottonis iv. *Edictum. Datum Ferrariæ.* 1210. *indictione* 13. *Octavo Kalendas Aprilis. Anno regni* 13. *imperii.* 1.

Reineri. *cap. vi.* O lector dicas ſecure, quod in toto mundo non ſunt Cathari utriuſque ſexus quatuor millia, ſed credentes innumeri. Et dicta computatio pluries facta eſt inter eos.

Veronæ - - - - - -	500.
De Concorezzo - - -	1500.
Bagnolenſes, &c. - - -	200.
De Marchia - - - -	150.
Cadurcenſis, &c. - - -	300, &c.

(1) Gretseri. *cap. iii. De Paterinis.* Apud Paterinos tribus menſibus ſplendide ac voluptuoſe procurabar.. miſerunt me Mediolanum a ſuis comprofeſſoribus hoſpitandum. Et ſic omnes pertranſiens civitates Lombardiæ circa Padum, ſemper inter Paterinos, ſemper in receſſu accepi ab aliis ad alios interſignia. Cremonam tandem perveniens, oppidum in Foro Julii celeberrimum, nobiliſſima Paterinorum bibi vina, rabiolas et ceratia, et alia illecebroſa comedens, deceptores decipiens, Paterinumque me profitens, ſed, Deo teſte, *fide* etſi non *operis* perfectione.

(2) Cazzagazzaro. Vocabulum Ferrarienſis dialecti, qua Gazzaro pro Cattaro dicebatur. Italice pronuntiares Caccia-Cattaro: quo quidem titulo utebantur ii, qui Catharos ſeu eorum ſectarios inſectabantur ex officio. Murat... *Vocab. della Cruſca.* Cacciare. Lat. venari. perſequi.

however intended by the authors, ſerved to conceal diſſidents under a ſpecies of conformity, and to furniſh them with a plauſible reaſon for compliance. The rage of the catholicks for ſaints and relicks is well known (3). Some cities of Italy being little independent governments, and other cities with adjacent monaſteries and churches in ſurrounding ſtates were fired with mutual jealouſy on this account more than other countries. Their thefts, murders, fictions, forgeries, and ways to obtain one another's relicks would fill a volume. A rotten bit of Noah's ark, a hair of the beard of Aaron, a rag of the dreſs of the bleſſed Virgin Mary, a tooth or a toe nail of a ſaint, a link of Saint Peter's chain, a tip of a lance made of a nail of the croſs of Chriſt, to all which miraculous cures were annexed, became objects of ſo much importance, that no crimes were unpractiſed to procure them. Without ſomething of this kind, a monaſtery might as well ſhut up doors, the fathers could not ſubſiſt, and with it cathedrals and palaces might be erected and endowed. This frenzy began in the fourth century with obſerving the birth-days of the ſaints, and gradually roſe to raving madneſs about the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth. When the italian gentry formed their cities into free ſtates, they availed themſelves of the popular taſte for the ſake of enriching and embelliſhing their cities, and licenſed frippery as the mayor of a corporation does pedlars and buffoons at a fair. The city of Florence took John the baptiſt for their pattern, and his feſtival, including the four preceding days, was a mine of wealth (4). Ravenna ſet up the glory of Saint Apollinaris. Both theſe cities tacked horſe-races to the feſtivals, ſo that to go to the races, and to go to be cured of diſeaſes, and to go to worſhip God and his ſaints was the ſame thing. The city of Modena took Geminiani for their ſaint, and his feſtival was accompanied with a fair three days before the feſtival and three days after. The governours of Ferrara, and thoſe of other cities adopted ſimilar meaſures. Buſineſs, friendſhip, pleaſure, devotion, love, idleneſs, avarice, all went into the common ſtock. Among other prudential proviſions of the ſtates, it was ordered that every head of a family, who rented houſes or lands of ſuch a value, ſhould on the feſtival carry or cauſe to be carried a wax taper of a given weight in proceſſion under the flag of the diſtrict in which he lived, from ſuch a place to ſuch a place, for an offering to the ſaint (5). A Paterine, therefore, who hired a houſe at Ferrara, hired it with this incumbrance, and performed the ſervice as diſſenters in Britain pay church-rates. Such payments are a ſort of commutations: but in ſtates like thoſe of Italy, where commutations are not accepted, and where perſonal ſervice is exacted, diſſidents ſatisfied their conſciences as Naaman did when he went into the houſe of Rimmon, and walked in proceſſion, and went for good catholicks. This accounts for the conduct of ſome, who were reproached for hypocriſy by the catholicks. "Pray," ſaid Miſtreſs Veneria to Punzilupe, "if you be one of theſe good people, why do you deceive the world, and carry a croſs as if you were one of the church?" "O," replied he, "I am obliged to do ſo, and by this I eſcape notice." "That is very true," added brother Bonſadine, a preaching friar, "on the third of December he was in the ſtreet, and ſeeing the religious preaching friars coming along in proceſſion down he fell on his knees ſaying: Here come theſe devils, a pack of ravenous wolves."

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(3) MURAT. *Antiq. Ital. tom. v. Diſſ. lviii. de chriſtianorum veneratione erga ſanctos.*

(4) *Chroniche di Meſſer* GIOVANNI VILLANI, *lib. i. cap. lx.*
Diſcorſi di VINCENZO BORGHINI. *diſc. ult.*
ANT. FRAN. GORII. *De mirato capite Jeſu Chriſti. Florentiæ.* 1749... *Ejuſdem evangeliarium quadruplex.*

(5) *Statut. Mſſ. Reipub. Mutinens. apud* MURAT. *in loco ſupra citato. An.* 1237. *Rubric. lib. vi.*

To theſe a fourth reaſon may be taken from the political ſtate of Italy. It would be endleſs to recite the fatal quarrels of the emperours and the popes, the violent factions of the Guelfs and Gibbelines, the terrible devaſtations of famine, war and peſtilence, the battles of contiguous cities, the bloody conteſts of great families in the ſame city, the deſperate ſtruggles of the people againſt their oppreſſours, and the cruel revenge taken by ſome potentates: all the hiſtories are full of theſe, and the reader may glut himſelf at his leiſure, if ſuch ſad deeds can give him pleaſure (6). There was, however, a laudable paſſion for liberty, and the love of liberty was the faſhionable virtue of the times (7). Wiſe ſtates encouraged artiſts, manufactures, and commerce, domeſtick and foreign, for the ſake of acquiring internal wealth, the food of a ſtate in peace, and the very ſinew of war. Such ſtates prudently played off the pope againſt the emperour, the emperour againſt the pope, and while the two were contending for names, they obtained the thing, by outing both. To ſay nothing of other ſtates, the noble Florentines, almoſt always Guelfs, the heads of Tuſcany, frequently treated the pope as well as the emperour, when they provoked him, with very little ceremony: they obtained liberty for themſelves; they ſecretly encouraged the cities of Lombardy to throw off the imperial yoke, and furniſhed them with almoſt incredible ſums of money to ſupport their rights by force (8). The Paterines were always on the ſide of liberty, and it is not imaginable that they alone did not profit by the condition of the country. Principles like theirs, naturally pleaſant, rivetted too by perſecution, are not ſoon eraſed. They deſcend with their names to their families, and are adopted in ſpite of all the vigilance of inquiſitors, whom ſtates often found it neceſſary to reſtrain. It is highly credible, that in general, and of ſome places it is certain, the civil magiſtrates officially kept up appearances, but really encouraged or winked at hereticks. The city of Pavia had been the metropolis of the kingdom of Italy, in the time of the Lombards, and they had rendered it populous and ſplendid. In after times it was greatly enlarged. In the middle of the fourteenth century, there were within the city one hundred and thirty-three churches, beſides chapels. It was then governed by a podeſta annually elected. On the day of ſwearing this magiſtrate into his office, a crier went about the ſtreets exclaiming: "Let all thieves, robbers, proſtitutes, and hereticks depart from the city." As this proclamation was annual, it is eaſy to judge how devoutly thieves and hereticks obeyed it (9). What is more extraordinary, hereticks managed the matter ſo dexterouſly that they were ſometimes taken for ſaints (1). There was in the twelfth century, ſay catholick hiſtorians, a ſon of perdition, a Florentine, named Diotesſalvi, a very decent and venerable man of irreproachable manners, who ſowed the ſeeds of manicheiſm at Viterbo with great ſucceſs, till the biſhop heard of it, and routed him and his diſciples (2). After his departure two ladies named Milita and Martha had addreſs enough to prevail with the biſhop to aſſociate them and a few more in a confraternity, and this ſiſterhood carried on the cauſe of manicheiſm with ſo much ſucceſs, that they corrupted, or converted the biggeſt part of the city matrons, who corrupted others of their acquaintances. No doubt, ſuch ſchemes were practiſed elſewhere under devout impreſſions of fear of God, when times were dark and threatning. "What will a man not give in exchange for his ſoul!"

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(6) MURAT. *Antiq. tom. iv. Diſſ. li. De origine et progreſſu in Italia Gibellinæ et Guelphæ factionum.*

(7) *Tom. iv. Diſſ. xlv. De aſſumpta a civitatibus Italicis reipublicæ forma, atque origine libertatis... liv. De principibus, aut tyrannis Italiæ... xlviii. De ſocietate Lombardorum... xlix. De civitatum fœderibus. &c.*

(8) M. A. JOS. MALASPINÆ *not. in chron.* GULIELM. VENTURÆ. *cap. xvii.* Neque Gibellinos pro imperio, neque pro Eccleſia Guelphos ſemper in fide firmos manſiſſe docuit Ventura, &c. *Cronaca di* DINO COMPAGI.

MACHIAVELLI *Hiſt. Florent. paſſim...* MURAT. *ut ſup.*

Laſtly. It is a well authenticated fact, that the revivers, and in ſome ſenſe the nurſes, if not the parents of the unitarian baptiſt churches at the reformation, proceeded from a ſociety of about forty men of eminence at Vicenza near Venice in Italy (3). Confraternities of laymen for pious purpoſes are of high antiquity at Venice, and were called ſchools (4). Various aſſociations were ſo named in all parts of Italy: ſome were gylds, or companies of tradeſmen; others were ſocieties of artiſts; others were congregations of piety, or charity, mercy, redemption of captives, and ſo on. In ſuch a country aſſociations for literary and religious purpoſes were natural. It was in ſuch a one in England, that the great Locke firſt formed an idea of his eſſay. Of this ſociety at Vicenza were the two Sozzini, Darius and Lælius; Nicholas Paruta; Valentine Gentilis; Julius Treviſa; Francis de Ruego; James de Chiata; Francis Niger; Leonard, abbot of Buſalis; Paul Alciat, and others. This company was broke up by catholick perſecutors, who put two of the number, Treviſa and De Ruego, to death. The reſt fled into Poland, Switzerland, Germany, and other places. Out of Italy too, came the celebrated Bernard Ochin, Matthew Gribaldi, Francis Liſmanini, Doctor Blandrata, and probably Sebaſtian Caſtellio. Little did theſe learned men imagine, when they fled for conſcience-ſake from catholick fury, ſome into Turky, and others into the arms of Calvin and Beza, fugitives for conſcience themſelves as they pretended, that the omnipotent mohammedan deſpots would allow them religious liberty, and the godly exiles ſtrain every nerve to get them put to death for hereſy. Yet ſo it was. Gentilis was beheaded at Bern for not believing the trinity: while Leonardi enjoyed his ſentiments at Damaſcus, and lived by ſelling old clothes.

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(9) ANONYMI TICINENSIS *com. de laudibus Papiæ circiter An. MCCC.XXX. inter Scriptor. Ital. tom. xi. cap. xiii.*

(1) BERNARDIN CORII. *Hiſt. di Milano. An.* 1300.

(2) PAPEBROCHII *Act. Sanctor. Mai.* 21. *Vit.* S. PETRI PARENTII.

(3) SANDII *Bibliot. Anti-trinitariorum.* LÆLII SOCINI *vita,* PARUTÆ *vit.*

ANDREÆ WISSOWATII *narrat. compend.*

Vindiciæ unitariorum. Unitarii anabaptiſtæ appellantur: cum tamen baptiſmus *catechumenorum,* id eſt in fide chriſtiana inſtitutorum et ſymbolum apoſtolicum profitentium, idque per *totius corporis in aquam merſationem,* prout *nos facimus,* auctoritate ſacræ ſcripturæ et veteris eccleſiæ praxi confirmetur.

(4) MURAT. *Antiq. tom. vi. Diſſ. lxxv. De piis laicorum confraternitatibus*... Schola piſcatorum... Schola cantorum... Scholæ Addextratorum, Mappulariorum, Cubiculariorum... Schola caritatis... Scholæ artium... Collegia... Corpora.. Congregationes.. Confratriæ.. Societates.. Sodalicia.. Confraternitates.. Gildæ, &c.

ANDREÆ DANDULI *Chron.* FRANCISC. SANSOVINI *Deſcript. Venetiar. lib. vii.*

VOCAB. DELLA CRUSCA. *Scuola* .. per adunanza di ſcolari, o d'huomini ſcienziati... Per confraternita, e compagnia ſpirituale.

As Italy hath been drawn out into an unintended length, the characters and the fate of theſe fugitives will be mentioned in the countries where they fled. On the whole of Italy one remark may be allowed. Italy is an earthly paradiſe. It is immortalized by the great men which it hath in all ages produced. In its preſent ſtate it is tending toward mental liberty: but, without pretending to prophecy, it may be ſafely affirmed, it never can arrive at perfection, or even purity of religious knowledge, till freedom of inquiry be grounded on a bottom of explicit law. Dread awes great minds into ſilence, ſuppreſſes the fineſt exertions of the human ſpirit, and ſheds a midnight over theology, during which infidelity triumphs. The chriſtianity of popery is not capable of evidence: and that chriſtianity, which might be demonſtrated, muſt not be uttered. Fear nips the honeſt opening genius, and it ſhrivels back into comparative inſignificance, and waſtes itſelf in muſick and antiques, while the honour of one Almighty God and the virtuous happineſs of ſocial religion are ſacrificed to make room for a maſquerade. It is only in governments perfectly free that truth and virtue are to be ſought: they never can be grafted on deſpotiſm. A celebrated jewiſh rabbi tells a ſtory to ſhew how unfriendly to truth fear of puniſhment is. A certain nobleman in Portugal had a phyſician, who was clapped into the inquiſition under ſuſpicion of judaiſm. Hearing this, he wrote to one of the inquiſitors to inform him that the doctor was a good chriſtian, and he deſired that he might be ſet at liberty. The inquiſitors returned a polite anſwer, that they could not oblige his lordſhip, for the priſoner had been tortured, and had confeſſed he was a Jew. The count was exceſſively angry. He feigned ſickneſs, and ſent to deſire the inquiſitorial judge to viſit him. He waited on him. As ſoon as he arrived, the count ordered him to ſit down, and write a confeſſion that he was a Jew. The holy father refuſed. The count rung for a ſervant, and on his appearing, ordered him to call ſufficient help, to take a red hot helmet then in the fire, and put it upon the head of the father inquiſitor. His reverence hearing this reſolute order flew like lightning to the eſcritoir, took the pen, wrote the confeſſion, and ſigned a ſolemn declaration that he was a Jew. The count, then, reproached him with his injuſtice and barbarity. "My phyſician, ſaid he, hath confeſſed himſelf a Jew, as you have, with this difference: pain forced the confeſſion from him; it was nothing but the fear of it that extorted it from you (5)." From ſuch fear may God in his own due time deliver all the ſtates of Italy!

CHAP. XII.

The Vallies of Piedmont.

NO hiſtory exhibits a more vexatious proof of a confuſion of facts by ſpeculative diviſions of mankind than that of the VAUDOIS. This is the true name which they gave themſelves (6). The word Vaudois ſignifies inhabitants of VAUX, or vallies: and it is here to be underſtood of the vallies of Savoy, and the vallies of Piedmont. Accurate latin writers tranſlate the word VALLENSES. Leſs attentive authors call them WALLENSES. To avoid all confuſion they will be called here Vaudois.

The Vaudois appear in eccleſiaſtical hiſtory in the twelfth century as a people obnoxious to the church of Rome. At the reformation they fell into Calvin's church, which was natural, as they were in the vicinity of Geneva, and infinite pains were taken firſt to mould them into the form of that church, and then to prove that they had ſubſiſted in the uniform orthodoxy of that pure church from the very times of the apoſtles. Farel and Beza ſet this on foot, and to omit others, in the ſeventeenth century John Leger in a thin folio completed it. If ever hiſtorical ſcepticiſm be a virtue, it is ſo here. It is but to caſt an eye on the plates of this book, which repreſent the martyrs of this church, and it will appear they were publiſhed leſs to ſtate facts than to excite horrour, for the ſake of obtaining money. They are beyond deſcription horrible, and it is utterly incredible, in ſpite of all the atteſtations, that ſuch cruelties were ever practiſed on the PAUVRES VAUDOIS, as the writer calls them. People impoveriſhed by perſecution ſhould be relieved, and not left to the temptation of publiſhing facts outré, for the purpoſe of exciting the charity of weak chriſtians (7). The hiſtory reſembles the plates, orthodoxy is proved and overproved; for it will be allowed that an apoſtolical church with the athanaſian creed is above par. It was very eaſy to dreſs this creed in the jargon of the vallies; and it was a fit lure in England at the time. Doctor Allix, who was a zealous defender of the antiquity and orthodoxy of the Vaudois, allows that two treatiſes, publiſhed by Leger and Sir Samuel Morland, for Vaudois manuſcripts of the years eleven hundred, and eleven hundred and twenty, could not poſſibly be of thoſe dates; becauſe one quotes ſcripture as diſtinguiſhed into verſes, which was not till after the middle of the thirteenth century, and the other quotes a book, which was not written till the midſt of the fourteenth century (8). There is therefore ſome folly, or ſome fraud in theſe accounts of the Vaudois. The truth is, the ancient Vaudois had been always reputed by their contemporaaies Manicheans, Arians, Anabaptiſts, relicts of the Wiſigoths, and it was a very difficult undertaking of the french proteſtants to ſeize their antiquity and not burden themſelves with their hereſy. Doctor Allix uſes a very ſtrong expreſſion. Theſe are his words: "I defy the impudence of the devil himſelf to find in the noble leſſon the leaſt ſhadow of manicheiſm." Yet not only Boſſuet, and many other learned men in France, but the moſt honeſt and beſt informed writer of Italy, the celebrated Muratori, from the moſt authentick manuſcripts, affirms, that the Paterines and all other italian diſſidents were a kind of Manicheans, not indeed all holding the ſame opinions, but all proceeding from one parent ſtem (9). It would be endleſs to recite the opinions of authors on this ſubject; and, however paradoxical it may appear, a detail will prove that they all ſpeak truth, if properly explained. It is impoſſible two contradictory propoſitions can be true of the ſame people at the ſame time: but both may be true of different people called in different times by the ſame name. Such a detail ſeems the only probable method of obtaining any thing like a clear idea of the hiſtory of the Vaudois.

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(5) RABBI MANASSEH BEN ISRAEL. *Vindiciæ Judæorum.*

(6) *La noble leiçon.* JEAN LEGER. *Hiſt. des Vaudoiſes. a Leyde.* 1669. *liv. ii. chap. iv.*

Que non vollia maudire, ni jura, ni mentir,
Ni avoutrar, ni aucire, ni penre de l'autry,
Ni venjar ſe de li ſio enemie.
Illi diſon quel es *Vaudes* e degne de murir.

When a man will neither curſe nor ſwear nor lie,
Nor ſlay, nor rob, nor commit adultery,
Nor avenge himſelf on his enemy,
They call him one of the Vaudois, and worthy to die:

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(7) ABRAHAMI SCULTETI *Annales Renov. evangel.*. LEGER *lib. ii. cap. ix.*

(8) *Remarks upon the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of the ancient churches of Piedmont, chap. xviii. That the Paterines and Subalpini were not Manichees.*

(9) BOSSUET. *Variations, liv. xi.*

MURAT. *Ital. Antiq. tom. v. diſſ. lx.* Undecumque Paterinorum appellatio proceſſerit, illud exploratum eſt, Manichæos deinde apud Inſubres diſſeminatos, eodem ipſo nomine deſignatos fuiſſe. . Fortaſſe novas ei vires miniſtrabat vicina Gallia, in qua præcipue Albigenſium ac Waldenſium ſectæ, Manetem ſequutæ, in grave incendium eruperant.

There is one period of the hiſtory of the Vallies, which doth not belong to an eccleſiaſtical hiſtorian; and a ſecond, of which he can ſay nothing, becauſe it is the fairy period of fable. The firſt contains about ſix hundred years, from the reign of Tarquin the elder to the birth of Chriſt. Piedmont in ancient times was inhabited by the Umbri, the Ligurians, and the Tuſcans. Gaul, in the time of Tarquin was inhabited by the Celts. After the Romans became acquainted with it, they divided it into three parts: that between the britiſh ſea and the Seine they called Belgick Gaul: the country between the Seine and the Garonne quite to the Alps they named Celtick Gaul: and the third tract between the Garonne, the Pyrenees, and the Weſtern Ocean, they called Aquitain Gaul. The inhabitants of Celtick Gaul, in the reign of Tarquin, paſſed over the Alps into Italy, and, having driven out the Hetrurians, who fled over the Apennines, and ſettled in the country ſince called Hetruria, or Tuſcany, poſſeſſed themſelves of the country. The Taurini, who had inhabited the mountains on the ſide of Gaul, ſettled in Piedmont, and the city of Turin was their capital. The Inſubres ſettled in the Milaneſe, and built Milan. Future emigrants poſſeſſed themſelves in like manner of different places: as the Veneti of Venetia; the Cenomani of Breſciano, Cremoneſe, and Mantua; the Lævi of the north ſide of Novara and of the Po; the Bois and Lingones of the ſouth, and ſo on. The condition of this country till the birth of Chriſt belongs to the hiſtory of the roman empire (1).

The ſecond period extends from the birth of Chriſt to the year four hundred and thirteen, and this may truly be called a fabulous period. On the one hand the catholicks affirm, that about ſixteen years after the crucifixion of Chriſt either Saint Barnabas or one of his diſciples taught the goſpel here, and was of courſe the firſt biſhop of Turin; and one adds, that the Piedmonteſe continued in the catholick faith till the Calviniſts at the reformation corrupted them (2). On the other, the calviniſt Vaudois affirm, that the Piedmonteſe received the true genevan goſpel in the times of the apoſtles, and preſerved it till the reformation (3). The latter have no kind of evidence, not even that of fable, to ſupport their pretenſions: the former with the help of legends cannot produce a biſhop before the year three hundred and ten, when they bring forth a Saint Victor, but others place this Victor in four hundred and ninety-four. So deſperate is the cauſe of apoſtolical ſucceſſion! However it were, there was a temple of Iſis at Turin at the cloſe of the fifth century. This period therefore may be diſmiſſed.

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(1) Hooke's *Roman Hiſtory*... Rollin,.. &c.

(2) F. Ughelli *Ital. Sacra. tom. iv. Taurinenſes Epiſcopi.* Fidei Chriſtianæ rudimenta vel a S. Barnaba apoſtolo, vel certe ab ejuſdem alumnis, vult Philibertus Pingonus, hanc civitatem accepiſſe, &c.

(3) Leger.. Perrin.. Allix, &c.

Four periods deſerve conſideration. In the firſt the Vallies of Savoy were a part of the kingdom of Burgundy. In the ſecond, Piedmont was a county, or a dukedom of Lombardy. In the third both Savoy and Piedmont were ſubject to the weſtern emperours, and, like the reſt of Italy, fell into various partitions. In the laſt they are included in the dominions of the duke of Savoy.

The firſt period regards Savoy, and it includes about one hundred and twenty years, beginning at four hundred and thirteen, and ending at five hundred thirty-three. The Burgundians were a german nation, and are ſaid to have been a tribe of Vandals (4). They went into Gaul in the reign of Probus, and again in the time of Diocleſian, and in the nineteenth year of the reign of Honorius, they erected a kingdom in Alſace, under the direction of Gundicar, their general, or king (5). A few years after Savoy was ceded to them, for it was the policy of the Romans firſt to foment diviſions between the german nations for the purpoſe of keeping them employed at home: next, if that did not ſucceed, to hire their troops and employ them againſt the invaders of the empire, or ſome way in the army: or laſtly, if they muſt have a ſettlement in the empire, to place them about the poſts, or ſtraits, as guardians of the paſſes. Such was the ſituation of the kingdom of Burgundy. Some of the kings made Geneva their reſidence, others kept their court at Lyons, and in the reign of Sigiſmund the kingdom contained the countries afterward known by the names of the dukedom and county of Burgundy, Dauphiny and Savoy, the city and dominions of Lyons, a part of Provence, the country of Valois, and a part of thoſe countries, which are at preſent comprehended under the name of Switzerland (6). Thus they inhabited the ſides of the Alps, and the paſſes, defiles, and ſtraits leading into Italy.

The Burgundians, like all the other german nations, were a noble race of men, brave and free. They agreed with the ancient roman inhabitants to a partition of lands (7). There were four ranks among them; freemen, freedmen, leuds, and ſlaves. The freemen were either mere freemen, INGENUI; or nobles, NOBILES; or grandees, OPTIMATES. The holding of an office at firſt converted a freeman into a noble; and the holding of a chief office over other officers elevated a noble into a grandee: but in time nobility became hereditary. Leuds were holders of land on condition of ſervices. Holders of crown lands were the leuds of the king, and holders of the lands of nobles were leuds of their ſeveral lords. Freedmen generally became ſoldiers, ſcriveners, artificers, merchants and manufacturers. Slaves cultivated lands, and did other ſervile offices. Laws were made in conventions of all the people: the Burgundians lived under their own laws: the Romans under theirs, and in caſe of a diſpute between them a roman and a burgundian judge were appointed to ſettle the difference. King Gundobald firſt compiled a code of burgundian law, and his ſon Sigiſmund reviſed, enlarged, and re-publiſhed it. The french call it, LOI GOMBETTE. In this code the firſt law to allow of deciding diſputes by duel is found. It had been an old cuſtom: but this is the firſt law for it (8).

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(4) PLINII *Hiſt. Nat. lib. iv. cap. xxviii.* Germanorum genera quinque: Vindili, quorum pars Burgundiones, &c.

MASCOV. *Hiſt. Germ. vol. i. lib. vii. ſ.* 8.

(5) M. AUREL. CASSIODORI *Chron. ad conſulat.* LUCIANI. His Coſs. Burgundiones partem Galliæ Rheno tenuere conjunctam.

PROSPERI *Chron. ad an.* 414. Burgundiones partem Galliæ, propinquantem Rheno, obtinuerunt.

BLAIR's *Chronol. an.* 413.

(6) MASCOV. *ut ſup. xi.* 31.

ANT. PAGI. *Critic. Annal. an.* 509. Quam late patuerit regnum Burgundiæ colligitur ex Epaonenſis concilii ſubſcriptionibus, ubi memorantur ſedes epiſcopales xxvii. ſcilicet Tarantaſienſis et Octodurenſis, in Alpibus Graiis; Ebredunenſis in Alpibus maritimis, &c.

In regard to religion, there was a great variety. There were Pagans, Jews, Unitarians, and Catholicks (9). The unitarian kings perſecuted nobody, and the catholicks were the only intolerant people in the ſtate. They found means here, as in all other places, to get poſſeſſion of the children of the reigning family, to pervert their minds with vain notions of the importance of a pretended orthodoxy, to inſpire them with horrid ideas of all parties except their own, and by theſe means they ruined this kingdom. In the reign of Gundobald, a combination was formed between his brother, Godegeſil, and Clovis king of the Franks, to deprive him of his crown, his territories, and his life. The chief catholick prieſt at that time was Avitus, the ſon of a prieſt, and biſhop of a catholick church at Vienne in Dauphiny, a man of family and deep intrigue. Avitus one day, in company with Stephen, biſhop at Lyons, who was ſoon after deprived for inceſt, and ſeveral other biſhops went to court, and begged the king to grant them a conference with the Arians. The king ſaid, "If your faith be genuine, why do not your biſhops prevent the king of the Franks from declaring war againſt me, and aſſociating with my enemies to deſtroy me? Where avarice and a thirſt for blood are, there can be no faith.

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(7) FREDERICI LINDENBROGII *codex leg.* L. BURGUND. *tit. liv. lv. addit. tit. xi. &c.*

(8) MURATORII *Ital. Antiq. tom. iii. diſſ. xxxix. De Duello.* Primus autem, qui barbaro et peſſimo ritui auctoritatem lege lata conciliaſſe videtur, is fuit Gundobadus Burgundiorum rex, Hæreticus Arrianus, qui illuſtri Galliæ parte potitus, anno chriſtianæ epochæ DIX. numquam ejurato errore ſuo finem vivendi fecit. Proſtant ejus leges, in quibus tit. xxxv. ſtatuit, ut ſi quis jusjurandum oblatum rejiciens, adverſarium ſuum veritatis fiducia armis dixerit poſſe convinci, pugnandi licentia non negetur. Non is profecto monomachiæ, tamquam judicii ſub Dei oculis faciendi inſtitutor ſed tantummodo propagator dicendus.

(9) CONCIL. EPAONENSE, *an.* 517, *Can. xv. De hæreticorum et Judæorum conviviis.*

Let him ſhew his faith by his works." The prelates did not bluſh at this juſt and well-pointed reproof; and Avitus replied, that they knew nothing of the deſigns of Clovis, but, however, they knew by the ſcriptures that a converſion to the catholick faith was the only mean to preſerve the proſperity of kings and the lives of their people, and that if the king and his people would embrace the faith, they would do what they could to prevent a war. It ſeems wonderful, after ſuch a declaration, that the king ſhould grant their requeſt; however he did (1). The next day was appointed, and his majeſty honoured the diſputants with his preſence. When Avitus and his colleagues entered, the king roſe and met them, and again repeated what he had ſaid the day before, that Clovis had ſolicited his brother, with whom he, Gundobald, had parted his kingdom, and who held his court at Geneva, to aid the Franks to deſtroy him. Avitus and Stephen both replied: that concord in faith was the only method of preventing conſequences. Had Gundobald puniſhed theſe men for high treaſon, of which they were guilty by conſpiring with a foreign prince againſt their natural ſovereign, his crown, dignity, and life, and attempting to ſubvert the conſtitution of the kingdom, he would have done juſtice to his country, and would only have been enrolled as he is now as a hero, and they would have been worſhipped as martyrs. The conſpiracy did iſſue in a war. Gundobald was victorious, and, as great in generoſity as in arms, he not only continued to protect catholicks, to preſerve their church endowments, and to allow them to hold councils, but he maintained a familiarity with the unworthy Avitus, made preſents to their churches, and framed laws to ſecure Romans from oppreſſion, of the juſtice of which the ſaints boaſted, the very ſaints, ſuch as Gregory of Tours and others, who execrated and ſlandered him on account of his worſhipping only one God (2).

After the demiſe of Gundobald, Sigiſmund his ſon ſucceeded to the throne. Him Avitus had converted to the profeſſion of the catholick faith in the life time of his father (3). After his acceſſion he became unhappy by the diviſions in his family. He had two children by his firſt conſort, who both embraced the catholick faith (4). By his ſecond wife he had children, who excited ſuſpicions againſt the firſt family, and Sigiſmund unjuſtly put Sigerick his eldeſt ſon to death (5). His caſuiſts had perſuaded him to believe the abſurd tale of Saint Maurice, and the theban legion, and he either built, or rebuilt a monaſtery on the ſpot, where the monks pretended the legion had been maſſacred by order of the emperour Maximinian. After he awoke to reflection on the injuſtice and cruelty of the murder of his ſon, thither he fled from the cries of his conſcience, and founded an eſtabliſhment for ſinging pſalms and hymns night and day: but thither the fury of his relations, the franconian court, followed him, and in the end himſelf, his queen, and both his ſons were maſſacred. Godemar his brother reigned a little while, but he was ſubdued by the Franks, and the conquerours allowed the Burgundians to live under their own laws and cuſtoms (6). This came to paſs in the year five hundred thirty-three. The catholicks made Sigiſmund a ſaint. A poor return for the ſubverſion of a kingdom!

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(1) D'ACHERII *Spicileg. Collatio Epiſcoporum adverſus Arianos, præſertim* AVITI., *coram rege* GUNDOBALDO.

(2) S. AVITI *Archiepiſcopi Viennenſis opera. epiſt. xxxix.* GUNDOBALDO. Quicquid habet eccleſiola mea, imo omnes eccleſiæ noſtræ, veſtrum eſt, de ſubſtantia, quam vel ſervaſtis hactenus, vel donaſtis.

GREGOR. TURONENS. *Hiſt. lib. ii. cap.* 33. Gundobaldus vero regionem omnem, quæ nunc Burgundica dicitur; ut in ſuo dominio reſtauravit, Burgundionibus leges mitiores inſtituit, ne Romanos opprimerent.

ENNODII *Vit.* S. EPIPHANII.

(3) AVITI *epiſt. xxvii. xxix. lxvii.*

AGOBARDI *Lugdunens. epiſc. ad imperator. epiſt. adverſus legem* GUNDOBADI. Avitus ipſo Gundebado in ſua perfidia perdito, ſucceſſorem ejus Sigiſmundum regem ad fidem catholicam convertit; in cujus converſione recitavit homiliam in populo ſenſuum ſuavitate pleniſſimam, et verborum compoſitione dulciſſimam.

The roman inhabitants of Burgundy have left one monument, and the german burgundians have left one; and the two deſcribe the people, and elucidate this dark part of the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of the Alps. That of the Romans is a ſynod, which in the beginning of the reign of Sigiſmund, more than twenty biſhops held at Yenne, a place in the territory of Bugey, on the banks of the Rhone (7). In this council Avitus preſided, and the forty canons which he and his colleagues framed are highly deſcriptive of the condition of the country. Of many articles let the few following ſuffice. The circular letter of Avitus to convene the biſhops, and the laſt canon to enforce the preceding thirty-nine, clearly prove that the roman clergy had perfect liberty of conſcience, but no civil power of coercion over any either in their community or out of it; and they alſo prove that the members of the ſynod were a ſet of enthuſiaſts, who thought themſelves inſpired, as they ſuppoſed former councils had been (8). One canon forbids the ordination of any more deaconneſſes: two prove that preſbyters had wives: ſeveral ſhew that the clergy were immoral, and, if a judgement may be formed from the penalties affixed to different crimes, the moſt and the beſt of them were diſſipated ſportſmen, who ſpent the morning in hawking and hunting, and the evening after veſpers along with the nuns (9). One proves that the Jews lived at their eaſe in Burgundy, and that the orthodox had often no ſcruples about carouſing with them at their banquets; and the ſame canon forbids the orthodox clergy to be preſent at any feſtive meetings of the heretical clergy, and if the younger clergy preſumed to do ſo, it was ordered that they ſhould be whipped (1). The thirty-third proves that hereticks had publick places of worſhip. The ſynod calls the places of hereticks BASILICAS, and Avitus calls his church ECCLESIOLA. Hereticks therefore were in poſſeſſion of the beſt places of worſhip. BASILICA uſually ſignifies a cathedral, as ECCLESIOLA does a little church or chapel: and as the kings had been and the chief people were Unitarians, it is credible, they had the moſt ſpacious buildings (2). However, ſynods always call themſelves catholick, if their people were ever ſo few, and theſe fathers comforted themſelves by declaring that the great churches were ſo intolerably polluted with hereſy, that they did not think it poſſible to cleanſe them, and that therefore they ſcorned to make uſe of them. Perhaps the council had heard of the fable of the fox and the grapes! It was this meanneſs, the want of that internal ſtrength which wiſdom, virtue, induſtry, and liberality afford, that tempted roman churches in all places to connect themſelves with foreigners, and particularly with ſuch courts as favoured their pretenſions: and it was this faction, by connecting itſelf with the Franks, that cauſed the ſubverſion of the kingdom of Burgundy. No ſtate can be ſafe, where an idle ſet of penſioners are allowed to ally themſelves with foreign courts, for foreign courts never fail to countenance ſuch factions, to allow the juſtice of their claims, to kindle coals and to blow up ſtrife, and either to ſubvert a ſtate by their means, or to oblige government to take them into pay.

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(4) AVITI *homil. deperd.* Homilia dicta in converſione domini Segeſtrici, poſtridie quam ſoror ipſius ex Ariana hæreſi eſt recepta.

(5) GREG. TURON. Segericus, filius Sigiſmundi regis, juſſu patris ſui, injuſte occiſus eſt.

(6) MASCOV. *Hiſt. Germ. annot. ii.*

(7) CONCIL. EPAONENSE, *an.* 515. . . PAGI *Annales. an.* 509.

(8) AVITI *Epiſt. tractator. Generalis.* Diu eſt quod tam valde neceſſariam, et non ſine divina inſpiratione a patribus inſtitutam, &c.

Can. xl. Quocirca hæc quæ ſuperna inſpiratione communi conſenſu placuerunt, ſi quis . . relicta integritate obſervationis exceſſerit, reum ſe divinitatis pariter et fraternitatis judicio futurum eſſe cognoſcat.

The monument left by the Burgundians is that code of law, which was compiled by Gundobald, and ſet forth in the ſecond year of his reign. It is by miſtake that the manuſcripts attribute it to his ſon Sigiſmund (3).

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(9) *xxi. De viduis in diaconas non conſecrandis . . ii. Ne digami preſbyteri, aut diaconi ordinentur. xxxii. Relictæ preſbyteri aut diaconi nuptiæ interdictæ. . . viii. De preſbyterorum emptionibus, et abbatum venditionibus. xiii. De clericis falſi teſtimonii convictis. xxx. De inceſtis conjunctionibus*, &c. . . iv. Epiſcopis, preſbyteris atque diaconis canes ad venandum, et accipitres habere non liceat. xxxviii. nec clericus, nec monachus juvenis ad puellarum congregationem habebit acceſſum, niſi hoc aut paterna, aut germana neceſſitudo prebetur admittere.

(1) xv. Si ſuperioris loci clericus hæretici cujuſcumque clerici convivio interfuerit, anni ſpatio pacem eccleſiæ non habebit. Quod juniores clerici ſi præſumpſerint, vapulabunt. A Judæorum vero conviviis etiam laicos conſtitutio noſtra prohibuit, nec cum ullo clerico noſtro panem comedat, quiſquis Judæorum fuerit convivio inquinatus.

(2) *De baſilicis hæreticorum.* Baſilicas hæreticorum, quas tanta execratione habemus exoſas, ut pollutionem earum purgabilem non putemus, ſanctis uſibus applicare deſpicimus.

(3) In Dei nomine, anno ſecundo regni Domini noſtri glorioſiſſimi Gundebaldi regis. Liber conſtitutionum de præteritis et præſentibus atque in perpetuum conſervandis legibus. Editus ſub die iv. Kal. April. Lugduni.

Nothing more fully diſcovers the manners of a people than their laws. This code conſiſts of eighty-nine chapters; to which two codicils are added, the firſt conſiſting of twenty articles, and the laſt of thirteen. There is no notice taken of religion: but it is left where it ought to be, to the conſciences of the people. The Romans call this a defect; others think it an excellence, and an argument of a ſtate of improvement peculiar to wiſe and juſt legiſlators. Overt acts, and nothing but overt acts are the proper objects of human cognizance. An inveſtigation of theſe ſtatutes would afford both information and entertainment, but this is not the place, and a remark or two, which belong to religion in a ſtate of minority, ſhall ſuffice.

In the burgundian law infancy was limited to fifteen years. Youths under that age could not diſpoſe of either their perſons or their property. If they had been impoſed on to do any act of this kind before they arrived at fifteen, it was held invalid, and they were allowed the next fifteen years to revoke all ſuch deeds. If they did not do ſo in that time, the law ſuppoſed their conſent, and a deed, though made when they were under age, was held good (4). If a burgundian girl thought fit to become a nun, or to live under a vow of chaſtity, in caſe of the death of her father ſhe was to have a life eſtate of her father's lot of land, but ſhe could not alienate the land, and at her deceaſe it was to go to her neareſt relation. In caſe of the death of her mother, if ſhe were an only daughter, ſhe was to have the whole, and if ſhe had ſiſters, her ſhare of her mother's GERADE; that is moveables, or whatever had belonged to the mother for her uſe or ornament. Of theſe, and of all the fruits of her own labour, ſhe was allowed the abſolute diſpoſal (5). The ſame code which thus guarded infants and their property, and prevented the lands in the burgundian lots from falling into mortmain, enacted that the Romans ſhould not be oppreſſed, and their churches and their prieſts ſhould not be deſpiſed: but it neither defines contempt, nor affixes any penalty to a breach of the law (6.) No wonder the roman churches in Burgundy were poor, when kings were Unitarians, and infants could not alienate their property. In after times they prevailed with the Lombards to alter this, as hath been obſerved in other places, of which ſome examples have been given, and to which more might be added: but while infants had only moveables, they converted them into

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LINDENBROGII *Prolegom. in cod. legum.* Burgundionum leges Gundebaldus compoſuit: quamvis in MS. Cod. Sigiſmundo ejus filio adtribuantur. . . *Vide in notis Lex* GUNDEBADA.

(4) *Tit. lxxxvii. De minorum contractibus.* Minorum ætati ita credidimus conſulendum, ut ante xv. ætatis annos eis nec libertate, nec vendere, nec donare liceat.

ii. Et ſi circumventi per *infantiam* fuerint, nihil valebit.

iii. Ita ut quod ante quintum decimum annum geſtum fuerit, intra alios xv. annos ſi voluerint, revocandi habeant poteſtatem.

iv. Quod ſi intra expreſſum tempus non revocaverint, in ſua firmitate permaneat.

(5) *Tit. xiv. De ſucceſſionibus, et ſanctimonialibus.*

(6) *Addit. ii. xii.* Præterea eccleſiæ aut ſacerdotes in nullo penitus contemnantur.

money, gave that to the houſe, and the houſe bought little parcels of land (7).

It was in the year five hundred thirty-two that Childebert king of Paris put an end to the kingdom of Burgundy by conquering Gondemar (8). The Franks held it till about ſixty years after the coming of the Lombards. Then the territory which had conſtituted the kingdom of Burgundy was divided, and the Lombards obtained all that part, which lay on the italian ſide of the Alps, and held it almoſt two hundred years. The vallies of Piedmont were in the ſame ſtate as the other parts of the kingdom of Italy, during the lombard kingdom, and the hiſtory of one deſcribes the condition of both. It was there obſerved that Agilulf, duke of Turin, who was afterward king of Italy, was an Unitarian, and his conſort Theodelinda a catholick; and that the government was juſt, and conſcience free (9). There alſo the liturgy of the Sequani was mentioned (1). The inhabitants of what is now called the Franche Comté, or the Upper Burgundy, were then named Sequani, and the liturgy of the Sequani was the ritual of the roman catholick inmates of theſe people; for the preſumption is, that the Sequani themſelves were Unitarians: but this is a conjecture. The hiſtory of the Vaudois is henceforth to be ſought in that of the Milaneſe, for the catholicks of Piedmont were ſubject to the archbiſhop of Milan, and in the hiſtory of that church the Vaudois were brought out to view by the inquiſition. Then, one claſs of them pleaded antiquity. It is ſaid ONE claſs; this will be proved a little while hence, at preſent let the plea itſelf be heard.

There are two claſſes of writings which ought not to be admitted in evidence, when the queſtion is about hiſtorical facts. The firſt is the book of revelation, which a great number of proteſtant writers lay down as a ſort of datum, and incorporate it into their hiſtories as the ground work of the whole. The learned archbiſhop Uſher, and before him John Fox the martyrologiſt, and ſince, John Leger, and many more lay down the principles of prophecy; as that ſatan ſhall be bound a thouſand years; that ſome power ſhall prevail twelve hundred and ſixty years; that two witneſſes ſhall prophesy in ſackcloth; that they ſhall be ſlain, and riſe again; and ſo on: then they aſſume poſitions; as that the biſhop of Rome is the apocalyptical beaſt; that people of their own opinions are the witneſſes; that the ſlaughter is the perſecution of theſe people (for they execrate all other witneſſes) and the reſurrection of them the reformation (2). According to this, the concluſion is, that the little republick of Geneva, part of the Swiſs cantons, and the ſmall dutchy of Saxony, where Calvin and Zuinglius and Luther lived, are of more conſequence to the great parent of all mankind than all the vaſt empires of the whole world beſide.

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(7) *Chronicon Cavenſe. not. ex Kalendario benefactorum. apud* MURAT. *Script. Ital. tom. vii. p.* 953.

(8) GREGOR. TURONENS. *lib. ix. cap.* 20, *&c... lib. x. cap.* 3.

PAULI DIAC. *lib. iii. cap.* 34.

FREDEGARII *Chron. cap. xlv....* PELAGII *Papæ ii. Epiſt. iv. ad* AUNACHARIUM *Epiſcopum Autiſiodor. Regum Francorum fidem orthodoxam commendat, hortaturque ut illis ſuadeat, ne cum Longobardis fœdus habeant.*

UGHELLI *Ital. Sac. de Pedemontana regione. tom. iv.*

The catholicks produce another claſs of writings, ſuch as the anathemas and canons of councils; the commiſſions given by the popes to inquiſitors; and letters and ſchemes and plans of perſecution: then they aſſume a poſition, as that theſe were all inſtantly executed, and thus, without looking into the hiſtory of a country, they write a fairy tale of phantoms, and charge themſelves with much more guilt than falls to their ſhare (3). A man may juſt as well write an hiſtory of a war from the official papers of a ſecretary, which conſiſt of letters, eſtimates, copies of commiſſions of orders given to admirals and generals, and commiſſioners, and which, indeed, do prove intentions but not actions, for to reduce theſe to practice is a very different affair.

As nothing but a patient ſurvey of real facts can bring to light ſuch perplexed hiſtorical truths as theſe, let the reader take his ſtand at Milan in the year twelve hundred fifty-nine, where Rinieri the inquiſitor publiſhed his hiſtory, and brought the Vaudois to light, and let him not count it an anachroniſm, if, in the courſe of his inquiries, any events of later date ſhould tranſpire to elucidate this memorable year.

The ſtate of Italy in general, at that time, is ſo juſtly and beautifully expreſſed by Voltaire, that his words cannot be diſpleaſing. "In the beautiful and trading cities of Italy, the people lived in affluence and eaſe. With them alone the ſweets of life ſeemed to have taken up their reſidence, and riches and liberty inſpired their genius, and elevated their courage. Notwithſtanding the diſſenſions which prevailed every where, they begun to emerge from that brutality which had in a manner overwhelmed Europe, after the decline of the roman empire. The neceſſary arts had never been entirely loſt. The artificers and merchants, whoſe humble ſtation had protected them from the ambitious fury of the great, were like ants, who dug themſelves peaceable and ſecure habitations, while the vultures and eagles of the world were tearing one another in pieces (4)."

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(2) Usserii *de Chriſtian. eccleſ. ſucceſſione, cap. vi. De ſolutionis Satanæ duratione.... vii. De ſtatu rerum ab initiis ſolutionis Satanæ uſque ad initia Pontificatus Innocentii iii.... cap. viii. De Waldenſibus.* Ex Bulgaria in Italiam, ita ex Italia *inſanam* Manichæorum *hæreſim* perductam ferunt in Galliam.

Leger *Hiſt. lib. i. chap. xxii.* Il eſt conſtant que le chap. xx. de l'apocalypſe nous repreſente Satan lié, et l'antichriſt en quelque façon retenu par l'eſpace de mille ans, &c.

Chap. xix. Refutation de ceus qui ſont deſcendre les Vaudois des anciens Arriens, Manichéens, Cathares, &c.

Allix. *chap. xv.* Manicheiſm, the moſt wild hereſie the devil could ever ſuggeſt, found many followers in Italy and Aquitain, which was inhabited by the Waldenſes and Albigenſes.

(3) Lud. a Paramo. *De orig. et progreſſ. officii. Inquiſ. tit. iii. De dignitate, utilitate, et fructu ſacroſanctæ inquiſitionis.*

Religious liberty is the ſubject in purſuit. No citizen could be disfranchiſed and put to death without a due form of law by authority of both eccleſiaſtical and ſecular governours. When a commiſſion of inquiry for hereticks was made out, it was for the province of Lombardy, in which was contained the offices of Milan, Padua, Vercelli, Mantua, Ferrara, Breſcia, Bologna, Turin, and Verona (5). The vallies lay in the dioceſe of Turin: but all the offices were under the regulation of that at Milan, where the inquiſitor general of the province reſided. He at this time was Rinieri, or Reiner Saccho. Rinieri was a native of Placenza, and he had been in his youth a heretick ſeventeen years. Then he turned a preaching friar, and pope Alexander IV. made him inquiſitor of Lombardy (6). This happened at a time, when the partizans of the pope thought they had a fair opportunity of eſtabliſhing the abſolute and independent authority of the church: but they had more difficulties to encounter than they had foreſeen. Rinieri's hope of ſucceſs was founded on an interregnum in the empire, and a vacancy in the ſee of Milan, and he thought he ſhould be able to ſurmount leſs difficulties. It may not be improper to give a ſketch of his views, and his condition.

A proteſtant hiſtorian of this apoſtate friar calls him an able divine and philoſopher. It would be difficult to prove either of a man, who publiſhed nothing but a very ſmall piece againſt hereticks, much of which is fable, or falſehood: and who is recorded in his own church for nothing but his fiery zeal againſt hereſy (7). His views were utterly to ruin and extirpate hereticks, to confiſcate their property, to impoveriſh their innocent families, to releaſe all their vaſſals, ſervants and debtors, from all obligations to them, to require all civil governours to inflict theſe penalties on all ſuch as the inquiſition ſhould hold guilty, and, if they ſhould refuſe to act, to involve them in the crime and the penalty of hereſy (8). Full of this ſcheme of philoſophy and divinity Rinieri went to Milan.

Several affairs brightened his proſpect. Thirty-nine years before this time the emperour Frederick II. had iſſued an edict to require all the magiſtrates of imperial cities to aſſiſt in deſtroying hereticks, and the city of Milan, thirteen years after the publication of the edict, had in a manner incorporated that, and the canons of councils equally ſevere, into the laws of the ſtate (9). At that time Oldrado de Freſſeno was podeſta of Milan. He was a generous benefactor to the city, a zealot for the church, and a declared enemy of hereſy. The inquiſitors cenſure the law as too mild, becauſe, contrary to the doctrine taught by S. Jerom, and S. Auguſtine, it doth not make hereſy a capital crime, and inflict death on the guilty (1). Others think it too ſevere, becauſe it makes ſuſpicion of hereſy puniſhable; becauſe it baniſhes hereticks, or dooms them to perpetual impriſonment; becauſe it confiſcates their property, and degrades them from rank, offices and honours; becauſe it orders the deſtruction of their places of worſhip; becauſe it renders their children infamous: and becauſe it denounces many more puniſhments (2). Oldrado in his year exceeded the law, aſſiſted the inquiſitor Peter of Verona, and burnt ſome people, and the friars made ſome rhymes in his praiſe, which to this day diſgrace the noble city of Milan (3).

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(4) *General Hiſtory, chap. lxix. On the manners, cuſtoms, arts and ſciences, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.*

MURAT. *Antiq. Ital. Diſſ. xlv. De aſſumta a civitatibus Italicis reipublicæ forma, atque origine libertatis in iis. . Diſſ. xlvii. De amplificata civitat. Ital. dominatione ac potentia.*

(5) LUD. A PARAMO. *ut ſup. lib. ii. tit. ii. cap. xxx.*

(6) ALEX. IV. *Epiſt. Alexander epiſcopus, ſervus ſervorum Dei, dilecto filio Raynerio. . . Salutem, &c.*

(7) GUIL. CAVEI *Hiſt. Literar.* An. 1254. Reinerius Sachonus, patria Placentinus, philoſophus et theologus peritiſſimus.

(8) REINERI *cap. x. Quo modo hæretici puniantur.* Si hæretici convertantur ad fidem, non reſtituuntur eis ablata, niſi de gratia . . . Quid ſi hæretici habeant filios orthodoxos, nunquid hæreditarie capient bona paterna? Secundum canones, videtur quod non.

Another favourable circumſtance was the interregnum. The italian policy of thoſe times is very intricate and the air of it deceptive. It ſhould ſeem, when an emperour iſſued an edict to enforce eccleſiaſtical canons, the die was caſt, and the fate of hereticks deſperate. No. The emperour had no further intereſt in the canons publiſhed by the court of Rome than as they contributed to eſtabliſh his own empire: but if the execution of canons threw too much weight into the papal ſcale, the emperour and all the Gibellines his partizans dropped or oppoſed the canons, and took care of themſelves. Self-preſervation compelled them to act thus; and the pope ſought his remedy by declaring the gibelline ſtates and the emperours themſelves hereticks, and by excommunicating them, and publiſhing cruſades againſt them. Then the emperours created anti-popes, and the popes created new emperours. Rinieri ſays: hereticks rejoiced when the pope laid a ſtate under an interdict (4). They had cauſe. Their ſafety lay in the reſiſtance which the civil power made againſt ſacred tyranny. The union of the emperour and the pope was death to them. Frederick had iſſued his edict at his coronation, for the pope and he were friends then: but ſoon after they fell out, and the court of Rome excommunicated him (5). So they had proceeded many years: but when Rinieri went to Milan there was no emperour; there had been an interregnum four years, and it continued thirteen years more. This was a time for the popes to increaſe their power.

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(9) Bernardini Corii *Hiſt. di Milano. Vinetia*, 1565.
Francisci Pipini *Chron. lib. ii. cap. xxxviii.*

(1) L. a Paramo. *ut ſup.*

(2) Corio *ut ſup.*

(3) Li verſi poſti à piedi della ſua effigie, i quali dicono in queſto modo;

> Atria qui grandis ... Solii regaliæ ſcandis:
> Civis Laudenſis ... Fidei tutoris et enſis,
> Præſidis hæc memores: .. Oldradi ſemper honores.
> Qui ſolum ſtruxit ... Catharos ut debuit uxit.

(4) *Cap. v.* Tempore interdicti exultant; quia tunc plures corrumpunt.

(5) *Vitæ Impp. .. et P. P.* Honorii iii ... Gregorii ix ... Celestini iv ... Innocentii iv ... Alexandri iv.

There was alſo at the ſame time a vacancy in the ſee of Milan. The archbiſhops had formerly been independent of Rome, and their revenues, rank, juriſdiction, and patronage were very great. Till the year twelve hundred and thirty-two they had retained the cognizance of hereſy, and in general they had not made uſe of exceſſive ſeverity. When they had attempted it, the civil power had checked them, for the Milaneſe had made a diſtinction between an archbiſhop and a governour, and although they approved of a prelate, yet they did not chooſe a maſter (6). In the year juſt now mentioned pope Gregory IX. had created friar Peter of Verona, a fiery young man, only twenty-ſeven years of age, general-inquiſitor of the province of Lombardy, and he was the firſt (7). The late archbiſhop, Leoni de Perego, who was a ſingular character, had ſuffered Peter to execute his commiſſion: but ſhould his ſucceſſor happen to be of a gibelline family, or a citizen fond of freedom, or a haughty prelate, deſirous of recovering the independency of his ſee, inquiſitors would be controuled. A vacancy therefore ſuited Rinieri, and this vacancy was long; it had continued two years, and it did continue two years and nine months longer; for parties ran high, and the electors could not agree on a ſucceſſor to the high office lately occupied by Leoni. In ſuch vacancies, popes, princes, prelates of the province, and great families of Milan, moved heaven and earth to carry the election in favour of their own parties. Leoni became archbiſhop in the following manner. After the death of the archbiſhop Rozolo the electors wearied themſelves in canvaſſing, caballing, and voting, and could by no means be brought to agree. At length, they all acceded to an expedient, which was propoſed. It was to inveſt ſome one plain indifferent man with power to make an election of whom he pleaſed. A begging friar unconnected and diſintereſted was nominated, and ſent for. After he had been given to underſtand the buſineſs, and had deliberately weighed the matter, he addreſſed them in this manner. "Gentlemen and clergy of Milan; as you have done me the honour to commit the deciſion of this important buſineſs to me, who can doubt a moment of the opinion, which you have formed of me? You have preferred me, a man in a mean habit, ſhut up in a cell, before yourſelves, and with ſingular modeſty, you have decreed to elevate that perſon to the archiepiſcopal throne, whom I of my own will ſhall elect. I therefore, although I am aware it is written, no man taketh to himſelf this honour, except he be called of God as was Aaron, think it my duty to lay aſide this habit of the mendicant order, leſt I ſhould diſcover a degenerate mind by ſeeming to contemn the very honourable opinion you have formed of me, and alſo being animated by the example of Maurice, formerly biſhop of Paris, in a ſimilar caſe, I declare myſelf, Leoni de Perego, archbiſhop of Milan (8)." At this, it may well be ſuppoſed, the aſſembly was thunderſtruck. There was a ſolemn ſilence. Alternately they ſtared at him and at one another. Then they fell a laughing. At length they were highly ſatisfied, and when the pope heard of it he could not help ſmiling, for he thought the artful interpretation of the decree did honour to the underſtanding of the friar, becauſe by one clever ſtroke he had inſtantly put faction to death.

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(6) Corii. *an.* 1229 . . 1232.

L. a Paramo. *ut ſup.* Mediolani eo tempore archiepiſcopi, tanquam ordinarii adverſus hæreticos procedebant uſque ad annum 1232. quo Gregorius ix. Sanctum Petrum martyrem inquiſitorem Mediolani creavit.

(7) Non vulgare eſt ejus ſanctitatis indicium, quod 27 nato annos tantum pondus atque provincia committeretur.

Bright as the ſcene appeared, Rinieri ſaw, it was ſomewhat ſhaded. He knew the Italians were enthuſiaſts for liberty; he knew the Gibellines were a powerful party, and avowed enemies to papal dominion; he knew the ſoldiers had aſſaſſinated Peter of Verona for his cruelty; he knew the populace had murdered other inquiſitors; he knew Milan, and all other parts of Lombardy, abounded with diſſenters, who held publick aſſemblies for divine worſhip; nor was the condition of the government of Milan at this time favourable to his projects (9).

One of the innumerable evils, which the factions of Guelfs and Gibellines cauſed in Italy, was that of creating a claſs of men, whom the italian hiſtorians call tyrants. The word in this period of their hiſtory is not always uſed in a bad ſenſe. In general it ſignified a commander at the head of an army. There were many ſuch, and they were men of very different characters. Some were juſt and magnanimous, friends of freedom, who endeavoured to place their country in a ſtate of peace and proſperity. Others were cruel and avaricious, overwhelming whole provinces with their troops, and ſubduing cities into ſlavery. Each of theſe had his private views, which directed his alliances: ſome took the ſide of the church, and connected themſelves with the Guelfs; others embraced that of the emperour, and of courſe were conſidered as Gibellines. Cities ſtruggling for freedom ſometimes hired a tyrant to protect them; and ſometimes two factions in the ſame city employed them againſt one another. Theſe were deſperate expedients: but the times were deſperate (1).

Azzolino di Romano was one of thoſe tyrants. He was, ſay the Italians, the moſt unjuſt and cruel monſter that ever diſgraced humanity (2) He conquered Padua, Vicenza, Verona, Mantua, Breſcia, Trent, and many other cities and provinces, and his name was a terror: had not his innumerable and unparallelled cruelties been reported by credible eye-witneſſes, they would have paſſed all belief (3). This wretch had two or three good qualities. He was an irreconcileable enemy to idleneſs, and ſuffered neither beggars, thieves nor robbers to infeſt his dominions. One ſmartly obſerves, he himſelf fully ſupplied the place of the latter, for he plundered all who had any thing to loſe (4) His cruelty in putting out eyes, and cutting off limbs, was ſo notorious, and his name ſo hateful, that many impoſtors got a plentiful living by his means. They uſed to put their legs and arms in ſlings, and play tricks with their eyes, and go about Lombardy a begging, pretending that Azzolino had reduced them to that miſerable condition. The tyrant heard of this, and he cauſed public notice to be given that Azzolino would provide for as many blind, lame, and diſabled people as would appear on ſuch a day at Verona. Thither in companies they repaired, and about three thouſand were received into a large edifice prepared for the purpoſe. Preſently the ſoldiers ſurrounded it, and an officer was ſent in to inform them, that if any of them could live by their labour they might depart. Not one would ſtir. Inſtantly orders were given, combuſtibles were brought, fire was ſet to them, and they were all reduced to aſhes. The fact is credible, it was like the man: but probably the number of ſufferers is exaggerated.

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(8) Corii. *an.* 1241.

Ughelli *Ital. Sac. tom. iv. Mediol. archiep. xcvii. Fr.* Leo de Perego.

(9) Corii. *an.* 1259. Hebbe in queſto tempo Uberto Pallavicino il regimento di molte citta, come fu Milano, Cremona, et Piacenza. Ma tanto fu peſſimo et heretico, che in ogno luogo, dove egli ſignoreggiava, gli heretici publicamente tenevano i loro errori, et havevano le *manifeſte ſinagoghe*, ne alcuno inquiſitore poteva miniſtrare l'ufficio ſuo contra i deliquenti.

Gonzaga . . Rodulphus Neoter . . Paramo. &c. *De* Petro de Verona. *De* Petro de Arcananno. *De* Riboaldo, &c.

(1) Murat. *Antiq. Ital. tom. iv. diſſ. liv. De principibus aut tyrannis Italiæ.*

(2) *Di* Ricobaldo *Ferrareſe iſtoria imperiale* Henric. v. *detto il vi. pag.* 403.

F. Franςisc. Pipini *Chron. lib. iii. cap. xx. De* Ezelino de Romano.

The celebrated Dante in the twelfth canto of his INFERNO mentions two of theſe oppreſſors of mankind: and his elegant tranſlator hath ſubjoined from Villani a curious note, highly deſcriptive of the dreadful Azzolino.

> " Neſſus conducts us to the crimſon flood,
> Where ſeeth'd by ceaſeleſs fires the MEN OF BLOOD
> Stand in long files. . . . .
> . . . .
>
> There ſtern OBIZO, by his ſon betray'd,
> With AZZELINO ſate, a darker ſhade.

Azzolino, having ſuppreſſed a rebellion of Padua, took twelve thouſand priſoners, and ſhut them up in a vaſt theatre of wood, under the guard of his victorious army. This he ordered to be ſet on fire, but before the fire was kindled, he aſked his chancellor (whom he ſuſpected of ſome ſhare in the rebellion) "if he knew thoſe criminals?" He anſwered in the affirmative, and ſhewed a voluminous regiſter, where all their names and miſdemeanours were written at large. "Then, ſays Azzolino, as I have received many favours from his infernal majeſty, I intend to make him a preſent of all theſe ſouls, and leſt they ſhould appear in a tumultuary body before the monarch, you, with your regiſter, ſhall attend, to furniſh him with an accurate liſt of their names." He accordingly ordered his guards to throw him over the rampires, and commanded the pile to be ſet on fire (5). This tyrant was a grievous ſcourge to the Guelfs, whom he mortally hated: and he was a patron and protector of all ſorts of chriſtians except Guelfs. Under his dreadful ſhadow Cathari, Paterines, and all the claſſes that the catholicks call hereticks enjoyed religious liberty (6). The crimes of Azzolino were many and aggravated, and the court of Rome took cognizance of them, and alſo of his protecting hereticks, and he was excommunicated for hereſy (7). Rinieri durſt not ſet foot in the dominions of Azzolino, and he had reaſon to fear him at Milan.

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(3) GUILIELMI VENTURÆ *memoriale, de geſtis civium Aſtenſium. cap. ii. De* ECCELINO DE ROMANO *viro crudeliſſimo.*

FERRETI VICENTINI *Poema.* . . Ecceline ferox . . . Vidi ipſe locum, &c.

(4) GUALVANEI FLAMMÆ *Hiſt. Mediolanenſis. cap. ccxcv. De crudelitate Yzilini de Romano.* Iſte Yzilinus, dum adhuc juvenis eſſet miles, ſemper contra hoſtes acer fuit, amicis dulcis, in promiſſo ſtabilis, in verbis manſuetus, in conſiliis providus, in omni negotio egregius videbatur. Qui poſtquam in Tridento, Padua, Verona, Brixia, Vicentia, et Triviſio dominus factus eſt, mutatus eſt in virum alterum. Nam in loquendo fuit terribilis, in inceſſu ſuperbus, ſolo aſpectu homines terrebat, latrones odio habuit, et prædones, quorum officium optime ſupplebat, omnes indifferenter exſpoliando pariter, et mactando.

Another tyrant, but of a very different character, was the noble marquis Uberto Pallavicino. Some ſay, his object was gain; but, be that as it may, he was an enemy to nothing but tyranny, and he was the guardian of Cremona, Placenza, Pavia, and other places, and this year of Milan. The occaſion of his coming to Milan was this. It happened in this, as in all the other free cities of Italy, after they had ſhaken off the foreign yokes of emperours and popes, they were agitated with violent internal diſputes about their municipal government. Moſt tried three forms, the ariſtocratical where the nobles govern without the people; Venice, Geneva, and Lucca ſettled in this; the democratical where the people govern without the nobles: in this Siena ſettled: and the mixed which included both, and Milan, Bologna, and Florence adhered to this. The milaneſe common people by various methods endeavoured to ſecure freedom to themſelves in this form (8). Leoni, who had been a beggar before he made himſelf archbiſhop, after his elevation endeavoured to extend his authority over temporal as well as eccleſiaſtical affairs; and the nobles ſupported him in proſpect of eſtabliſhing an ariſtocracy, and ſubduing the popular party (9). The latter prevailed, and Leoni was baniſhed, and in baniſhment died. The nobles then turned their eyes to Azzolino, intending by his means to get the maſtery. The council of the companies of artificers, who reſembled the common-council of wards in London, and who were called at Milan the CREDENZA, were headed by one of the great family of the Turriani, and they applied to Pallavicino, who entered into a treaty with them for five years, and came to Milan (1). Pallavicino was noted for hereſy, and the pope excommunicated him: but this did not affect him, he was at the head of an army, he was in league with Manfred king of Sicily, he was lord of ſeveral large diſtricts, he was maſter of Cremona, Placenza, Milan, and ſeveral other places, and he protected diſſidents of all ſorts in the open profeſſion of their religion (2). One of the firſt things he did at Milan was to cleanſe the city of inquiſitors, and to rid the inhabitants from the fear of eccleſiaſtical tyranny. This great man blaſted all the proſpects of Rinieri, for he baniſhed him and one friar Aycard, the laſt becauſe he ſtirred up ſedition by inveighing in his publick ſermons againſt hereticks, and the other becauſe he had injured people under pretence of hereſy, and becauſe he had written to the pope to excommunicate him, Pallavicino, as if a prieſt at Rome had any buſineſs with the conſcience of a gentleman at Milan (3). Azzolino died this year (4) Pallavicino lived ten years longer (5). Rinieri died in exile, nobody knows where or when.

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(5) HENRY BOYD's *tranſlation of the Inferno of* DANTE ALIGHIERI. *London* 1785, *vol. i. page* 362, *&c.*

(6) CORII *An.* 1256. Ezzelino era fautor d'ogni heretico, et grande uſurpatore della Santa Chieſa.

FLAMMA *ut ſup.* Yzilinus totus fuit hæreticus.. In diebus illis ceſſavit prædicatio, confeſſio obmutuit, fidei devotio extincta fuit; ſolus Yzilinus ſanctus et juſtus acclamabatur.

(7) PIPINI *Chron. lib. iii. xxxi. De damnatione Ezelini ex hæretica pravitate.*

(8) MURAT. *Antiq. Ital. tom. iv. diſſ. lii. De regimene ac diviſione nobilium et plebis in civitatibus liberis Italiæ.*

This brief detail of the ſtate of religious liberty in Lombardy may ſerve to convey a general idea of it in other parts of Italy at the ſame time: and four poſitions briefly explained may reconcile the ſeeming contradictions of eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians; for each is true if it be properly inveſtigated and duly limited by authentick facts.

Firſt. It is generally believed that Italy, particularly Lombardy, and eſpecially the vallies of Piedmont, afforded ſhelter to diſſidents in religion in the middle ages. The fact, that there were diſſidents, who never were in communion with Rome, is beyond all contradiction. For example, Unitarians may be traced in the Germans before their emigration, in the kingdoms of the Vandals of Africa, the Wiſigoths in Spain, all connected with the Oſtrogoths in Italy, the Burgundians, and after them the Lombards in Savoy and Piedmont. Hiſtorians affirm, that after the battle of Muret the ſpaniſh unitarians fled hither, and continued till the reformation, and this is more than likely to be true. That they found refuge here is very credible, and the credibility riſes out of three articles: the ſtate of property; the hiſtory of the inquiſition; and the expreſs declarations of hiſtorians. It would be extremely difficult to ſay to whom Piedmont belonged in thoſe days. To overlook the hiſtories of the dukedom of Savoy, the marquiſates of Montferrat and Saluſſes, the ſtate of Geneva, the houſe of Eſte, and many more, is to be at once convinced that territory was perpetually changing its maſters, and that to raiſe a revenue and not to eſtabliſh the catholick religion, was the principal object of the the lords of the ſoil (6). As to the inquiſition, in many places it could not get footing at all, in very few could it obtain an eſtabliſhment, and where it did it was rendered inefficient by the civil power (7). They tell of one inquiſitor named Peter in Piedmont: but they add the people made a martyr of him either at Turin or Suſa. At Milan, it was not all the united power of pope Pius IV. and Philip II. of Spain, that could introduce the inquiſition. The mob roſe at the bare propoſal of it, and flew to arms, exclaiming that it was tyranny and not religion. The ſenate proteſted againſt it as inimical to trade, abhorrent to the free conſtitution of the cities of Italy, and incompatible with the forms of law in Milan, and they would not ſuffer the introduction of it. Naples and Venice baffled the inquiſitorial ſcheme; and as the populace in all parts of Italy had knocked inquiſitors on the head, the ſtates very prudently availed themſelves of it, and pretended they durſt not exaſperate the people by introducing the independent power of the holy office. The generous Italians, always lovers of liberty, never cruel, ever more fond of the ſoft arts than of crucifying their fellow creatures, diſcovered their true ſpirit in oppoſing and counteracting the pretended religion of torture. The modern Italians, good catholicks too, ſpeak very properly on the ſubject (8).

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(9) CORII *Hiſt.*

(1) GUALVAN. FLAMMÆ. *Hiſt. cap. ccxciii.*
CORII *Hiſt.* 1259. Martino della Torre.

(2) Era il Pallavicino ſcommunicato, et perpetuo nimico della ſanta chieſa. Perche il papa contra di lui mando a predicare la crociata; ne mai volſe concedere ad alcuno inquiſitore, che lo poteſſe aſſolvere; da che i Milaneſi incorſero in grave nota di hereſi.

(3) L. A PARAMO. *lib. ii. tit. ii. cap. xxx.*

(4) GUALV. FLAMMÆ. *Hiſt. cap. ccxcv. De Yzilini morte.* Hunc pernicioſum et diabolicum virum quarto die exeunto menſe ſeptembris per victorioſiſſimos Mediolanenſes interfectum legimus. Tunc facta eſt ſalus in manu Martini Turriani, qui percuſſit Yzilinum, et abſtulit opprobrium à chriſtianis.

(5) *Chronicon Parmenſe. ad an.* 1269.

About

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(6) MURATORII *Script. Ital. paſſim. De Subaudiæ comitibus . . De Salutiarum, Montisferrati Marchionum geſtis . . De Eſtenſibus, &c.*

(7) L. A PARAMO. *De inquiſitionibus Lombardiæ . . Hetruriæ . . Marchæ Anconitanæ . . Venetæ . . De aliis Italiæ inquiſitionibus.*

(8) ANGELI FABRONII *Vitæ Italorum doctrina excellentium, qui ſæculis xvii. et xviii. floruerunt. Piſis.* 1778. *et ann. ſeqq.*

Tom. i. GALILÆI *vit.* Quid jam de iis dicam, qui teſtamentum a Galilæo condi poſſe negabant? Quid eos commemorem, qui crudeles etiam in mortuum extitere, cum ejus cadaver in loco ſacro ſepeliri poſſe, juſtis etiam ſolemnibus ei perſolutis, quin tamen ipſius memoriam ac deſiderium non vulgari funeris pompa, ac non uſitato magnifici tumuli honore celebrare liceret, credulis hominibus perſuadere contenderent? Hae videlicet literarum *peſtes*, ex inſcitiæ, ſuperſtitionis, affiniumque vitiorum colluvione ad univerſæ dedecus Italiæ natæ, infamem eum virum, quod bis a ſancto, *ita vocant*, officio mulctatus fuerat, eſſe ſumebant, &c.

Tom. iv. LAURENTII BELLINII *vit. p.* 44. Injecta enim ipſi Coſmo ſuſpicio fuit, hominem, qui ſemper caſtiſſime religioſiſſime vixit, non recta de Deo diviniſque rebus ſentire. . . .

Saltem

About twelve years after the death of Pallavicino, the preaching friars were going to burn a woman at Parma for hereſy, when the mob roſe, deſtroyed ſome, cudgelled others, pillaged and pulled down their monaſtery, and drove the whole fraternity out of the city. There is therefore no reaſon to ſuſpect what credible writers affirm: that during the ſpace of five hundred years, that is, from the eleventh to the ſixteenth century all parts of Italy were infected with what they call hereſy; that an inquiſition was irreconcileable with the genius of the Italians; and that at the cloſe of this period they diſcovered the ſame averſion to eccleſiaſtical tyranny as their anceſtors had at the beginning. Of many examples one may ſuffice. In the year fifteen hundred and fifty, Michael Ghiſleri, who was afterward pope Pius v. was a preaching friar, and inquiſitor at Comi. Having got intelligence of the arrival of twelve bales of books, which had been prohibited by the inquiſition, he ſeized them. The owners applied to the biſhop's official, the ſee being vacant, and he by advice of the chapter reſtored the books. Ghiſleri threatened the chapter with an excommunication, and wrote to Rome. The populace, exaſperated at his preſuming to call in foreign aid, threatened his life, and had he not hid himſelf in the houſe of his friend Bernard Odeſchalci, the boys of Comi would have pelted him to death, for they vowed vengeance. The chapter, dreading conſequences, very prudently applied to the ſenate of Milan, and ſtated that Ghiſleri was a diſturber of the publick peace, whoſe conduct tended to ſubvert the ſtate. The ſenate called the affair before them. Ghiſleri underſtood the mob intended to make a martyr of him in the very ſpot where their predeceſſors three hundred years before had conferred that honour on Peter of Verona; he therefore took another road, arrived at Milan, and appeared in court. The governour, loth on the one hand to embroil the ſtate with the church, and on the other determined to diſcourage tyranny, acted a very prudent part. Ghiſleri waited in court according to the ſummons; ſeveral cauſes were tried; no notice was taken of him; the court adjourned. A meſſenger ſoon waited on him to inform him, that the government was juſtly offended with his intemperate zeal, and that if he perſiſted he would be clapped into priſon. It was winter, and the weather was exceeding ſharp: but Ghiſleri thought it more adviſeable to face all the rigours of the ſeaſon than the reſentment of the Milaneſe, and he ſet out a foot for Rome, where he arrived on Chriſtmas eve, and where the cardinals complimented him for his zeal, and taught him a ſhorter way to glory than that in which he had been labouring at Comi: there he might have obtained the crown of martyrdom and the honour of ſaintſhip, but here he acquired three crowns, and the prerogative of creating ſaints, and crowning martyrs. In brief, the

Saltem debebat cogitare multis optimis ſapientiſſimiſque viris tales caſus accidiſſe tum in ſua patria, tum in aliis non paucis civitatibus. . . Quis non dolet adhuc . . Rogerii Baconis vincula, oblata crimina Galilæo, Carteſio, aliis que hujus præſtantiæ viris, quibus nihil aliud obfuit, niſi excellentia doctrinæ? &c.

hiſtories of all the cities of Italy abound with ſuch adventures, and there is no poſition more evident than that the Italians, a people never enough to be praiſed for their excellent qualities, always cheriſhed a manly love of liberty, made a juſt diſtinction between civil and eccleſiaſtical government, and there, even under the eye of the people, in ſpite of eccleſiaſtical efforts, from the beginning till the reformation religious diſſidents found ſhelter. Italian hiſtorians ſay, the ſpaniſh inquiſition, far from ſuppreſſing errour, was the cauſe of infecting every city of Italy with hereſy: and they aſſign a good reaſon: the italian cities ſet their faces againſt the inquiſition (9). The city of Bologna preſerved its liberty with a high republican ſpirit till the pontificate of Julius II. in the beginning of the ſixteenth century. Then it fell under the government of the court of Rome. The ſchools of law there contributed very much to preſerve freedom, for the profeſſors held the chief offices of the city, and the ſchools contained ten or twelve thouſand young gentlemen between the ages of twenty and thirty from all parts of Europe. Achilles Malvezzi was one of the ſixteen regents of the city, he was an heretick and a protector of hereticks, and he died at eaſe in his hereſy in the year fourteen hundred ſixty-eight, and his family ſucceeded to his offices and honours at the ſame time (1). John Faelli publiſhed a book in defence of hereſy, and although the Dominicans frequently cenſured eccleſiaſtical hereticks, yet it was only by a faction that they procured the puniſhment of any one. Thus in fourteen hundred eighty-one they burnt a young ſtudent, George of Montferrat, becauſe they pretended he was a Jew, an obſtinate heretick who denied Chriſt and his mother. Probably the youth was poor, and had no friends, or the inquiſitors ſtole the march, for the Bologneſe were ſo jealous of their liberties, and ſo averſe to the temporal dominion of the church, that when the pope paid them a viſit, and the orator of the city in complimenting him uttered ſomething that reflected on the government, his holineſs was obliged to take the orator along with him to Rome to ſcreen him from the reſentment of his fellow citizens. John Sabelli, one of the governours of the city, went to ſeek his fortune at Rome, and the pope in hope of uſing him to a good purpoſe at Bologna, made him a cardinal, and ſoon after offered to ſend him in the character of legate to Bologna. "I muſt be excuſed," exclaimed his eminence, "for ſhould I go to Bologna, I ſhould not be LEGATUS but LIGATUS," meaning the Bologneſe would either hang or impriſon him. There was one Nicolas of Verona, who fell into the hands of the inquiſitors. They degraded him, for he had been a prieſt, and, having paſſed ſentence of death on him, delivered him to the podeſta to be put to death. The brave Achilles Malvezzi would not ſuffer the ſentence to be executed. He ſent a party under the direction of a few choſen gentlemen of the families of Aldrovandini, Malvezzi, Bambaraſſi, Angeli, and others, all lovers of liberty, who took him out of the hands of the podeſta, and conducted him to the houſe of Achilles, who took care to place him in ſafety. Cardinal Beſſario the legate at Bologna exerted himſelf to preſerve the honour of eccleſiaſtical government, but his ſucceſs was ſo ſmall, that he could only contrive to cover the defeat by getting one poor fellow, named Maganzini, hung (2).

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(9) GIANNONE *Iſt. de Napoli. t. iv. l. xxxii. cap. v. Inquiſizione conſtantemente da Napoletani riſutata.* Multiplicoſſi il ſor numero, è non vi fu citta d'Italia, che non ne riſtaſſe infetta.

(1) F. HIERONYMI DE BURSELLIS *Annales Bononienſes ab an.* 1418 *uſque ad an.* 1497. *apud* MURAT. *Script. Ital. tom. xxiii.*

About twenty years before the reformation, there was an eminent phyſician at Bologna, Gabriel de Salodio, who denied the divinity of Chriſt, affirmed that Jeſus was conceived and born as other men are, and derided the ſacraments of religion, and although a contempt of all chriſtianity was charged on him, and he was taxed with publiſhing his errours, yet the citizens would not ſuffer the inquiſitors to puniſh him (3). Bartholomew della Volta, a citizen of high rank, had the courage to propoſe to ſell the head of Saint Dominick to the king of Spain, and embelliſh the city with the price. It was a wiſe and well-timed propoſal: but the Bologneſe did not take the hint, and now the price of ſuch commodities is fallen at market.

A ſecond poſition is that of father Gretzer, and it is generally received by learned catholicks: that variety of ſentiment prevailed among all diſſidents. They differed from the church of Rome, and they differed from one another, juſt as proteſtants do now (4). This is a true hiſtorical fact, and to offer to prove it would be a waſte of time. The church of Rome, conſiſtently with itſelf, condemns them all. Proteſtants, infatuated with the catholick idea of uniformity of worſhip, and unity of faith in due apoſtolical ſucceſſion, join with the church of Rome in execrating a part of theſe diſſidents, and charge themſelves with an impoſſible undertaking, that is, to prove, that the true church of Chriſt hath always been of their ſentiments. This is ſhifting the ground to great diſadvantage. It is eaſy to prove that non-catholicks always ſubſiſted in ſocieties unconnected with Rome: but it is not eaſy to prove that they were uniform in their belief. How is it poſſible to demonſtrate this of a people, who either had no creeds, or whoſe creeds except that of one of the parties have never come to hand, and whoſe bond, it is credible, was virtue and not faith? A publick human creed is the ſeed of an office of inquiſition, and the bloody hiſtory of the inquiſition is nothing but the laſt article of the creed.

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(2) *An.* 1452. Dominus Nicolaus Veronenſis, &c.

(3) F. HIERONYMI DE BURSELLIS *Annales Bononienſes ab an.* 1418. *uſque ad an.* 1497. *apud* MURAT. *tom. xxiii. an.* 1497. Magiſter Gabriel de Salodio medicus propter multas hæreſes, quas ſeminabat, ab inquiſitore Sancti Dominici detentus eſt; dicebat enim inter alia, quod Chriſtus non erat Deus... Cum autem multos interceſſores haberet, de his omnibus pœnitentiam agens dimiſſus eſt.

(4) *Præloquia in triadem Scriptorum contra Waldenſium ſectam... Prolegom. in ſcriptores contra ſectam Waldenſium...* JOAN. MARIANÆ *præfat. in Lucam Tudens.*

There is a third poſition of more conſequence than the ſecond: that is, that theſe diſſidents were not driven by the neceſſity of the times to admit of variety of ſentiment; but perfect liberty of believing, each according to his own convictions, was a conſtitutional principle, examined, and adopted by choice. The book written againſt them by Rinieri is allowed to be authentick. He pretends, that "there had been more than ſeventy ſects of hereticks, of which, through the grace of God, all were extinct except four: Manicheans, Arians, Runcarians and Leoniſts (5). Of the extinct he knew nothing, and what he ſays was evidently taken from Epiphanius, who knew about as much as he. Of the four remaining parties it is clear he knew nothing of two, except what report had brought to his ears, and that was manifeſtly falſe, as that inceſt was a part of their religion, and other ſuch fables. His account of the other two is confuſed, becauſe he calls them by various names, and it is difficult to determine of which of his four claſſes he is ſpeaking (6). Two things, however, he makes out with the utmoſt clearneſs: the one that they held opinions the moſt wide: and the other that they thought no power upon earth, civil or ſacred, in other churches or in their own, had any right to call them to account for diverſity of ſentiment. "The church, ſays he, believes the trinity, and the Leoniſts believe as the church does: but others ſay, there is but one God, there is no trinity, and the Father is greater than the Son (7). They that believe the trinity affirm; all chriſtians are equal, and no one ought to force his faith on another; and they that deny the trinity, affirm, it is a mortal ſin to puniſh men for hereſy (8). They are, added he, like Sampſon's foxes, divided among one another, but all united againſt the church of Rome: when two are together in the ſame houſe, one contradicts another, but both cenſure us." The religion of this perfect freedom was what Rinieri could never comprehend. Had he been only an Italian he would have underſtood it: but he was an italian friar.

The fourth poſition is, that the italian diſſidents, cenſured and deſcribed by Rinieri, were not ſuch chriſtians as the Lutherans or the Calviniſts, but, on the contrary, ſuch as they perſecuted for hereſy. Father Gretzer hath fully diſcuſſed this point, and clearly laid open the fraud and folly of the whole affair (9).

(5) *Cap. iv. De ſectis antiquorum hæreticorum.*

(6) *Cap. vi. De nominibus ſectarum.* Runcarii .. Patrini .. Sciſcidenſes .. Ortlibenſes .. Ordibarii .. Manichæi .. Cataphrygæ .. Adamitæ .. Maſſiliani, &c.

(7) *Cap. i.* Romana eccleſia credit .. Deum trinum et unum .. *Cap. iv.* Leoniſtæ bene omnia de Deo credunt, et omnes articulos qui in ſymbolo continentur .. *Cap. i.* Hæreticus non credit trinitatem .. *Cap. vi.* Ordibarii dicunt, quod trinitas non fuerit ante nativitatem Chriſti .. Cathari dicunt, quod Trinitas non eſt unus Deus, ſed quod pater major eſt filio et ſpiritu ſancto.

(8) *Cap. v.* Leoniſtæ dicunt, quod nemo ſit major altero in eccleſia, omnes vos fratres eſtis... Item, quod nullus ſit cogendus ad fidem, &c.

(9) *Prolegom. cap. vii. Utrum Lutherani et Calviniani ſint fratrum Waldenſium fratres?* ... *Præloq. cap. iv. De fraternitate Calviniſtarum et Waldenſium.*

It may ſuffice to obſerve, that the three articles, which the Lutherans and Calviniſts moſt of all abhorred, were three principal parts of the religion of moſt, and two of them of all the italian churches: the unity of God in oppoſition to a trinity, which moſt of them held, and the baptiſm of only believers, and the right of private judgment, in which they all agreed. With what emotions would the italian diſſidents have read the books of Calvin and Beza on the right of a conſiſtory to condemn men for hereſy, and the obligation of a ſenate to deſtroy them: and how would they have felt, had they ſeen Servetus burnt alive?

It is extremely difficult, not to ſay impoſſible, to determine whether the Rinieri, who was baniſhed from Milan, was the writer of this book. The Italians call him of Milan Rinieri; the writer of the book calls himſelf Rinherus; Gretzer calls him Reinerus; others call him Raynerius: it is the ſame name, but the friars of his order ſay there are ſo many of this name on their liſts, that it is next to impoſſible to diſtinguiſh them (1). Rinieri of Milan was a native of Placenza: but Gretzer thought this author was a German, and his reaſon appears very plauſible, for in this treatiſe written in latin there are many words, and ſome whole ſentences in german (2). However it be, he does not once mention the vallies of Piedmont, unleſs he meant to include them in a general deſcription, when he ſaid the Leoniſts were in all the cities of Lombardy, and had ſpread themſelves into all countries (3). He does mention Bagnolo, which was in Provence, and others in the vicinity of Piedmont. When he quotes the words of the Leoniſts, they are uſually german: but as neither the Leoniſts or Waldenſes, nor the Cathari or Paterines, nor any others deſcribed in the book reſemble the Calviniſts, it may very properly be aſked, by what rule do they apply this to themſelves (4)? Theſe are their words: "The profeſſors of the reformed religion may clap their hands in token of an abſolute triumph for ever againſt all the diſciples of the church of Rome, and ſay, that they are now able manifeſtly and undeniably to prove and make good the continual ſucceſſion of THEIR religion from the days of Chriſt and his apoſtles down to this preſent age (5)." The catholicks laugh at this, and call it vain boaſting, for all this is founded on this one line in Rinieri: "Some ſay, the ſect of the Leoniſts hath ſubſiſted from the time of Sylveſter, and others from the times of the apoſtles." And what ſays Rinieri himſelf? He goes on to ſhew that they roſe at Lyons, about eighty or ninety years back. This was his opinion of the antiquity, not of ſuch a people as the calviniſt Vaudois, who had not then exiſted, but of another ſort of people, whom he was deſcribing. Writers later than the reformers, ſuch as doctor Allix, Leger, Morland, and others continue to affirm the fact of apoſtolical ſucceſſion: but they account for it in a manner ſomewhat different, and very likely to be true. They ſay, the Piedmonteſe were a part of the church of Rome till the time of Claude of Turin: then the church of Rome apoſtatized, and the Vaudois preſerved themſelves pure till the time of Calvin. This account deſerves a brief attention.

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(1) MURAT. *Script. Ital. tom. xi. Præfat. in poema fratris Raynerii Piſani.*

(2) *Prolegom. cap. ix.*

(3) *Cap. iv.* Fere nulla eſt terra, in qua hæc ſecta non ſit... *Cap. iii.* In omnibus vero civitatibus Lombardiæ, et in Provincia, et in aliis regnis et terris plures erant ſcholæ hæreticorum, quam theologorum... Computatæ ſunt ſcholæ hæreticorum in diœceſi Pataviensi xli.

(4) *Cap. iii.* Eccleſiam vocant *Steinhauſz*, altare *Steinhauff*... *Cap. v.* Derident eccleſiam muratam, reputant ut horreum et appellant eam vulgariter *Stainhauſ*... Item conficiunt in *Picario* pro calice. *picario, becher.*

(5) MORLAND's *Hiſt. of the churches of Piedmont, book i. chap. iii.*

Claude of Turin was a Spaniard, a diſciple of Felix of Urgel. He was chaplain to the emperour Lewis, who preferred him to the biſhoprick of Turin, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his zeal againſt images, relicks, pilgrimages and croſſes. Three or four french monks wrote againſt him, as a blaſphemer and a heretick, and his own people were ſo refractory that he went in fear of his life (6). He perſevered, and wrote comments on ſeveral books of ſcripture (7). He was an admirer of the doctrine of Saint Auguſtine, and he abhorred that of Pelagius, and wrote againſt it (8). He profeſſed a great reſpect for catholiciſm, and oppoſed ſchiſm and hereſy with all his might (9). He denied the ſupremacy of the biſhop of Rome, and he thought every biſhop a ſucceſſor of the apoſtles, and a governour in his own dioceſe (1). He was alſo a brave general, and headed troops againſt the invaders of his country. He bore a noble teſtimony againſt the prevailing errours of his time, and was, undoubtedly, a moſt reſpectable character. He was alive in the year eight hundred and thirty-nine (2). There is no poſitive proof that the diſciples of this zealous biſhop formed ſeparate churches. Neither did he teach any ſuch doctrine, nor did he ſet them the example, nor are there any records produced in proof of the fact. It is admitted, that if the Vaudois had reaſoned conſequentially on the principles of their maſter, they would after his death have diſſented: but there is no evidence that they did reaſon ſo. This apoſtolical ſucceſſion, then, is a conjecture founded upon two theories: the one that the church of Rome had been a pure apoſtolical church, and that it continued ſo till the latter end of the ninth century; and the other that the Vaudois reaſoned more accurately than Claude, and therefore that they actually diſſented from the communion of the church of Rome. The laſt is not impoſſible.

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(6) JONÆ *Aurelianens. Epiſc. adverſ. blaſphemias* CLAUDII *Taurinens. opuſ. in Bibliot. Pat.* DUNGALI *Lib. Reſponſ. adv. Claudii Taurinens. ſententias, &c.*

CLAUDII *Apologeticum atque reſcriptum adverſus Theodemirum Abbatem.* Coactus ſuſcepi ſarcinam paſtoralis officii, miſſus a pio principe ſanctæ Dei eccleſiæ filio Ludovico, veni in Italiam, civitatem Taurinis, inveni omnes baſilicas (contra ordinem veritatis) ſordibus anathematum, et imaginibus plenas, et quia quod omnes colebant ego deſtruere ſolus cœpi, idcirco aperuerunt omnes ora ſua ad blaſphemandum me, et niſi dominus adjuviſſet me, forſitan vivum deglutiſſent me.

(7) J. MABILLON. *Analect. tom. i. pag.* 30, *&c.*

(8) CLAUDII *præfat. expoſ. in Epiſt. ad Epheſios. Ad Ludovicum pium.* Funeſtum atque deteſtabile Pelagii dogma, qui ingratus divinæ gratiæ exſtitit prædicator per cœleſtes gratiæ gratiſſimum præconem beatiſſimum Auguſtinum de hac epiſtola, quantum potui, funditus abdicavi.

(9) *Ad* THEODEMIRUM. Epiſtolam tuam . . accepi . . in quibus capitulis denuntias te eſſe turbatum; eo quod rumor abierit ex Italia de me per omnes Gallias uſque ad fines Hiſpaniæ, quaſi ego ſectam quandam novam prædicaverim, contra regulam fidei catholicæ, quod omnino falſiſſimum eſt. Nec mirum eſt, ſi de me iſta dixerunt diaboli membra, qui ipſum caput noſtrum et ſeductorem et dæmoniacum proclamaverunt. Ego enim non ſectam doceo, qui unitatem teneo, et veritatem proclamo. Sed ſectas, et ſchiſmata, et ſuperſtitiones atque hæreſes in quantum valui, compreſſi, contrivi, pugnavi, et expugnavi.

(1) Tibi dabo claves regni cœlorum . . ſciendum eſt, quod tamdiu antiſtitibus eccleſiæ iſtud miniſterium, conceſſum eſt, uſque dum ipſi peregrinantur in hoc mortali corpore; cum vero debitum mortis reddiederint, alii ſuccedunt loco ipſorum, qui eandem obtinent judiciariam poteſtatem, ſicut ſcriptum eſt: pro patribus tuis nati ſunt tibi filii, conſtitues eos *principes* ſuper omnem terram. Pſal. xlv. 16.

The ſtate of records in Piedmont is well known. Ferdinand Ughelli of Florence, abbot of the monaſtery of Saint Vincent, and Anaſtaſius at Rome, of the ciſtercian order, took infinite pains to compile and publiſh a hiſtory of all the catholick churches of Italy and the iſles adjacent, and a moſt valuable work it is: but the hiſtory of the churches of Piedmont is defective for want of records (3). The author obſerves, very juſtly, that liſts of bare names are proofs of his integrity (4). Undoubtedly they are, for where records fail, narration is fiction. The firſt biſhop of Turin is of the year three hundred and ten. The ſecond appears in four hundred ſixty-five. Here is a chaſm of near a hundred and fifty years. Between Claude II. juſt now mentioned, and his ſucceſſor Claude III. there is a vacancy of thirty-four years. About the beginning of the tenth century truth of connected narration juſt begins to glimmer. An old chronicle ſays, "Ammulus, then biſhop of Turin, was a very wicked man, and, as he was one day a hunting, the devil appeared to him in the likeneſs of a young fox. Ammulus thinking it game rode after him, and hath never been heard of ſince (5)." That the biſhop was a fox-hunter is not improbable, and that he loſt his life in the chace is not unlikely, the reſt is cookery, or the art of dreſſing the fox. What may be depended on is, that abbacies and biſhopricks of thoſe parts, in thoſe times, were rich benefices, very conveniently accommodated to the ſupport of the illegitimate children of princes and prelates. Hugh, king of Transjuran Burgundy in the beginning of the tenth century, kept three miſtreſſes, to whom he gave the names of three goddeſſes. He called Bezola Venus for her beauty: and he named Roza Juno, becauſe though ſhe was handſomer than Venus yet ſhe would ſometimes ſcold: the third, Stephania, he called Semele the mother of Bacchus. Each of theſe ladies brought his majeſty a child. He preferred Boſo the ſon of Venus to the biſhoprick of Placenza; and Theobald the Bacchus of Semele he beneficed in the church of Milan. The other child was a girl (6). Hilduin, a very near relation of Hugh, was archbiſhop of Milan, and by his influence Hugh was elected king of Italy. Hugh had another ſon named Manaſſeh, unprovided for, but for whom he intended the archbiſhoprick of Milan: but Hilduin died while Manaſſeh was a child. After the death of Hilduin, the king put an old man named Alderick into the ſee, hoping he would die about the time Manaſſeh came of age. As Alderick continued to live longer than his majeſty expected, he ſummoned a council at Pavia, and ordered all the prelates to attend. The chief buſineſs was to engage the old archbiſhop in a quarrel, that might end in the loſs of his life. Out of this ſquabble Alderick eſcaped, but ninety milaneſe gentlemen were killed in defending him. Hugh was very penitent, and by way of expiation, founded and endowed a monaſtery, which in commemoration of the ninety was called Nonantula, and which became the firſt monaſtery in Italy, and had a princely territory in Piedmont, with market tolls in the city of Turin (7). Manaſſeh got the biſhopricks of Mantua, Trent, Verona, and Milan (8). Certainly, here was enough to provoke the followers of Claude to diſſent: but that they did, church records do not ſay.

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(2) UGHELLI *Ital. Sac. tom. iv. Taurin. Epiſc. Ep. ix.* Claudius II. natione Hiſpanus, ſceleſtiſſimus homo, ac impius iconoclaſta, damnati Felicis Urgellitani ſectator. Claudius ſæpe contra Saracenos e Fraxineto per Inſubriam excurrentes debellavit, Taurinenſium acie ſtipatus, ut ex rebus geſtis Auguſtæ Taurinenſis patet.. Quo anno, quove loco, fato functus eſt, incertum. Perveniſſe tamen ad ann. 839. habetur ex monumento Herigarii Secuſiæ Marchionis, quo Novalicenſi Cœnobio Venetium in montanis contulit.

(3) *Ital. Sac. tom. iv. Taurinens. Epiſc.*

(4) *Tom. i. Præfat.*

(5) *Chron. Novalicens. lib. iv. apud* UGHELL.

Muratori, who ſpared no pains to collect records, moſt vehemently deſired to obtain ſuch as might elucidate the hiſtory of Piedmont, and the marquiſate of Montferrat: but he complains, either that the ravages of war had deſtroyed them, or that they were concealed in ſome impervious places (9). His illuſtrious friend the marquis Maleſpina aſſiſted him, and obtained for him all he could procure: but the ſtock is ſmall (1). The few, however, are ſufficient to ſhew that in the middle ages Piedmont was in the ſtate of the reſt of Italy, ever changing its maſters, a ſeat of almoſt perpetual war; caſtles and lords ſpiritual and temporal overſpreading the whole; the people catching indeed the italian fire of freedom as other parts of Italy did; and obtaining of their maſters rights and privileges confirmed by grants, which on the whole were favourable to freedom. During ſuch times it was as practicable to diſſent in Piedmont as in any other part; and it is remarkable, that as abſolute power came forward in Spain, it retired from Italy, and of courſe liberty roſe in Italy as it ſunk in Spain. In Spain many little ſtates fell into one maſs, and formed a monarchy: in Italy one great monarchy fell to pieces, and formed many free republicks. What hiſtorians, therefore, affirm of the pyrenean fugitives, that in the thirteenth century they fled into the alpine vallies, is very credible.

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(6) LUITPRANDI *de rebus imperatorum et regum, lib. iv. cap. vi.* Has tres, ob turpis impudicitiæ facinus, dearum nominibus; Bezolam Venerem, Rozam Junonem.... Stephaniam vero Semelen appellabat. Et quoniam non rex ſolus his abutebatur, earum nati ex incertis patribus originem ducunt.

(7) MURAT. *Antiq. tom. v. Diſſ. lxv.*

(8) UGHELLI *Ital. Sac. tom. iv. Archiep. Mediol. lxv.* HILDUINUS.. *lxvi.* ALDERICUS. GAUALVAN. FLAMMÆ. *Hiſt. Mediol.*.. ARNULPHI *Chron.*
LUITPRAND. *ut ſup. lib. iv. cap. iii. De Manaſſis Arelatenſis epiſcopi cavillo, et frivola ratione, qua ſe ad exemplum divi Petri epiſcopatus ſedem mutaſſe dictitabat.* Hugo rex ſe regnum ſecurius obtinere ſperans, ſi affinitate ſibi conjunctis regni officia largiretur, contra jus faſque, Veronenſem, Tridentinam, Mantuanam, commendavit illi, ſeu, quod verius eſt, in eſcam dedit eccleſias. Ac ne his quidem contentus, Tridentinam adeptus eſt Marchiam: quo honore impellente, cum miles eſſe inciperet, epiſcopus eſſe deſinit.

(9) *Scriptor. Ital. tom. xi. In Chronica Aſtenſia Præfatio.*

(1) *Tom. xxiii.* In BENEVENTUTI DE SANCTO GEORGIO *hiſtoriam Montis-ferrate præfatio.*

The love of freedom in Italy was not confined to cities, it diffuſed itſelf through adjacent diſtricts, and formed what the inhabitants called the POSSE. Thus a citizen of Eſte ſpeaks: "Although the city of Eſte ſuffered many injuries from the emperours and the popes, from the biſhops and the church of Eſte, from theounteſs Alaſſia, the marquiſſes of Montferrat, the counts of Blandrata, the marquiſſes of Guaſt, and the counts of Savoy, from lord Charles brother of the king of France, the king of Sicily, the count of Provence, from ſeveral caſtellans, the citizens of Aleſſandria and Milan, from treacherous citizens of its own, and from many other perſons: yet the Lord Jeſus Chriſt preſerved it. Through his goodneſs and mercy the city of Eſte hath ſurmounted all theſe ills, and hath increaſed and multiplied in citizens and perſons in the country in alliance, in caſtles, towns, lands, poſſeſſions and moveables: and moreover the community hath vindicated its rights, and hath the honour of aſſembling, and conſulting, the power of remedying ills, and of determining all queſtions of war, and all other ſubjects (2)." The poſſe conſiſted of adjacent towns, villas, and manſes of various tenures allodial and feudal, in contract with the cities for mutual defence (3). An annual fine, an obligation to furniſh a quota of men, or ſomething of the kind was annexed to all theſe unions, as a QUID PRO QUO, and this ſeems to account for biſhops and abbots going to war as officers of corps, for they were the commanders of their vaſſals and tenants on church lands. How far ſome of the ſpiritual lords extended their power to enforce uniformity may be judged by the rank of the lords and the condition of the tenants. Biſhops and abbots, as was obſerved juſt now, were generally perſons of family, trained up in arts of political management, and too wiſe and liberal-minded to hazard their eſtates for words, of which they themſelves knew very little. The condition of the people, too, forbad violence, for they would either have applied to ſome contiguous guardian, or they would have taken up arms themſelves (4). In the year eleven hundred and thirty-ſeven great diſcord roſe between Landulph biſhop of Eſte and the church on one part, and the citizens on the other. It continued eight years, and Naxarius a ſucceſſor of Landulph burnt down moſt of the city: and yet the citizens got the maſtery (5).

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(2) OGERII ALFERII *Chronicon Aſtenſe. De multis malis, quæ paſſa eſt civitas Aſtenſis.*

(3) *De poſſe civitatis Aſt.* Poſſe Aſtenſium protenditur ultra Tanagrum a Maxio uſque ad Nevias. Item protenditur in valle Tredoni.. prædictæ terræ vocantur loca nova communis Aſt ex dictis villis veteribus communis Aſt, et Vaſſallis caſtris civium... *De poſſe veteris civitatis Aſt.* Videlicet, ultra Tanagrum tenebat villam Azani, Montem Marcidum... Et prædictæ villæ veteres propria vocantur communis Aſt, et homines prædictarum villarum ſunt homines communitatis Aſtenſis, ſolvendo fodrum ruſticale ſemel in anno.

The diſcord between the citizens and the city clergy was occaſioned by the ſimilarity of their deeds and claims. In paſt ages the clergy had acquired to the church an aſtoniſhing quantity of land, ſo that in many extenſive diſtricts there was not a ſingle acre in the occupation of the laity, which was not held immediately, or by leaſe of the church. The whole province of Benevento was in this condition (6). Such fine eſtates were very early objects of envy to the gentry, and they were often ſeized, too, by foreign invaders, who burnt ſome monaſteries, inhabited others, and portioned their children legitimate and illegitimate with parcels of the abbey lands (7). Some rich benefices were held by laymen, who were forced on the clergy, and they to ſerve their luxuries ſquandered the revenues, and ſold the lands. Some monks married and ſettled in the towns, and ſupported their families with their ſhare of the income of the abbey. Some clerical incumbents obtained from the pope faculties to enable them to alienate lands, and they ſpent the money in rioting, ſo that nothing was more common than for the abbot to be rolling in gluttony and intoxication, while the monks in the houſe by his order were faſting and ſaying their prayers (8). Father Paul Ginanni, prior of a monaſtery of the benedictine order at Ravenna, ſays: "In the year ſeventeen hundred thirty-eight there was dug up in a garden of the city a ſtatue of a monk or an abbot holding in his left hand a book, and pointing with the fore finger of his right hand to a latin inſcription on it: I WILL THAT THE FRIARS SHALL SHARE GOOD EATING AND DRINKING WITH THE ABBOT. Probably the once hungry brethren had erected this monument to the memory of ſome abbot, who had made an order that the houſe ſhould not faſt when the maſter had his dinner (9). When foreign emperours and kings came into Italy, between the tempeſtuous ſeaſon of each revolution, it was common to apply to the conquerour for deeds to confirm lands in holding, and orders to reſume ſuch as had been alienated. It was eaſy for foreigners to be impoſed on, and to grant and confirm the ſame rights to different parties. This was the caſe at Eſte. The biſhop and the clergy claimed rights, and brought out imperial grants; the citizens did the ſame; and a battle was the iſſue (1).

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(4) *De* JOHANNE *Marchione Montisferrati.* Johannes fecit guerram Alexandrinis, et ipſi Alexandrini fecerunt guerram cum ipſo Johanne... *De bello Aſtenſium et Marchionis Montisferrati... De guerra per comitem Thomam Subaudiæ, et commune Aſtenſe... De bello Aſtenſium et Alexandrinorum.*

(5) *De diſcordia inter Epiſcopum, et cives Aſtenſes mota.*

(6) MURAT. *Antiq. tom. vi. diſſ. lxxii. De cauſis imminutæ olim eccleſiaſticorum potentiæ.* Mirum eſt, quanta agrorum copia olim in epiſcopos, canonicos, monachos, ſanctimoniales, parochias, aliaſque eccleſias tranſlata fuerit, ita ut interdum vix unum jugerum terræ fuit in nonnulliarum civitatum integro comitatu, quod immediate ab eccleſiis non poſſideretur, aut ab iis jure emphyteuſeos non penderet. Atque hoc idem factum in tota Beneventana provincia animadvertit Ughellius.

(7) *Domni* HUGONIS *monaſt. Farfenſis de deſtructione Monaſterii. opuſc. circiter ann.* 1004. Abbate mortuo, perrexit Hildebrandus Papiam ad Hugonem Regem, qui adhuc vivebat. Et cum magna pecunia acquiſivit Abbatiam ad opus Camponis peſſimi... Campo venit illuc, atque unam ſuam ſororem tradidit marito uni, cui nomen erat Tranſbertus, valdeque dotavit eam de bonis monaſterii mobilibus et immobilibus... Septem filias, et tres filios habuit, quos et quas cunctos dotavit de rebus monaſterii, et alios parentes plurimos.

(8) Monachi ejuſdem loci, qui viventibus malis abbatibus impie cum illis egerant, poſtea quam ſine rectore cœpit eſſe, non jam in monaſteria. ſed in villis cœperunt habitare publice cum ſuis non dicam concubinis ſed uxoribus, quia ut ſuperius dictum eſt, nuptialiter illas ſuſcipiebant.

Facultas vendendi bona, conceſſa ab Alex. iv. papa Abbatibus Sancti Galgani Volaterranæ, et Sancti Ugenii Arretinæ dioeceſeon. An. 1255.

That learned and eminent critick in italian hiſtory, the marquis Maleſpina, obſerves, that whoever ſpeaks of Guelſs and Gibellines in Italy before the year twelve hundred and fifty, is guilty of an anachroniſm: that before this time the imperial family was divided into two branches, the one Gueibelings, the other Welphs, or Guelſs, and both factions for imperial power: that the Italians of the ſame ages were divided into two parties, the one the church party, and the other the imperial party, and both endeavouring to extend the limits, the one of civil and the other of ſacred government: that in the year juſt mentioned Frederick II. died, and that after his death at Verona the partizans of the church began to be called Guelphs, and the oppoſite party Gibellines: that hence the names diffuſed themſelves all over Italy: that, however, they were not always preciſely deſcriptive of the parties, who ſometimes changed ſides: and that by occaſioning infinite calamities to their country, they tortured all Italy into a knowledge of the value of liberty (2). The cities of Italy had to oppoſe both theſe parties in all their various forms, and they did ſo during the ſpace of four hundred years, that is, from the twelfth to the ſixteenth century. Within ſome part of this period each ſettled in its preſent form. All diminiſhed eccleſiaſtical power, and in moſt parts temporal dominion was taken away from the prelates, along with their caſtles and regalia (3). The patriarch of Aquileia held out longeſt, but he was forced at length to ſubmit to the common lot, and now there are very few biſhops, abbots, or collegiate corporations, who have regal rights, or imperial fiefs (4). In the ancient ſtruggles, even in the Campagna di Roma, if the pope excommunicated the people, the people inſulted him, they made a pope and a conclave of ſtraw habited in ſcarlet, and, after they had carried them, or rather dragged them in triumph about the ſtreets, committed them with great ceremony to the flames of a bonfire, proclaiming the title of each: "this is my lord cardinal ſuch a one: and this is our holy father, the pope." This was done at Fuligni, a beautiful city in the patrimony of Saint Peter, in the pontificate of Honorius x (5). Biſhops and prieſts hung for conſpiring againſt the ſtate, in mitres and habits of their order, were ſeen in various parts of Italy. Such were the fruits of an aſſumption of ſpiritual dominion.

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(9) MURAT. *ut ſup.* Lepidum eſt quod ad me ſcripſit Domnus Petrus Paulus Ginnanius. . . referebat effigiem monachi, ſive abbatis, ſiniſtra librum tenentis, et indice dextræ, deſignantis literas haſce in ejuſdem libri limbo ſculptas:

FER
CVLA
PLATV
VOLO SI
NT COM
MVNIA FRA
TRVM

Hoc eſt. Fercula prælatum volo ſint communia fratrum.

(1) UGHELLI *Ital. Sac. tom. iv. Aſtenſes Epiſcopi. xxix.* LANDULPHUS *xxx.* OTHO IV. *xxxi.* NAZARIUS.

(2) M. JOSEPHI MALESPINÆ *not. in Chron. Aſtenſ. cap. xvii.*

Although the Italians always kept an eye on the balance of power, and the cities aſſiſted one another to obtain liberty, yet the governments differed, and in ſome places the biſhops obtained better terms than in others. The two adjacent cities of Modena and Reggio, which are now united, and belong to the houſe of Eſte, will exhibit an example of the variety of former times. In both cities the object was the ſame, liberty. In both it was thought neceſſary to liberty to reduce the power of the clergy, and to deprive them of ſecular government. At Modena government ſeized the church and abbey lands: but they granted the clergy a ſum of money, and ſeveral privileges in lieu of them, and among others this: "The community of Modena agrees to hold itſelf bound to execute ſuch ſentences as the biſhop ſhall denounce according to the code againſt hereticks, and their abettors, in the diſtrict of Modena." This was in the year twelve hundred twenty-ſeven (6). On the contrary the citizens of Reggio not only took away the temporal dominion of William Foliani, their biſhop, but they reduced the payment of tithes (7). The biſhop excommunicated them, and laid the city under an interdict. In return, the council iſſued a proclamation, that no perſon ſhould pay the clergy any tithes, or give them any counſel, or aſſiſtance, or eat or drink with them, or ſerve them or ſpeak to them, or ſell them any thing, or carry any thing from their own farms to ſupport them; or adminiſter any way to their relief, no not even by dreſſing them or ſhaving their beards (8). They enforced the decree, and fined ſome very heavily for diſobeying it. The council, the army, and the common people were all eager to carry the law into execution. The biſhop and the clergy held out about a month, and then they acceded to an agreement with the city duly executed, one article of which was; that no man ſhould be compelled to pay tithes, but it ſhould be left to every man's own conſcience (9). The year before this, the preaching friars, having been baniſhed from Parma for attempting to burn a lady named Haliria, and her waiting maid for hereſy, had come in proceſſion with their croſſes and implements of deſtruction to Reggio; and two years after they marched back again; for ſtates, which would not ſuffer their own biſhops to perſecute, certainly would not allow a ſet of ſtrollers to do ſo, who travelled up and down the country with nothing but a commiſſion to kill, for no crime againſt the ſtate, ſigned by a foreigner (1).

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(3) MURAT. *Antiq. tom. vi. diſſ. lxxii.*

(4) Patriarcha vero Aquilejenſis diutius quidem ceteris potentiam ſuam inter tot turbines ſartam tectamque ſervavit; at ille demum adverſa bellorum fortuna jactus atque dejectus, communem reliquorum ſortem ſubiit ita ut in Italia nunc pauci numerentur epiſcopi, abbates, et canonicorum collegia, quibus ſint jura regalia, feudave imperialia.

(5) HON. IV. *Memoriale poteſtatum Regienſium, an.* 1282.

(6) MURAT. *uti ſup.*

(7) *Memor. poteſtat. Regin.* An. 1280. de menſe octobris orta fuit magna diſcordia inter dominum Guilielmum Epiſcopum Reginum, et clericos civitates Reginorum, et de epiſcopatu ſua ex una parte, et dominum Degum capitaneum populi, et populum Regii ex altera, occaſione decimarum, ex eo quod clerici nimis videbantur velle accipere ab hominibus populi, et totius civitatis.

Much hath been written by learned men on the names, which were frequently given to italian diſſidents. They were called BUONI HUOMINI, literally GOOD MEN: a proof, ſay etymologiſts, that diſſidents were pious men even in the opinions of their perſecutors. They have been called by another name expreſſive of an unnatural crime: but, ſay they, this proves the virulence and folly of the catholicks; for the word is a corruption of the word Bulgaria, from whence many of them came. Conjecturing is catching; and, if the following appear frivolous, let the reader diſcard it, and conjecture for himſelf. Hiſtory made out of dictionaries is very poor indeed.

In Italy, and in all places where the feudal ſyſtem prevailed, vaſſals were called the MEN of their lords. When ſlavery and vaſſalage began to be done away, farmers and tenants continued to be ſo called. They who rented lands of a biſhop continued to be called the men of the biſhop; and ſuch as rented lands of the city were called men of the city. The word good, as the Academy della Cruſca hath obſerved, ſignified uſeful, profitable, convenient (2).

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(8) Ut nullus deberet ſolvere eis aliquam decimam, nec dare eis conſilium... nec ſtare in domibus eorum, nec ſuper mezadris eorum... nec barbam radere, nec aliquod magiſterium facere eis.

(9) Et eodem anno de menſe novembris facta fuit concordia inter dominum epiſcopum, et clericos, ſive prælatos ex una parte, et capitaneum populi, et ipſum populum, et commune Regii ex altera, ſuper decimis in hunc modum: quod nemo debet compelli ad ſolvendam decimam, niſi ſecundum conſcientiam ſuam, et alia multa, quæ ſcripta fuerunt in dicta concordia.

(1) An. 1279...1282...UGHELLI *Ital. Sac. tom. ii. Regii Lipieli Epiſc. Ep. lviii.* Guil. Folianus ſatis imperioſe Regienſem eccleſiam annos omnino triginta adminiſtravit.

(2) BUONO utile, giovevele, comodo, ſicuro... buon mercato... buona paſtura... buon porto, &c...GIOVARE. Dar aiuto far utile. far prode. Lat. juvare prodeſſe... Bocc. nov. xlviii. 2. Non ſolamente non gli giovavano, anzi pareva, che gli noceſſero, &c.

BUONI HUOMINI, or BUONOMINI, ſignified countrymen, farmers, huſbandmen, vinedreſſers, olivegrowers, uſeful members of ſociety. Even to this day in many villages of England goodman ſounded gooden, and goodwife ſounded goody, is the village dialect, and in this ſenſe preciſely was the word uſed in Italy where the diſſidents lived. Rinieri ſays, in twelve hundred fifty-nine, the paterine church of Alba conſiſted of about five hundred members: that at Concorezzo of more than fifteen hundred: and that at Bagnolo of about two hundred (3). A chronicler of Reggio ſays, ſeventeen years after, the ſummer was wet, and ſuch heavy rains fell that all the country about Bagnolo was under water, and the floods overflowed the lands all autumn, ſo that BUONI HUOMINI, the GOOD MEN could not ſet their crops (4). A great number of ſuch examples might be given. Goodman Geleſinanza, biſhop of the church at Verona, a part of the church at Alba, or Senzano, was therefore a preaching farmer: and goodman John, biſhop of the church at Bergamo, a town in the territory of Venice, about thirty miles from Milan, was probably a fruiterer (5). Thence came the bergamot pear, and ſhould an engliſh unitarian baptiſt diſcover a particular reliſh for this fruit, the worſhippers of relicks ought to forgive him.

Beſide ruſticks, who tilled the ground, there was a claſs of mechanicks, artificers, and manufacturers, who put themſelves under the protection of the cities. The people dwelt in what they called BURGHS, near the cities, and ſometimes under the walls, and they were called on this account BURGHERS. Hence probably came another name of italian diſſidents, ſignifying mechanicks, low people who lived by their labour. If the french confounded this word with another of indecent meaning, it was probably an innocent miſtake, and eaſily made at a time when the languages of various countries were (ſo to ſpeak) in a liquid ſtate, and had not been caſt into proper moulds, as they

(3) *Cap. vi. De nominibus ſectarum.*

(4) *Memoriale poteſt. Regiens. An.* 1276.

Ticinens. Comment. cap. xv. Ex eleemoſynis conſtruxerunt pulchram eccleſiam in nomine B. Antonii abbatis . . quia vidi *bonas* perſonas de ſuarum manuum juſto labore viventes aſſiduas eleemoſynas contuliſſe.

G. PARADIN. *Hiſt. de notre tems. liv. i. chap. ii. Anabatiſtes.* Dicelle erreur imbuz les laboureurs et bonnes gens des vilages d'Allemagne.

MURAT. *Antiq. tom. i. diſſ. xiv. De ſervis, ac hominibus de Maſnada.* Sæculo Chriſti xi. et xii, rareſcere cœpit ſervorum numerus: rariores quoque fuere Sæculo xiii. ac tandem Sæculo xiv. pœne apud univerſos chriſtianos obſolevit eorum uſus: Serius quam ceteri ad integram libertatem deſurrexere ſervi illi, quos poſt Sæculum x. appellare majores noſtri conſueverunt *homines de maſnada*. . . Mihi nihil aliud fuiſſe videtur, quam familia ſervorum *maſnata*, id eſt manſo addicta, ſive ad manſum excolendum conſtituta: quæ vox facili converſione immutata eſt in *maſnata*, *maſnada*. Ejuſmodi homines nomine potius quam re ſervi fuere. . . Homines de *maſnada*, ſive ut ſcribitur, *de maxinata*, *vel de mazinata* . . Multis abundaſſe fundis, quos beneficiario titulo acceptos fatebantur, et ut juſta fert veri ſimilitudo, multorum etiam allodialium copiam poſſediſſe: et præſertim, quod nonnulli tum maſculi tum fœminæ præclara domini et dominæ appellatione ornentur.

(5) REINERI *ut ſup.*

have ſince. That theſe ancient BURGHS were without the cities is clear by many paſſages in chronicles of thoſe times. One example may ſuffice. "On the feaſt of Saint Agnes, Neapulioni de la Turre, was taken in a burgh called Dexe; and the country people of the ſaid burgh ſlew Francis de la Turre. And Caxoni the ſon of Neapulioni quitted the city of Milan, and went with his ſoldiers to the city of Lodi. There he was not permitted to enter, but he lay in the burghs of the ſaid city (6)." There is reaſon to believe, that theſe BURGHS or BURROWS, in ſome places, were in the pits out of which materials to build the cities had been taken (7). However it were, the cities kept a militia officered by captains of the people, the burghers were protected by the cities, for which they paid an annual ſum, many were received into the number of citizens, and in time when governments were ſettled, as in England, they drew out of the ſuburbs into the cities, or encloſed the burghs within the walls, and communicated the name of burrow to the corporation, and of burgeſſes to the members of it (8).

Rinieri calls one diviſion of the Paterines RUNCARIANS. The italian ſenſe of this word ſeems to be different from that of Spain, having, however, a general likeneſs. There were in Italy during ſeveral ages, while the inhabitants were all in arms, vaſt tracts of land overgrown with wood, and very extenſive ſwamps overflowed with water. When the cities began to ſettle in republicks, they addreſſed themſelves to bring theſe waſtes into cultivation by felling the trees, ſtubbing up roots and underwood, and by opening outfalls to drain the marſhes (9). From the old latin word RUNÇARE, to cleanſe ground by hoeing and weeding, the Italians called the newly cleanſed ground RONCARI (1). Several cities of Lombardy had towns and villages of this kind, called RONCAGLI, RONCHALIA: there were two in the republick of Modena, and there was one very famous plain near Placenza called the ronchalian meadow; that is, the plain now clear, which had been formerly overgrown with wood (2). So the city of Eſte was at firſt ſaid to be a city among thorns (3). RUNCARIANS, therefore, were either inhabitants of towns on the high grounds newly cleared; or of a ſort of fen-towns on hills that appeared as the ſwamps drained; or labourers who in companies took ground to clear at a given price. It is very credible, that great numbers of theſe people enjoyed ſuch liberty as their condition afforded them, and were, as Rinieri ſays, Paterines (4). He deſcribes them as a ſhrewd ſubtle ſet of people, of whom the prieſts could get no direct anſwers. They would not take an oath, and they would not ſpeak falſhood, but they were deeply verſed in giving evaſive anſwers (5). Should a prieſt queſtion ſome of them, whether they believe ſuch and ſuch articles, they would affect not to know any thing of the matter: or they would ſay, you ought to explain the ſubject to us, perhaps we may underſtand it. If the prieſt ſhould aſk: "Do you believe a man unordained by the biſhop may adminiſter divine ordinances!" they would anſwer, No: but they would mean all the while God, the ſhepherd and biſhop of ſouls, for they really believe, that any body, man or woman, who know how to utter the words uſed by the Lord in the inſtitution of the ſacrament, may adminiſter it (6). Rinieri might have obſerved, that inquiſition creates prevarication: and that the Runcarians to avoid the ſin had precluded the ſnare by having no prieſts.

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(6) *Mem. poteſtat. Reg. An.* 1277. *De expulſione et captione domini Neapulionis de la Turre cum aliis de Turre.* Et dicta captio facta fuit in quodam burgo . . qui vocatur Dexe . . . Et ruſtici dicti burgi interfecerunt dominum Franciſcum. . . Et dominus Caxonus . . . Exivit foras cum militibus ſuis, et venit ad civitatem Laudi, quæ eum interare non permiſit, ſed jacuit in Burgis dictæ civitatis.

(7) MURAT. *Antiq. tom. ii. in verb.* BURRONE.

(8) OGERII ALFERII *Chron. Artenſe. De villis, quæ erant in poſſe Aſt.* Villa ripæ ruptæ, et poſſe, poſita eſt in poſſe veteri civitatis Aſtenſis, ſive in Burghis cohærentibus civitati, et homines, qui ibi habitant, ſolvunt fodrum in Aſt. . . Villa caſtri Alferii poſita eſt per commune Aſt in platea de verſa, ubi dicitur Guaderabium, ſive ad burgum S. Petri; et homines dictæ villæ facti ſunt cives Aſt.

Chron. Parmenſe. an. 1266. Pelavicinus poteſtas Cremonæ fuit expulſus de ipſo dominis, et ivit Burgum. Sancti Domini . . . 1267. omnes qui erant in carceribus, quadam nocte rupta turri exiverunt, et iverunt ad Burgum Sancti Domini, excepto uno, qui ſe necavit in fovea. 1268. Burgum Sancti Domini venit ad mandata communis et populi Parmæ; et ſic facta fuit pax inter commune Parmæ in Parmenſes intrinſicos ex una parte, et Parmenſes extrinſecos ex alia, et Burgum Sancti Domini. . . Et tunc poſuerunt dominum Ubertum Pelavicinum extra Burgum. Et ſapientes de Parma conſiderantes quod ſemper dicta terra ſuo poſſe obſtabat civitati Parmæ, pro meliori ſtatuerunt, ipſam terram in totum deſtruere. Et ſic per vicinias civitatis et villas epiſcopatus diviſione facta inter eos per preſas et partes, finaliter deſtructa fuit. Et ordinatum fuit per commune Parmæ, quod numquam refici deberet, ſed *aburgari*, et extendi verſus civitatem a fovea caſtri ad Parolam, et in magnis bannis et pœnis, quod ſica adimpletum fuit.

(9) MURAT. *Antiq. tom. ii. diſſ. xxi. De Italiæ Statu . . agrorum cultu . . temporibus barbaricis.*

Having taken this curſory view of the general ſtate of adjacencies, and particular parts of Piedmont (for a part of it was in the dioceſe of Eſte, and all the catholicks in it were ſubject to the archbiſhop of Milan) and having obſerved that the country all round was inhabited by diſſidents, it may be proper to deſcend into the vallies, and to ſearch for the apoſtolical church of the french proteſtants (7).

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(1) Ad hæc vaſta loca, quibus erepta fuerat ſilva, Roncalia, et Rhuncalia nuncupari exinde cœpta ſunt.

(2) Duas villas ejuſdem hominis Mutinenis civitas habet in inferiori agro ſuo. Habent et aliæ Langobardiæ urbes, nobiſque variis in locis Ronchi, Roncovetere, Roncaglia, Ronca, et horum ſimilia nomina. Inter quæ præſertim diu celeberrima fuit Placentinorum. Ronchalia ad Padum, utpote locus ampliſſimus, ac nullis arboribus impeditus, &c.

(3) OGERII ALFERII *Chron. Aſtenſe. De prima poteſtate civitatis Aſt.* Eodem anno, quo civitas Aſt incœpit habere poteſtatem, erat dicta civitas de ſpinis clauſa, et non erat in ipſa civitate domus aliqua de matonis novis.

(4) *Cap. vi. De nominibus ſectarum.* Runcarii in magna parte concordant cum Patrinis.

(5) Nolunt mentiri, ideo nunquam dant rectas reſponſiones, &c.

(6) Dicit quod *non*, ſed intelligit, quod quilibet, ſive vir, ſive mulier, ordinatus ſit a ſummo epiſcopo, ſcilicet Deo, dummodo ſciat verba, quæ Dominus protulit in cœna.

(7) B. CORII *Hiſt. de Milano.* L'anno mille dugento cinquante due, vacondo l'imperio, et eſſendo

Four conſiderations naturally lead a man to look for religious diſſidents in Piedmont.

Firſt, the natural ſtate of the country itſelf. It is an extenſive tract of rich and fruitful vallies emboſomed in mountains, which are encircled again with mountains higher than they, interſected with deep and rapid rivers, and exhibiting in ſtrong contraſt the beauty and plenty of a paradiſe in ſight of frightful precipices, wide lakes of ice and ſtupendous mountains of never-waſting ſnow. True it is, the Alps are open on all ſides, and armies from the days of Hannibal have always found a way into Italy: but at the ſame time it is obſervable that ſuch a country affords the inhabitants infinite places of ſhelter, and innumerable modes of eſcape. To caſt an eye on that ſplendid work, the Atlas of Savoy, is to ſee all this at once (8).

The condition of the inhabitants is a ſecond conſideration. In the middle ages Piedmont was extremely populous, and ſupported natives and large foreign armies. Not only the mountains afforded gold, ſilver, braſs and iron: the rivers abounded with a variety of exquiſite fiſh: the foreſts and the fields with game: but the ſoil yielded every thing neceſſary to the enjoyment of human life; wheat, wine, rice, pulſe, herbs, and every kind of fruits: it grew hemp and flax in lands under culture, and its paſtures ſupported numerous flocks and herds (9). Like the reſt of Italy it was divided and ſubdivided into innumerable fiefs, and was a theatre of perpetual diſputes and wars for four hundred years till government aſſumed a ſettled form. Never was Italy ſo well peopled as in its moſt diſaſtrous times. The hiſtory of the little cities of thoſe times reſembles, for the love of liberty, the hiſtory of the ancient greek republicks, and the reader might ſeem to himſelf to be at Athens, Thebes, or Sparta, were he not reminded of his ſituation by the frequent appearance of biſhops fighting in the name of Chriſt. They fought however for land, not for faith, and uniformity was a vain profeſſion in this country in thoſe, for it was the profeſſion only of a few begging friars, and there was no power in being to enforce it. It may appear a paradox, but it is ſtrictly true: in thoſe times of perpetual war Italy ſwarmed with people, and trade flouriſhed more than at any time.

A third obſervation regards the ſtate of ſpiritual dominion in thoſe parts.

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eſſendo frate Leone da Perego Arciveſcovo, Pietro de gli avocati, Comaſco fu Podeſta, dove molto era moltiplicata la peſtifera hereſia, i principali della quale erano in tre ſette diviſi, cive Catari, Gazari, et Concorrecii, con un'altra detta i *credenti* da Milano.

Reineri. *cap. vi.* In toto mundo non ſunt Cathari utriuſque ſexus quatuor millia, ſed *credentes* innumeri.

(8) *Theatrum Statuum regiæ celſitudinis Subaudiæ ducis . . . exhibens Pedemontium, et in eo Auguſtam Taurinorum et loca viciniora. Amſtelodami.* 1682.

(9) *Tom. i. Principatus Pedemontani deſcriptio.* Abundat tota in univerſum regio, non modo in circumpoſitis montibus auri, argenti, æris, ferrique metallis, copioſa in memoratis fluminibus exquiſitaque piſcatione, &c. . . veram etiam gignit quidquid eſt humanæ neceſſarium vitæ, &c.

The biſhop of Turin, the capital of Piedmont, was not a metropolitan till fifteen hundred fifteen. No biſhops before were ſubject to him. At preſent, there are in the principality of Piedmont eight biſhopricks. Of theſe only three are ſuffragan to the archbiſhoprick of Turin (1). One of them was not erected into an epiſcopal ſee till the year thirteen hundred eighty-eight, nor another till fifteen hundred ninety-two; and one hath only ſeven pariſhes in it (2). Three of the remaining five are ſubject to the archbiſhop of Milan; one is an exempt, and ſubject only to the pope, and the other is united to another province (3). This is the modern arrangement: but in the middle ages what few biſhops there were conſidered themſelves in the province of Milan, and ſubject to the archbiſhop: but as their biſhopricks were in different ſtates, none of which ſuffered the incumbents to exerciſe temporal dominion, except in particular caſes on their own lordſhips, and generally not there, it is eaſy to infer that epiſcopacy in Piedmont was not materially injurious to the liberties of the people.

The laſt remark is on the hiſtory of the houſe of Savoy. Near eight hundred years ago, Rodolph the laſt king of Burgundy gave Maurienne to Berold in reward for his ſervices. Berold was a ſaxon nobleman of the imperial family. To Maurienne Savoy was ſoon added. Savoy was a ſmall, barren, inconſiderable county between France and Piedmont, and the deſcendants of Berold were called counts for four hundred years. The emperour Sigiſmund conferred the title of duke on Amadeus VIII (4). By marriage, by conqueſt, by treaties, and by various means the family of Savoy became very powerful, and his preſent majeſty the king of Sardinia, the deſcendant of Berold, is an abſolute monarch both in church and ſtate, having no parliament, no aſſembly of ſtates, nor any thing of the kind. Suſa, the key town of Piedmont, fell into the family by the marriage of Adelaid daughter of Manfred marquis of Suſa, with Oddo the count of Savoy: but the hiſtory of the family renders it very credible that they arrived at abſolute power by acquiring abſolute confidence, the natural effect of juſt and gentle government. It is a curious phenomenon in politicks, that the family which allowed their ſubjects religious liberty when all other princes oppreſſed conſcience, ſhould in a country enthuſiaſtically fond of liberty in the end become the moſt abſolute monarchs in the chriſtian world. Such is the king of Sardinia, who is alſo duke of Savoy, and to whoſe eldeſt ſon, the heir apparent, the title of the prince of Piedmont is hereditary.

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(1) UGHELLI *Ital. Sac. tom. iv.* Taurin. ſuffraganei ſunt epiſcopatus Eporedienſis, Foſſanenſis, Montis regalis.

(2) Montis regalis civitatem epiſcopali dignitate nobilitavit Urbanus VI. 1388.... Foſſan. epiſcopali dignitate exornavit CLEMENS VIII. 1592... Satis anguſta dioeceſis eſt, quæ tantum ad undecim ſive pagos, ſive oppida dicatur continere.

(3) *Theat. Pedemontii Deſcript. tom. i. pag.* 2. Taurinenſis epiſcopus ab anno MDXV jure metropolitani gaudet, atque Eporedienſenſem, *Jurea*; Monteregalenſem, *Mon-Jouet*; Foſſanenſemque habet epiſcopos ſibi ſubditos.. cum totius quondam Pedemontii Antiſtites Archiepiſcopo Mediolanenſi ſubeſſent, &c.

(4) *Theatrum. tom. ii. illuſtrans Sabaudiam, et ceteras ditiones cis et tranſalpinas... Tom. i. Diſſertatio Hiſt. Sabaudiæ Epit. exhibens.*

LAMBERTI VANDER BURCHII *Sabaudiæ reſpub. et Hiſt.*

MURAT. *Antiq. Ital. tom. ii. Sabaudiæ comitum et ducum nummi. pag.* 725... *Regiæ familiæ origo. p.* 262... *illius antiquiſſimi progenitores, i.* 320. *iii.* 775. *iv.* 700.

Liberty, not the idol, but the guardian angel of the world, of old fixed its ſeat in this beautiful part of the globe, and here various nations erected monuments to its praiſe, the remnants of which continue to this day. To begin at the mediterranean coaſt. The city of Nizza, or Nice, and a large diſtrict adjacent, was inhabited by Greeks, who named their mountains Pelion, and Oſſa, and a city in the plain Olympia (5). The form of their democracy yet remains at Nice. They are divided into four claſſes, nobles, merchants, mechanicks, and huſbandmen, each hath an annual conſul, habited in purple, and aſſiſted by a council of ten (6). Beyond the CONTADO DI NIZZA lies BARCELLONE built by Raymond Berengarius of Barcelona in Spain, and here the ſpaniſh mode of a free polity remains in orators and parliaments, ſenatorial judges and a militia officered by the crown (7). Higher up in the country is the CONTADO DI LUCERNA, where the Vaudois of the french proteſtants reſided, and to whom the ancient dukes of Savoy allowed freedom, ſometimes by neceſſity, and ſometimes by treaty, for four hundred years (8). Nice and Barcellone came under the government of the counts of Savoy in thirteen hundred eighty-eight. Moſt of theſe parts were full of diſſidents; but as other claſſes have been ſpoken of, it remains now only to obſerve the inhabitants of Lucerne, including however all the reſt of the ſame party, who lived diſperſed in other parts of the ſame country (9).

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(5) *Theat. ut ſup. tom. ii.* NICÆA *ad Varum.* Sane plura circa Nicæam nomina Græciam redolent, cum ſit, et in finitimis montibus ſuus Pelion, ſuus Oſſa, et in plauitie ſua Olympia.

(6) Civitas tota aliquam democratiæ ſpeciem retinet. In quatuor diſtinctas claſſes, nobilium, mercatorum, artificum, et ruricolarum, ſuum ſingulis aſſignat conſulem annuum, ſtola purpurea inſignem, cui decem viri ex eodem ordine aſſident a conſiliis.

(7) BARCHINONA. Circumjacentium oppidorum oratores ſolent convenire, ut in publico totius regiones parliamento, &c... MURAT. *A. Ital. tom. ii. diſſ. xxxii.* Quis iſte Berlingerius rex, dominus de Corſica et de Sardinia?

(8) *Tom. i. Arx turris in Lucernatum valle.* Inter Pellicem, atque Chizonum amnes, non nullæ valles in Cottiarum Alpium intima penetrant, hæreticis ab antiquiſſimo tempore refertiſſimæ. Cum enim in ſectarios illos,... quadringentis abhinc annis [1682] diverſis ſuppliciis a ſæcularibus non modo principibus, verium etiam ab eccleſiarum prælatis, fidei inquiſitoribus acerrime animadverteretur, ii, in harum vallium ſeſe anguſtiis occultantes, difficili locorum acceſſu freti, prava dogmata, quibus imbuti erant, diſſeminantes, et ad poſteros propagantes, maluerunt Calvinianos anteriori ſæculo amplecti errores, quam catholicæ doctrinæ ſubſcribere. Quamobrem neque Sabaudorum principum armis, neque Taurinenſium præſulum, quorum diœceſis is regionis tractus eſt membrum, piis hortationibus, neque ſedula inquiſitorum vigilantia effici potuit ut inde abirent, vel reſipiſcerent. Fuere tamen initæ inter prædictos principes, ſectarioſque nonnullos conditiones, etſi non ſemel a rebellantibus violatæ, quibus adacti certis ſe terminis continere, prohibebantur ultra præfatarum vallium confinia quid ſtabile poſſidere.

(9) *Principatus Pedemontani deſcript.* Licet Lucernates, atque Angroniani, ex nonnullis

ſæculis

That excellent hiſtorian of Milan, Bernardine Corii, obſerves, that, beſide three ſects of hereticks at Milan, there was a party called CREDENTI, believers. This is the claſs of chriſtians deſcribed by Rinieri under the name of Leoniſts, and Waldenſes (1). Theſe are they, who claimed antiquity, and who were afterwards known by the name of Vaudois, or Piedmonteſe. It ſeems, they were divided in opinion, in the time of Rinieri, about their antiquity, ſome ſuppoſing it apoſtolical, others of the time of Sylveſter. It is not likely that any one ſhould be able to ſettle a difference now, which could not be determined then (2). Certain it is, they were of ſome conſiderable antiquity, and, when a few facts are aſcertained, each muſt judge for himſelf. It may be proper firſt to diſtinguiſh the people, and then to ſtate the facts.

Theſe people, called BELIEVERS, were diſtinguiſhed from other diſſidents by their faith. Others ſeem to have placed their diſtinguiſhing character in virtue, faith was left free, and they had no creeds: but theſe diſtinguiſhed themſelves by the ſoundneſs of their faith, of which the apoſtles creed was their ſtandard, and, though they were not indifferent to virtue, yet virtue was a ſecondary object, or, as it hath ſince been called, a fruit of faith. They did not therefore diſſent from Rome on account of the doctrines taught in that church (3). From the church of Rome they diſtinguiſhed themſelves by reducing as they ſuppoſed the ancient roman doctrine to practice, by rejecting the pope, the prelates, and all the religious orders, by renouncing councils, fathers, and all traditions, and adhering to ſcripture alone as a rule of faith, and by refuſing all the papal ceremonies of baptiſm, the Lord's ſupper, penance, orders, and ſo on (4). They are alſo diſtinguiſhed from the later Vaudois, and the reformed churches, by not uſing any liturgy, by not compelling faith, by condemning parochial churches, by not taking oaths, by

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ſæculis, ritibus catholicis valedixerint, Valdenſiumque primum, poſtmodum Calviniſtarum hæreſim ſint amplexi... Pedemontani tamen nullam aliam, niſi catholico-romanam profitentur religionem.

(1) *Cap. v. De ſectis modernorum hæreticorum.*

(2) *Cap. iv.* Aliqui dicunt, quod Leoniſtarum ſecta duraverit a tempore Sylveſtri: aliqui à tempore apoſtolorum.

(3) *Cap. iv.* Inter omnes has ſectas .. non eſt pernicioſior eccleſiæ [Romanæ] quam Leoniſtarum ... quia cum omnes aliæ ſectæ immanitate blaſphemiarum in Deum audientibus horrorem inducant: hæc, ſcilicet Leoniſtarum .. bene omnia de *Deo* credant, et omnes articulos, qui in *ſymbolo* continentur.

Cap. v. Tertius error eſt, quod doctrinam evangelicam pœne nullus ſervet in eccleſia, præter eos.

(4) *Cap. v.* Dicunt quod Romana eccleſia .. defecerit ſub Sylveſtro, quando venenum temporalium infuſum eſt in eccleſiam... Blaſphemant .. omnem clerum .. Concilia, Synodos, et conventus ſpernunt... Decretales et decreta, et dicta et expoſitiones ſanctorum reſpuunt, et tantum inhærent textui... Quidquid prædicatur, quod per textum bibliæ non probatur, pro fabulis habent .. omnia ſacramenta eccleſiæ damnant .. omnes honeſtas et approbatas conſuetudines eccleſiæ deteſtantur.

allowing every perſon even women to teach, by not practiſing infant-baptiſm, by not admitting godfathers, by rejecting all ſacerdotal habits, by denying all eccleſiaſtical orders of prieſthood, papal and epiſcopal, by not bearing arms, and by their abhorrence of every ſpecies of perſecution (5). This was the account given of them after their union with the Waldenſes, which will be remarked preſently.

In regard to their hiſtory, it may ſafely be affirmed, there is no trace of their deſcent either from the apoſtles, or from the roman church in the time of Sylveſter: but there is one remarkable fact, beſide their ſituation, (for their vallies were in the dioceſe of Turin) which renders their deſcent from biſhop Claude extremely probable, that is, a ſimilarity of doctrine and diſcipline, to which, it ſhould ſeem, they had added a refinement, riſing perhaps out of their own improved underſtandings, or, it may be, out of their ſituation, for as the catholicks became their perſecutors, they retired further from catholiciſm, and of courſe became more refined. Claude was the Wickliff of Turin, as both catholics and proteſtants allow, as they do the ſimilarity of his doctrine to that of the Vaudois (6). It would be ſuperfluous to prove this, and it may be more proper to mention the likely cauſes of their refinement. It is in the nature of religion to refine ſociety, if it be not checked and perverted by authority. This was the condition of the vallies. Turin was a long way from theſe vallies. The biſhop was little more than a rector. He had no ſuffragan biſhops, and no ſecular power in the vallies. A ſpirit of refinement, too, is excited by emulation. The Vaudois ſaw all the world aſpiring at liberty, and it is not imaginable they ſaw all this without congenial emotions. Paſſing, however, many ſuch articles, there were two remarkable events in their neighbourhood, which animated them.

In the twelfth century, toward the cloſe, a great reformation was begun at Lyons under the auſpices of a merchant there, who procured a tranſlation of the four goſpels from latin into french, and who both preached himſelf, and engaged others to do ſo in various parts of the country. Rinieri thought all the believers ſprung from this ſtock, and he, therefore, calls them all Leoniſts. Whether the merchant received his name Valdus, from the Vaudois, or whether they received theirs from him is uncertain: the former is the more probable opinion of the two, and the fact ſeems to be, that till then the Vaudois were few and obſcure, and the Leoniſts at once numerous and popular; that the Vaudois and Leoniſts ſoon incorporated themſelves together; that the Vaudois communicated their name, which paſſed for that of a low, ruſtical, obſcure people, to the Leoniſts; and that the Leoniſts emboldened the Vaudois to ſeparate openly from the church (7). This ſtate of affairs in part reconciles the opinion of biſhop Boſſuet with that of doctor Allix, and other proteſtants. Boſſuet ſays, the ſeparation of the Vaudois was for a long time a mere ſchiſm in the church, and that Waldo was their parent. Proteſtants deny this, and ſay the Vaudois were the parents of the Leoniſts. It ſhould ſeem the Vaudois were the firſt, and that they continued in the church a ſort of party till Waldo emboldened them to ſeparate, and ſo became, not the founder of the party, but the parent of their ſeparation. If ſo, the Leoniſts refined the Vaudois (8).

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(5) Letaniam nunquam legunt... Dicunt quod nullus ſit cogendus ad fidem .. quod omnia jura parochialia ſint adinventiones... Plus quam homicidam reputant, qui cogit jurare. Dicunt quod omne juramentum ſit mortale peccatum. Mat. v. 34. 37. *Nolite jurare omnino: ſed ſit ſermo veſter, eſt, eſt, non, non.* Qui dicit *vere*, vel *certe* reputat juramentum... Dicunt, quod omnis laicus, et etiam fœmina debeat prædicare... De baptiſmo dicunt, quod catechiſmus nihil ſit. Item, quod ablutio, quæ datur infantibus, nihil proſit. Item, quod patrini non intelligant quod reſpondeant ſacerdoti... Quod Chriſtus non dederit apoſtolis ſtolas, nec caſulam, nec infulam... Omnem clerum damnant propter otium, dicentes, eos manibus debere operari, ſicut apoſtoli fecerunt... Item nomina prælationum reprobant, ſicut papæ, *epiſcopi*, &c. omnia officia eccleſiaſtica nulla reputant... Item, dicunt quod omnes principes et judices damnantur, &c.

(6) UGHELLI *Ital. Sac. Taurin. tom. iv.* CLAUDE II. Ejus meminit inter hereſiarchas Theodorus Petreius in catalogo, quem natione Anglum facit Prateolus, Joanni Wicleffo ejuſdem fere, et hæreſis, et nationis coevum: ducem videlicet et magiſtrum eorum, qui crucem Dominicam nullo pacto adorandam contendebant, tum quoque baptiſmum eſſe nullum, ſi fronti ipſius baptizati ſignum crucis non infigeretur.

SPANHEIM .. DU PIN .. ALLIX .. CAVE .. MOSHEIM. *Cent. xii. p. ii. chap. v. ſ.* 11.

The practice of confounding hereticks of all kinds in one common herd devoted to the ſhambles, hath been an ancient cuſtom with eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians, and it hath obſcured hiſtory. The preſent is a caſe in point: but the truth ſeems to be, that the Vaudois, properly ſo called, were the diſciples of Claude of Turin, and inhabited the vallies of Piedmont: the Waldenſes the followers of Waldo of Lyons, firſt inhabitants of Lyons and the adjacencies of it, then united with the Vaudois, and laſtly were diffuſed into all countries of Europe. The Albigenſes were Manicheans, or nearly ſo, and were very different from both: and as a celebrated modern author juſtly remarks, the abuſe of eccleſiaſtical power was the true origin of thoſe in the ſouthern provinces of France (1). Izam the Troubadour, a dominican perſecutor of theſe hereticks, complained that although the prayers of the prieſt and the ſign of the croſs abſolved the child, when it came OUT OF the water, from every ſin, yet theſe hereticks, perjured liars, ADMITTED ANOTHER BAPTISM. On this account he exclaims: "Curſed be the man, who firſt thought of putting the miniſtration of theſe things into the hands of vile peaſants; who come from the foddering of their cattle to theſe holy ordinances, and whoſe only ſcience is to plough the land and talk blaſphemy (2)!"

The ſecond event fell out in the thirteenth century, about the year twelve hundred and thirty, and roſe to a pitch about twelve hundred and ſixty.

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(7) EBRARDI *Bethun. cap. xxv.*.. USSERII *De Succeſ. cap. viii.*.. ALLIX. *chap. xix.*
(8) J. B. BOSSUET *Des Variations, lib. ii.*
(1) MRS. DOBSON's *Hiſtory of the Troubadours, London.* 1779, *preface.*
(2) *Hiſtory of* IZAM. *Controverſy with an Albigenſe theologian. p.* 182.

When the factions of the popes and emperours had covered Italy with crimes, ſome of the warm-hearted clergy pitied their country, and exerted themſelves to reform abuſes, and to eſtabliſh peace. The firſt, and moſt remarkable of them was John of Vicenza, a preaching friar of good life, having, ſays an Italian of thoſe times, the gift of eloquence, and being in favour with God and man. God was with him, he adhered to the bleſſed virgin in all his affairs, he honoured the croſs, and bleſſed the magnificence of Jeſus Chriſt (3). Norbert, afterwards biſhop of Magdeburg in Saxony, had ſet an example of itinerant preaching the century before: but John of Vicenza was either the firſt, or the moſt famous of italian miſſionaries, and his example is followed in miſſions to this day (4). This man preached in cities, towns, villages, and caſtles ſo often, and with ſo much addreſs on the vices of the times, and particularly, on the ruinous ſpirit of party, that he brought multitudes to repentance. In the year thirty-three, he went toward Padua, and the corporation met him on the road, and carried him in the ſtate coach of the city into the town (5). In a field adjacent he preached to a great number of people from all parts, and gave notice that on ſuch a day in the ſucceeding Auguſt he would preach at Verona, and if they were in earneſt, he hoped they would meet him, and make peace. On the appointed day, in a ſpacious field near Verona, there were aſſembled at his preaching, the people of Breſcia, Mantua, Padua, Treviſa and Vicenza, in a variety of carriages, and a great multitude of the inhabitants of Bologna, Ferrara, Modena, Reggio, Parma, and adjacent places, ſo that it was computed, there were more than four hundred thouſand perſons of all deſcriptions. John mounted a high ſcaffold, and preached from theſe words: "Peace I leave with you: my peace I give unto you." The Lord aſſiſted him to preach with wonderful authority: for God was with him, and his ſucceſs was aſtoniſhing. Here all contending parties reſolved to bury all diſputes, to reform all exceſſes, and to eſtabliſh a laſting peace (6). For this purpoſe John was choſen arbitrator, and

(3) ROLANDINI *De factis in Marchia Tarviſina. lib. iii. cap. vii. Hic tangitur breviter de pace fratris Johannis.* Hic habens dona facundiæ, apud Deum et homines gratioſus, multas prædicationes fecit per Paduam, immo etiam per civitates Marchiæ, per villas etiam, et per caſtra: erat enim cum illo Deus, &c.

(4) MURAT. *Antiq. Ital. tom. vi. diſſ. lxxv. De piis laicorum confraternitatibus.*

(5) ROLANDIN. *ut ſup.* Ivit totum commune Paduæ cum carrocio, et ſumma devotione obviam ei de partibus Montiſſilicis venienti, et poſitus in carrocio intravit cum magno gaudio et honore in civitatem.

Vocab. Acad. Della Cruſca. CARROCIO. Il carroccio, che menava il commune di Firenze, era un carro in ſu quattro ruote, tutto diſtinto vermiglio, e avevani ſu commeſſo due grandi antenne, e maniglie, in ſu lequali ſtava, e ventolava il grande ſtendardo dell' arme del comune dimezzata bianco, e vermiglio. E atteſo. Tirandolo un paio di buoi coperti di panno vermiglio dici ſotto. Queſto carroccio uſavano i noſtri antichi Fiorentini per trionfo, o dignitade, e cio, che ſegue... Vedi Carretta.

(6) ROLANDIN. *ut ſup.* Erat enim cum illo Deus... Ibi auctoritatem illam propoſuit: *pacem meam do vobis, pacem relinquo vobis,* et auctoritatem eloquenter adaptans ad ſui animi præconceptum,

and by a deed, one of the moſt curious of the middle ages, he adjuſted all differences, and denounced heavy penalties, both of a pecuniary and religious kind, againſt ſuch as ſhould violate the agreement. Neſtor Monticelli, a noblemen of Cremona, ſent a copy of this ſingular deed to Muratori, who publiſhed it. The zealous arbitrator awarded, that all parties ſhould expel hatred and rancour from their hearts, love one another as brethren, and fulfil all the articles ſpecified in the award, under the penalty of a thouſand marks of gold, beſide his curſe and excommunication, which was to extend over their fruits, vines, trees, beaſts, and all their property, and to deliver their perſons up to ſatan the devil, in the name of himſelf, and of the apoſtles Peter and Paul, pope Gregory, and God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt (7).

The congregation formed very different opinions of the declaimer, and his deſigns. Some thought he intended, under pretence of extinguiſhing the ſpirit of party, to ſuppreſs that of the civil power, and to eſtabliſh that of the pope. Indifferent judges were confirmed in this opinion, and his friends thought he forgot himſelf, by his making at the cloſe of all his bright figures of rhetorick, Azzolino a citizen of Padua (8). Whatever might be his view, his whole doings tended to this, and he himſelf was diſqualified for a referee, becauſe he was a partizan of the pope, under whoſe authority he ſaid he acted. Zealous declamations addreſſed to partizans are the vaineſt of all vain things, when they omit to inveſtigate the grounds and reaſons on which men who take a ſide have been induced to embrace it. The true wiſdom of the Italians was not to ſupport either the emperour or the pope, much leſs to coaleſce with both, but to form a third party to reſiſt the two, who under various pretences aimed to enſlave them. The wiſe part had begun to find this out, and the godly exertions of the friar only blazed, and then evaporated in ſmoke. John came, however, in the name of Jeſus, and declaimed wonderfully on peace, and quoted many flouriſhing texts, and the populace were charmed into the moſt wild of all the pious frenzies, that ever ſeized mankind.

In the year twelve hundred and ſixty, at Peruſini a city between Rome and Florence the people were ſo overwhelmed with a ſenſe of ſin, and ſo terribly afraid of God the avenger of it, that they adopted the monaſtical diſcipline of the whip, and aſſociated themſelves two and two in proceſſion almoſt naked

præconceptum, pacem Lombardis omnibus, immo cunctis de Italia, auctoritate domini apoſtolici, qua fungebatur ſpecialiter hoc negotio, ut dicebat, auctorizabiliter prædicavit, &c. Joan. xiv. 27.

(7) MURAT. *Antiq. tom. iv. in calce... Diſſ. li. Laudum pacis ſtabilitæ a fratre Johanni Vicentino Ord. prædic. inter cives Veronenſes Gibellinos et Guelphos. An.* 1233.

(8) ROLANDIN. *ut ſup.* Ultimo, poſt omnia ſua dicta, quaſi obliviosſus fuiſſet, addidit, quod Dominus Eccelinus de Romano eſſet civis Paduanus, et reciperetur in cittadantiam Paduanam. His itaque terminatis, regreſſæ ſunt cunctæ gentes, et communia civitatum cum ſuis carrociis, quæ illuc conduxerant, et magnates omnes ad terras ſuas. Et erat quaſi rumor in populo, dum redirent, et diverſi diverſimode loquebantur; alii namque dicebant, talem congregationem fuiſſe factam, ut una partium fuiſſet exheredata, cum multi occulta arma tuliſſent.

flagellating themſelves till the blood ran down (9). They laid aſide all buſineſs, all amuſements, even muſick their favourite enjoyment, and marched from church to church, crying to God for mercy; and forgiving and embracing one another. Men and women of all ranks, and even little children of five years old, (infants as they are called) went by crowds into the practice. From hence it ſpread into Rome, and from thence over all Italy. From individuals it proceeded to corporate bodies, and the corporation of one city went thus in proceſſion to another, either in token of brotherly love, or of repentance for former hoſtilities (1). Hundreds, thouſands, tens of thouſands, ſays a monk of the times, in the night, in exceſſive ſharp winter weather, with lighted tapers, imploring mercy from God and his mother as earneſtly as if they had ſeen them with their bodily eyes, and whipping themſelves with ſobs and cries and floods of tears, went about from ſtreet to ſtreet, from church to church, from town to town, ſo that mountains, vallies, roads, cities reſounded with ſhrieks for mercy, the prieſts walking before each party carrying croſſes and flags, and kindling up the bleſſed blaze. King Manfred of Sicily lord of Apuglia, the Marche of Ancona, and great part of Tuſcany, and the wiſe and good marquis Pellavicini, governour of Cremona, Breſcia, and Milan, both lovers of liberty, and aware of a ſpirit of ſlavery in the ſhape of enthuſiaſm, forbad the flagellants to enter thoſe places, for which the monks moſt devoutly execrated them as tyrants, who hated the light (2). Theſe wiſe men ſaw, that God was not ſuch a being as theſe penitents ſuppoſed, that the whole was prieſtcraſt, and that the farce was a prelude to a tragedy, in which the ſpirit of Italy ſubdued to the prieſthood would fall an eaſy ſacrifice to their unquenchable love of dominion, the firſt cauſe and the laſt end of all their movements. Some of the church, too, diſapproved of this heavenly grace: but, as the monk wiſely obſerves, this is not ſurpriſing, for many have the ſweet voice of Jacob and the rough hands of Eſau.

Out of this BASTING, as the Italians call it, came lay brotherhoods, which abound all over Italy in various forms, and in Piedmont as much as any where (3). The learned Muratori treats of them at large. They are the roman SODALITATES, the ſaxon GYLDS, the CONFRATERNITIES of one place, the SCHOOLS of another, the COMPANIES of a third, and ſo on (4). Some have cenſured theſe coadjutors, as if they were mere coepicures: but this is only true of ſome. The aſſociations are natural; princes for fear of faction, have moulded them into corporations holding by charter from the crown, and prieſts have formed them, for fear of ſchiſm, into brotherhoods and orders, and have put themſelves at the head under pretence of devotion. Some in Italy are beneficial, others are a publick grievance, and all have been monopolized and confined to a party to the diminution in ſome caſes, and in others to the total ſuppreſſion of the liberties of other citizens. It is not improbable, that the miſſions of the Vaudois, which were conducted by itinerant preachers, were ſtrengthened by the acceſſion of ſome of this devout caſt. On the one hand, it is certain ſome of their miſſionaries were itinerant preachers, as thoſe noted Anabaptiſts, Henry and Peter Bruis, and on the other hand, it is well known that ſome of the flagellants fell under a charge of hereſy. Such men as Claude, John of Vicenza, Joachim, Dulcinus, and many more, were probably men of piety, who wiſhed for a reformation; but, peradventure, they had not foreſeen at the firſt outſet whither their own doctrines would tend, if men ſhould reaſon conſequentially from them; for they actually go to make every man a judge for himſelf in religion, and this ſimple principle ſubverts the whole papal hierarchy, which they do not ſeem to have intended.

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(9) *Monach. Patavin. Chron. An.* 1260. *De mirabili modo penitentiæ, qui habuit initium in Italia, et poſtea eſt diffuſus per diverſas provincias Europæ.*

(1) RICOBALDI *Chron*... F. PIPINI *Chron*... B. CORII, *&c. An.* 1260... MURAT. *tom. vi. diſſ. lxxv.*

(2) CORII. *An.* 1260. In queſto anno venne innumerabile multitudine di battuti dalle porte di Reggio, di Mantoua, di Bologna, di Parma, et d' altri luoghi a Cremona, dove non poterono entrare, &c.

Monach. Patav. Quod princeps Manfredus, et Palavicinus prohibuere ſuos ſubjectos ſolemniter pænitere. Suſpecta ſunt tyrannis opera pietatis: tam male agentibus omnino ſunt lucis opera odioſa. . . Non ſolum autem duo prædicti principes, iniquitatis filii, et magiſtri, renuerunt accipere diſciplinam: ſed etiam quidam alii, qui fideles eccleſiæ videbantur, non cum tanta devotionis efficacia, ut debebant, donum cœleſtis gratiæ perceperunt. Multi quippe videntur habere vocem Jacob humilem et ſuavem; ſed manus eorum hiſpidæ, et nocivæ manibus Eſau eſſe ſimiles comprobantur.

There is often in eccleſiaſtical hiſtory a coincidence of circumſtances, almoſt undeſcribable, which form the diſtinctive character of a church. That of the Vaudois believers is a refinement of the ſyſtem of Claude. One example ſhall ſuffice: the ſtate of baptiſm. In the time of biſhop Claude baptiſm was the port, by which the church was entered, dipping was the mode: children were the ſubjects: ſome frivolous queſtions were aſked: and godfathers were tolerated to ſpeak, on condition the children could not clearly utter the reſponſes. All this hath been proved of the dioceſe of Milan, and conſequently of the church at Turin; and a brief ſketch of each fact in Piedmont, and the amendment of it among the Vaudois, will be ſufficient.

At Turin, over all Piedmont, and the dutchy of Savoy, as in all other parts, the chief churches grew out of baptiſteries, and are dedicated on that account to John the baptiſt. The mother church at Turin, now metropolitan, is dedicated to Saint John Baptiſt: CHIESA DI S. GIOVANNI (5). The cathedral of Maurienne in Savoy is dedicated to the ſame ſaint, he is declared the tutelar ſaint of the city, two of the fingers of that hand which baptized Chriſt are ſaid to be preſerved here, and the two fingers are the city arms (6). It would be tedious to record the churches, chapels, monaſteries, towns, and fraternities which are named after John. The fact is, however ſuperſtition may have diſguiſed it, the forming of chriſtian congregations in the eſtabliſhed church of Piedmont and Savoy began with baptiſm. It happened to John here as it did in Greece, and he was ſucceeded and ſupplanted by the virgin mother: yet here in humble guiſe on the ſide of ſome barren hill, ſurrounded with ruined fences, he overlooks the haughty palaces and virgin ſpires below, he retaining his name, and they below in poſſeſſion of the fruit of his labour (7). The Vaudois retreated when John was in faſhion, and before the virgin became his rival, they therefore formed a church ſimilar to that at Turin: they had fourteen churches divided into two claſſes, and the firſt was S. GIOVANNI, for they alſo begun with baptiſm (8).

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(3) *Battimento. . . battante. . . . Battimentum. . . . Baſtimentum. . . . Battiſterium. . . il Battuti. . . il Battiſti. . . Baptiſti. . &c.*

(4) *De piis laicorum confraternitatibus, earumque origine, flagellantibus, et ſacris miſſionibus, Diſſ. lxxv.* Collegium *epulonum* Romanis antiquis fuit, eorum ſcilicet, qui ludis ac ſacrificiis epularibus præfecti erant. Budeus autem de confraternitatum recentiorum hominibus hæc ſuo tempore in Gallia ſcribebat, *Coepulones* dici fortaſſe poſſunt, ut qui plerumque epulandi magis, quam cultus divini gratia conveniunt.

In the time of Claude dipping was the mode. If it were neceſſary to add any thing to what has been ſaid before on this article, ſomething to the purpoſe might be taken from the ancient baptiſteries of this country, and it might be proved that here, as well as in adjacent places, baptiſteries were buildings ſeparate from the places of worſhip, and evidently contrived for dipping. The baptiſtery at the city of Biella or Bioglio, a large building with a cupola roof, was once an idol's temple (9). The collegiate church of St. Mary, at the city of Chieri, uſually called DELLA SCALA from the ſteps, hath an adjoining baptiſtery, erected by the family de Tana (1). The country abounds with churches dedicated to John, and ſuch were generally, perhaps always at firſt baptiſteries. The firſt writers againſt the Vaudois never cenſured their mode of baptizing, for in thoſe times all parties adminiſtered baptiſm by dipping, except catholicks in caſes of extreme danger.

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(5) *Atlas Theat. Sabaud. tom. i. p.* 11. Metropolitana baſilica, Divo Joanni Chriſti præcurſori, a Longobardorum uſque temporibus conſecrata.

(6) *Tom. ii. p.* 19. *Civitas S. Joannis Maurianenſis.* Baſilica D. Joanni baptiſtæ urbis tutelari, ac titulari ſacra duos ejuſdem præcurſoris digitos, quibus Chriſtum domini baptizavit, ſervat venerabunda, &c.

(7) *Tom. ii. p.* 163. *Villarium.* Supereſt adhuc integra, quam delineatam voluimus, eccleſia vetus parochialis, D. Joanni Baptiſtæ præcurſori ſacra.

(8) MORLAND *Hiſt. chap. ii.* i. S. Giovanne . . ii. La Torre . . iii. Villaro . . iv. Bobio, &c.

(9) *Theat. ut ſup. tom. ii. Bugella. Pl.* 124. *N.* 6. Baptiſterium olim templum idolorum.

(1) *Tom. i. p.* 77. *Cherienſis civitas. S. Maria de Scala.* Familiæ de Tana pia liberalitate olim ſtructum eſt ſacellum, omnium antiquiſſimum, eidem baſilicæ adjacens baptiſterio.

Vid. P. 85. Ciriacum [*cirie*] S. Joannis Baptiſtæ Eccleſ.
P. 89. Carmagnolia. S. Joan. Baptiſtæ orat.
P. 92. Carinianum. [*Carignano*] S. Joan. Baptiſt. eccleſ.
P. 94. Raconiſium. Parœcia et præpoſitura Sancti Joannis Baptiſtæ.
P. 99. Savilianum. Templum S. Joannis.
P. 117. Verzolium. [*verzuolo*] Templum vetus S. Joan. Baptiſtæ, &c.

In the time of Claude baptiſm was got down to children, not to natural infants, but to ſuch as had begun to ſpeak. The word infant in this diſtrict, as in every other, was uſed in a vague ſenſe for a minor. There are here ſeminaries of boys, who are often called infants, but oftener INNOCENTS, who are trained up to muſick. Every body knows there are in Italy what they call CONSERVATORIOS, or muſical ſchools, both of boys and girls. There are four at Venice, three at Naples, and many at other places. The ſcholars are under the care of MAESTRI DI CAPELLA, who ſuperintend and correct the compoſitions of the ſtudents, and who ſing and give leſſons, and ſo on. Some of theſe ſchools are numerous: there are two hundred in that of SANTA MARIA DI LORETO at Naples. Some are on a foundation, others are penſioners, and pay for their teaching. Boys are admitted from eight to ten or twenty years of age, and ſome are qualified for ſinging by caſtration. Where the operation is performed nobody affects to know, becauſe it is death by law to perform it, and excommunication to be concerned in it, except as excepted, in caſe of conſent, or diſorders. Some CASTRATI have choſen it (2). The ſcholars are called in the ſavoyard and piedmonteſe hiſtories promiſcuouſly boys, children, innocents: but there is one foundation by a count of Savoy, which is ſingular, and deſcriptive of the old ſenſe of the terms. Amadeus IV. and his conſort one night both dreamed that they ſaw ſix infants kneeling, and humbly intreating God to put it into the hearts of the count and counteſs of Savoy to inſtitute a perpetual foundation in the monaſtery of Cluny for ſix infants, and to provide well for their ſupport; and to appoint that they ſhould offer ſtated prayers to God for the proſperity of the princes of Savoy (3). The noble dreamers thought the intimation evidently divine, and they obeyed the viſion. The conſtitution was called the holy convent; and it was provided, that if any infant in future ſhould diſcover at any time depravity he ſhould be removed, and an innocent infant put in his place, and that if any one died, no other ſervice ſhould be performed at his funeral than that, which was ſung in the church on the day of the holy innocents (4). Holy innocents is an odd phraſe: ſaint innocents ſounds no better: but if innocent be taken, as it is is here, for a boy, the aſcription of qualities to him is far from improper. In this endowment a depraved innocent was diſcharged, and a holy innocent, or a good boy ſupplied his place. Circumſtances, then, muſt determine what the baptiſm of an innocent infant means in Piedmont. The word is uſed on monuments for young perſons of different ages, as two, thirteen, eighteen, and ſo on (5).

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(2) *Theat. tom. ii. p.* 123. *Bugella.* Seminarium puerorum... Seminarium innocentium.
Tom. ii. p. 123. *Auguſtæ Prætoriæ Eccleſ. Cathedral.* Habet perpetuos capellanos quinquaginta duos, pueros ſex (innocentes vocant) qui muſicæ rudimentis inſtituuntur.

UGHELLI *Ital. Sac. tom. iv. Auguſt. Prætor. Epiſc.* Pueri ſex, quos innocentes appellant, in collegio muſicæ rudimentis inſtitui ſoliti.

DR. BURNEY'S *preſent ſtate of Muſic in France and Italy.*

(3) L. VANDER BURCHII *Hiſt. Sabaud.* AMADEUS IV. 1285.

(4) Ejus collegii (cui conventus ſanctus, quod etiamnum hodie obtinet, inditum nomen) legibus cautum inter cætera fuit, ut ſimul atque aliquem ex hiſce infantibus, tale quidquod caſtis innocuæ illius ætatis moribus repugnaret, et malitiæ præ ſe ferret ſpecimen, deſignare contingeret, illo moto, alius protinus in ejus ſubſtitueretur locum. Cautum quoque, ut eorum infantium aliquo, ea ætate ex luce hac decedente, non aliæ in æde illa ſacra, in qua ſepeliendus eſſet, dicerentur preces quam quas divis innocentibus feſto die cani conſuetum eſt.

In the time of Claude ſome queſtions were put to children to preſerve the air of inſtructing before baptiſm. It ſhould ſeem the Vaudois amended this, for among their papers, which, though of late date, it is admitted, contain ſome of their ancient cuſtoms, there is a catechiſm, the introduction to which begins thus: "Children born of carnal parents ought to be made by them ſpiritual toward God by diſcipline, and inſtruction (6)." They utterly refuſed godfathers, and expected relations to teach their children (7). They called their teachers Barbs, which is a contraction of Barbanus, and which in two laws of Rothar king of the Lombards, is ſaid to ſignify an uncle: in which ſenſe it is uſed in other places (8). It is written Barba, Barbas, Barbo, and it is ſometimes uſed figuratively, as the word father is, to ſignify any one, who performed the part of a parent and guardian, or a tutor does (9).

As the Vaudois ſoon after the riſe of Waldo fell into the waldenſian party, their hiſtory is incorporated with that of the Waldenſes. Two remarks therefore ſhall cloſe this account: the one on baptiſm, the other on ſucceſſion.

In regard to baptiſm, nothing can be determined by any writings of their own, for they publiſhed nothing (1). The moſt probable opinion is, that they baptized minors, after they had been inſtructed, which was the general practice in the time of Claude, and there is no poſitive proof, and there can be none, that they baptized babes. If, as was juſt now obſerved, their modern papers deſcribe their ancient cuſtoms, they baptized no babes (2). There is one general clue to the hiſtory of the baptiſm of babes, but how far it leads into the hiſtory of the practice of baptiſm among the Vaudois muſt be left to each reader to imagine. Baptiſm is a relative inſtitute, and all chriſtians conſider it ſo. Some think, it is an inſtitute connected with a profeſſion of chriſtianity, and of courſe that it is related only to temporal church fellowſhip. This is the opinion of the Baptiſts. Others ſuppoſe, it is connected with ſanctification, and the pardon of ſin, and related to the future ſtate, and conſequently that it is neceſſary to ſalvation. If therefore the Vaudois held the doctrine of original ſin, as it ſhould ſeem they did, baptiſm was as neceſſary to their dying babes, as it was to thoſe of the catholicks. This is a mere conjecture founded on theory; and ſuch conjectures ought to have little weight, becauſe few men reduce all parts of their own theories to practice. This is meant of the time from the death of Claude to the riſe of Waldo, and it includes about three hundred years.

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(5) MURAT. *Antiq. Ital. tom. v. diſſ. lviii.*

Tuſcanellæ in Sancti Petri.

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FILHIE INNOCENTISSIME IVNIHE MARCELLINE
VIXIT ANNIS XIII. MENSIBVS III.

Ibidem in Sancti Petri.

INNOCENTISSIMO FILIO THEODOSIO

. . . .

. . . QVI VIXIT ANNIS XVIII.

In Coemeterio Commodillæ.

BONE MEMORIE ADQVE IN
NOCENTIE SVRVS QVI BI
XIT ANNOS DVOS MEN. VII.

(6) MORLAND *b. i. chap. v. art.* 3. Li filli liqual naiſſon li pairons carnals, devons eſſer rendu de lor ſpirituals a Dio per diſciplina, et per ama eſtrement.

(7) REINERI *cap. v.* De baptiſmo dicunt, quod catechiſmus nihil ſit . . quod patrini non intelligant quid reſpondeant ſacerdoti.

MORLAND *ut ſup. Catechiſm. art. iv.* Lo Barba. Si tu foſſes demanda qui ſi es tu? L'Enfant. Creatura de Dio rational et mortal.

(8) *Leg. Longobard. lib. ii. tit. lv. lex i.* Barbanus quod eſt patruus. . . L. i. tit. x. l. i. in morte fratris ſui aut barbani, quod eſt patruus.

(9) MURAT. *Antiq. Ital. tom. ii. diſſ. xxxiii. De origine ſive etymologia Italicarum vocum. Vocab. Degli Accad. della Cruſca.* Barba. Per zio, detto alla Lombarda. . . Zio. Fratello del padre, o della madre, correllativo di Nipote. L. patruus, avunculus.

It was ſaid juſt now, no poſitive proof could be obtained. The ſingle words of the time and place would prove nothing, if they could be adduced, but they cannot: and much leſs is there any clear, direct, poſitive account accompanied with circumſtances. One remark may be made on the general practice of the country in thoſe times. The monaſtery of Bobbio, in the ſame government, was founded by an iriſh monk named Columban, on ground given him by Agilulf king of the Lombards, in the year five hundred ninety-ſeven (3). Another monk was then pope, and Columban went to pay him a viſit. The pope inwardly wondered how it was poſſible for ſo much goodneſs to inhabit ſuch a very little man as Columban: but the little monk, who could not brook contempt, perceived by the inſpiration of the ſpirit of God the thoughts of the pope, and he exclaimed: "Brother, he that deſpiſes the work, contemns the workman." The pope finding himſelf caught would have made his apology by proſtrating himſelf at the feet of the little ſervant of God: but as Columban would not ſuffer this, they embraced each other, and formed the cloſeſt friendſhip, the pope made the monk a preſent of a jar of relicks, and the monk by a formal deed put his monaſtery under the government of the pope (4). In this deed the monk ſtyled himſelf ſervant of the ſervants of

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(1) ESROM RUDIGER *de frat*... ORTH. *Narrat*... BOSSUET *Variations Hiſt. des Vaudois. lib. xi.* 127.

(2) PERRIN.. MORLAND.. LEGER, &c.

(3) UGHELLI *Ital. Sac. tom. iv. Bobienſes abbates. Donatio Flavii Agilulfi*... Data Mediolani in Palatio ſub die nono kal. Auguſti anno regni noſtri feliciſſimi octavo. i. e. an. 597.

(4) JONÆ *vita* COLUMBANI... *See* DR. WATKINSON's *ſurvey of the ſouth of Ireland, letter xxxix. Inſula ſacro-ſancta. Learned men from the fifth to the tenth century. London* 1777.

God, and the pope is ſtyled univerſal biſhop, and there is a plauſibility in the title, for the monks in the houſe, who ſigned the deed, were Iriſhmen, Scotchmen, Frenchmen, Italians, and ſo on: but what renders the caſe remarkable is, this was the pope, Gregory I. who reproved the patriarch of Conſtantinople for taking the title of univerſal biſhop, and whom proteſtants on this account have placed in a liſt of witneſſes againſt popery: when indeed Gregory only denied univerſality to the patriarch for the ſake of claiming it himſelf, and this deed, if it be genuine, diſcovers his fraud (5). The monaſtery of Bobbio became in time rich and famous, and its library was well furniſhed with manuſcript books ſuited to the taſte of the men. In a catalogue of the tenth century, as it is ſuppoſed, there are the titles of three copies of the book of the infancy of the Saviour, and theſe books probably were duplicates kept for the uſe of the children of the monaſtery (6). Out of two manuſcripts of this ancient library, omitting others, alpine baptiſm, the ſubject in purſuit receives light.

The firſt is a diploma of the emperour Lewis II. to confirm to the monaſtery the right of all its property (7). This was in the time of abbot Almaric, and the date is eight hundred ſixty-five, which was either during the life, or ſoon after the deceaſe of Claude biſhop of Turin. In this charter are theſe words: "in like manner we confirm and ordain concerning the eſtate which Peter the LITTLE INFANT in his laſt illneſs delivered to the monaſtery (8)." INFANTULUS here, as in all other parts of Italy, ſignified one under eighteen years of age, and, as ſuch were allowed to alienate their property in favour of the church, the monks obtained many farms, and even caſtles, to which governments were annexed (9). Thus the child Ubert left a caſtle to the monaſtery of Saint Zeno; and the little infants, count Guaifer the ſon of count Landoar, Adald the little infant ſon of Waltpert, Hubert the little infant ſon of Hugh the Saracen, and others left eſtates to churches and monks (1). Such little infants had undoubtedly been baptized, but at what time cannot be determined by the term infant. If therefore it could be proved that the Vaudois baptized infants, as it is proved the monks did, it would not follow that they baptized babes.

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(5) UGHELLI *ut ſup. Chartula qualiter dominus Columbanus tradidit monaſterium Bobienſe ſedi Apoſtolicæ.* Anno Deo propitio pontificatus Domini Gregorii ſummi pontificis et univerſalis papæ in ſanctiſſima ſede beati Petri apoſtolorum principis iv. Indict. 3. Ego Columbanus ſervus ſervorum Dei, ex Hiberniæ partibus ortus. . . Actum in palatio Conſtant. . . Ego Columbanus hæ chartulæ offenſionis meæ a me factæ ſunt, et relatæ ſunt. . . Ego Domitialis humilis diac. Scotto et monach. . . Ego Gurzagus genere Bertonus. . . Ego Attalus ſacerdos de genere francorum. . . Ego Petrus diaconus, et notarius ſanctæ ſedis apoſtolicæ has chartulas offenſionis ſcripſi, publicavi, complevi et dedi.

(6) MURAT. *Antiq. Ital. tom. iii. diſſ. xliii. De literarum ſtatu, &c. Index MStorum codicum Bobienſis Cænobii, decimo, ut videtur, æræ vulgaris ſæculo exaratus.* pag. 817. Librum i. De infantia Salvatoris. . . 822. De fratre Adalberto. Infantia Salvatoris. . . 823. De libris Boniprandi. Infantiæ Salvatoris, lib. i.

(7) UGHELLI *ut ſup. Ludovici imperatoris peramplum privilegium. Monaſt. Bobiens. conceſs. Anno Chriſti* 865.

(8) Eodem modo confirmamus atque ſancimus de rebus illis in Rodeluſcingo, quas Petrus *infantulus* in extremis poſitus tradidit, &c.

(9) MURAT. *Antiq. Ital. tom. v. diſſ. lxvii. De modis quibus olim eccleſiæ: epiſcopi, canonici, monaſteria, atque aliæ hujuſmodi univerſitates ſacræ; terrenis opibus et commodis auctæ ſunt.* Neque tantum fundos a piis hujuſmodi pueris conſequuti ſunt monachi, ſed et caſtella ipſa, ut patebit ex diplomate, quod archetypum vidi in tabulario abbatiæ Veronenſis Sancti Zenonis, ubi "caſtrum, quod dicitur Capavum, a *puero* Uberto pro remedio animæ ſuæ, ſuorumque parentum

The ſecond is a manuſcript ſacramentary, a perfect liturgy for the whole year, all written in ancient capital letters, and ſuppoſed to be of the time of abbot Bertulf, who flouriſhed in the ſeventh century (2). Criticks are not able to determine whether this liturgy of Bobbio were for the uſe of the abbey church, or for that of Beſançon in Burgundy (3). The benedictions and the penitentiary at the end ſeem to determine in favour of the abbey, and the moſt probable opinion is: that it was at firſt the conventual miſſal, and that, when the monks obtained adjacent churches, it became the liturgy of ſuch diſtricts. It is certainly of very high antiquity, as, to ſay nothing of other parts, a compariſon of the penitentiary with the fifty-ninth diſſertation of Muratori ſeems clearly to prove (4). In this liturgy there is no office for the baptiſm of children, nor the leaſt hint of pouring or ſprinkling; on the contrary, there is a directory for making a chriſtian of a pagan before baptiſm, and for waſhing his feet after it; and there is the delivery of the creed in lent with exhortations to competents, and ſuitable collects, epiſtles and goſpels, as in other ordinals, preparatory to baptiſm on holy Saturday. The

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parentum monaſterio Sancti Zenonis judicatum atque traditum cum omni debito et diſtrictione" commemorantur. En integrum præceptum ipſum nondum luci redditum. "In nomine," &c.

(1) GUAIFERII *Comitis in puerili ætate conſtituti donatio facta eccleſiæ S. Mariæ Salemitatæ. Anno* 1000. In nomine Domini... Ego infantulus infra etate nomine Gaiferio comes, filius quondam Landoarii comitis, clarefacio. &c... Dum ego ſupraſcripto Guaiferio a magna ægritudinede prehenſus ſum; et ita lex noſtra Longobardorum continet, ut ſi cuicumque ante decem et octo annos evenerit ægritudo, et ſe viderit ad mortis periculum tendere, licentiam haberet de rebus ſuis pro anima ſua in ſanctis locis cauſa pietatis, vel in Sinedochio judicare quod voluerit, et quod judicaberit pro anima ſua ſtabilem permaneret. Et ideo ego Guaiferius, &c.

HUBERTI *infantuli ex genere Saracenorum Donatio. An.* 1018. Manifeſtus ſum ego Huberto infantulo, que Melio vocor, folio b. m. Hughi ex genere Saracenorum. &c.

(2) MABILLON. *Muſ. Ital. tom. i. Præfat. in ſacramentarium Gallicanum.* Codicem antiquum, ex quo ſubſequentem ordinem Gallicanum deſcripſimus, invenimus in bibliotheca percelebris et perantiqui monaſterii Bobienſis. Scriptus eſt codex ante annos mille, et quidem literis majuſculis, ut ex appoſito ſpecimine periti intelligent.

(3) Dici poteſt Liturgia Bobienſis.. Nihil prohibet, quin hoc miſſale fuerit ad uſum eccleſiæ et provinciæ Veſontionenſis. Quod tamen aliis expendendum permittimus.

(4) MURAT. *tom. v. De ſuperſtitionum ſemine in obſcuris Italiæ ſæculis.* Liutprandus rex Longobardorum Lege xxx. Lib. vi. graviſſimam pœnam iis ſtatuit, "qui ad Arborem, quam ruſtici Sanctivam vocant, atque ad Fontanas adoraverint, aut ſacrilegium, vel incantationem fecerint, &c.

Judicius pænitentialis. xxiii. Si quis ſacrilegium fecerit, quod aruſpices vocant, ſi per aves aut aguria colunt, vel ad divinationes eorum vadunt, quinque annos pœniteat. &c.

introductory diſcourſe of the preſbyter before delivering the creed runs thus: “Dear brethren, the divine ſacraments are not ſo properly matters of inveſtigation as of faith, and not only of faith but alſo of fear, for no one can receive the diſcipline of faith unleſs he have for a foundation the fear of the Lord, for, as Solomon ſaith, the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wiſdom. He that fears the Lord in all things which the Lord hath commanded is both wiſe and faithful. You are about to hear the creed therefore to-day, for without that neither can Chriſt be announced, nor can you exerciſe faith, nor can baptiſm be adminiſtered (5). The creed is the token of the catholick faith, the ſacrament of eternal religion. You, therefore, competents, prepare your ſenſes with all reverence; hearken to the creed, which the holy catholick church in the language of a mother delivers to you: I believe in God the father almighty: and ſo on.” After he had repeated the creed, he expounded it ſentence by ſentence, referred to trine immerſion, and cloſed with repeated obſervations on the abſolute neceſſity of faith in order to a worthy participation of baptiſm (6). There were two cities of the name of Bobbio, this was ſituated between Placenza and Genoa, and if it were neceſſary to give any opinion on the age of the competents of thoſe early times, and on that of the children of the monaſteries of thoſe parts, who are called INFANTULI, ſeveral reaſons taken from adjacent places might be aſſigned to found a conjecture highly probable, that they were in general from fourteen to eighteen: under eighteen becauſe they obtained licences to alienate their property, and near or about fourteen becauſe till then they were more immediately under their parents or guardians. Thus one ſays: “I Theobald left my parents, and whatever I might have had in the world, in the fourteenth year of my age, and fled againſt their will into the venerable monaſtery. At that time the venerable abbot Alſernus was the ſpiritual director of the monaſtery, and he received me with great kindneſs, became my ſuſceptor, and put on me the habit of a monk (7).” Thus a widow lady, who had an only ſon under age, and who endowed an oratory to which his conſent was neceſſary, ſpeaks in the charter: “In the name of God.. We Rottrude daughter of Siſimund, and relick of Gumbert . . and Gunibert the little infant ſon of the ſaid Gumbert, the ſaid Gunibert having firſt obtained a licence . . declare . . and give . . and ſo on (8). In brief, while baptiſm was left to the choice of the people, it was not adminiſtered to babes, and although the ſordid monks, with the view of enriching their houſes had reduced it to the ſize of all who could aſk for it, yet they did not prevail over parents to allow them to dip babes till the emperour Charlemagne, whoſe piety they celebrated in the higheſt ſtrains, endued them with ſecular authority by covering the weſtern country with carnage and blood. Before that period all the words, child, little one, infant, innocent, and all the diminutives of theſe little words, ſtood for ſuch as could aſk to be baptized, as a letter of a certain biſhop, publiſhed by Florus deacon of the church at Lyons, not long after the death of Charles, proves beyond all contradiction (9).

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(5) *In Symbolum ad aurium apertionem ad electos.. Incipit expoſitio Symboli.* Sacramenta divina, fratres chariſſimi, non tam diſcutienda ſunt, quam credenda... Symbolum igitur hodie audituri eſtis, ſine quo nec Chriſtus adnuntiari poteſt, nec fides teneri, nec baptiſmi gratia celebrari... Vos ergo, competentes, cum omni reverentia præparate ſenſus veſtros; audite Symbolum. &c.

(6) Se te triduana Domini tui ſepultura conturbat, reſurrectio magis æterna confirmet... Niſi credideris eccleſiam Dei Sanctam, non potes in eccleſia Dei dona percipere... Niſi enim credideris dimiſſa tibi peccata tua, abſolutus eſſe non poteris. Niſi credideris carnis reſurrectione reparandum te eſſe poſt mortem, ad fructum vitæ perpetuæ venire non poteris.

(7) MURAT. *Ant. tom. iv. diſſ. lvi. p. 767.* In nomine Dei... Ego Theobaldus monachus relictis parentibus meis, quartodecimo ætatis meæ anno, et quidquid in ſeculo habere poteram, ad venerabile monaſterium invitis parentibus fugii. Eodem vero tempore vir venerabilis Alſernus abbas monaſterii præfati ſpiritualiter curam gerebat, a quo cumque benigne ſuſceptus eſſem, monachicho habitu indutus, &c.

Uninterrupted ſucceſſion is a ſpecious lure, a ſnare ſet by ſophiſtry, into which all parties have fallen; and it hath happened to ſpiritual genealogiſts as it hath to others who have traced natural deſcents: both have wattled together twigs of any kind to fill up remote chaſms. The doctrine is neceſſary only to ſuch churches as regulate their faith and practice by tradition, and for their uſe it was firſt invented. When the clergy began to propoſe different ſpeculations as teſts of true chriſtians, it became a queſtion of importance which was the true and genuine opinion. Jeſus had left his diſciples free to judge each for himſelf, but theſe dogmatiſts were both believers and tyrants, and they inſiſted on uniformity. The ſcripture was ſilent on theſe ſubjects of diſpute, the apoſtles were dead, and in this exigence it was ſuggeſted that ſuch churches as had been taught by apoſtles were moſt likely to be in poſſeſſion of the truth. To this honour moſt pretended, and one ſaid this was the true faith, and another ſaid that was. Hence came ten thouſand frauds, and as many falſe relicks, and in the end the biſhop of Rome, who affected to hold from Peter, not by argument but by a train of complicated crimes roſe above contradiction, and Rome was the oracle of the Weſt. Proteſtants, by the moſt ſubſtantial arguments have blaſted the doctrine of papal ſucceſſion: and yet theſe very proteſtants have undertaken to make proof of an unbroken ſeries of perſons of their own ſentiments following one another in due order from the apoſtles to themſelves. The papal ſucceſſion is a catalogue of names of real and imaginary men, of chriſtians and atheiſts, blaſphemers and ſaints. The lutheran ſucceſſion runs in the papal channel till the reformation, and then in a ſmall ſtream changes its courſe. The calviniſt ſucceſſion is a zig-zag, and it is made up of men of all principles and all communities, and, what is very ſurprizing, of popes, arians, and anabaptiſts, exactly ſuch men as Calvin and his comrades committed to the flames for hereſy. What have proteſtants to do with pope Gregory as one of the witneſſes for truth propheſied of by St. John: or with what face could the people of Geneva call theſe noted anabaptiſts Henry and Peter Bruis their predeceſſors, when they burnt Servetus only for believing what thoſe men taught? No writer hath chaſtiſed them more ſeverely or more juſtly for claiming apoſtolical ſucceſſion through the Vaudois than biſhop Boſſuet. Said he: "Provided any perſon complained of any one doctrine of the church, and eſpecially if he murmured againſt the pope, whatever he were in other reſpects, or whatever opinions he held, he is put into a catalogue of predeceſſors of proteſtants, and judged worthy to ſupport the ſucceſſion of their churches. As to the Vaudois, they were a ſpecies of Donatiſts, and worſe than the ancient Donatiſts of Africa. They held opinions, which we all, both reformed and catholicks, abhor. They never heard of predeſtination and juſtification till the Calviniſts preached to them. They refuſed in all caſes to take oaths. They all without diſtinction, if they were reputed good people, preached and adminiſtered ordinances. They made no proviſion for a clergy, but required all to work for their bread. They formed their churches of only good men. They publiſhed no creeds. How can theſe, whom we both count hereticks, be put into a ſucceſſion of proteſtants?" His lordſhip obſerves the ſame of individuals. "You call Claude of Turin one of your apoſtolical church: but Claude was an arian, a diſciple of Felix of Urgel. You adopt Henry and Peter Bruis: but both theſe, every body knows, were anabaptiſts. All theſe people held many articles intolerable to you as well as to us: but all theſe you paſs by in favour of five or ſix points, in which they agree with you, and in ſpite of their hypocriſy and hereſy theſe people are regiſtered as your predeceſſors (1)." Theſe are looſe deſultory hints taken from a connected well written piece, which never hath been anſwered, and never can, till proteſtants change the ground of attack, and on the broad plan of univerſal freedom allow the variety proved by the prelate, and juſtify it as an excellence of the chriſtian religion, which can never be endangered by diverſity of ſentiment as long as uninterpreted revelation is made the ground of action, the teſt of a chriſtian and the bond of ſociety.

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(8) *Pag.* 785. In nomine Domini. . . Manifeſti ſumus nos Rottruda religionis velamen induta, filia bone memorie Siſimundi, et relicta bone memorie Ghumberti, ſed et Ghuniberto *infantulo* filio bone memorie Gumberti, ghenetrice et filio, una cum conſenſu et data licentia ſupraſcripto Ghumberto [*Ghuniberto*] filio et mundualdo, &c.

(9) D'ACHERII *Spicileg. tom. i. p.* 597. *circa an.* 865. *xviii. Ex epiſtola epiſcopi ad imperatorem de baptizatis Hebræis.* Poſtquam divinæ gratiæ auxilio et veſtræ pietatis patrocinio, juxta auctoritatem divinæ legis et eccleſiaſticorum patrum conſtituta pro Judæorum illuminatione cœpimus laborare, adjuvante eadem divina gratia converſi ſunt plures ex eis ad Dominum tam viri quam feminæ, majores natu et *juvenes, adoleſcentes,* et *pueri,* et cum eis etiam ſeorſum aliqui ex ſervis et ancillis. Cumque hic numerus cœpiſſet multiplicari, et gaudium matris eccleſiæ de ſalute converſorum in dies augeri, cœperunt converſi invitare averſos ad eam quam cognoverant veritatem, maxime *pueros,* et *innocentes,* eo quod cæteri magis exiſtant duri utpote inveterati dierum malorum. Cœperunt ergo *pueri* et *adoleſcentuli* quod videbant in iſtis, deſiderare fieri in ſeipſis, et maxime ut arbitror, quia per ſingula Sabbata a fratribus et ſacerdotibus noſtris in Synagoga verbum Domini prædicatur. Quod cum impii ſenſiſſent parentes, cœperunt eos furtim et maxime noctibus ad inferiores provinciæ partes, id eſt, Arelatem urbem dirigere, quo magna eorum multitudo, tam ex Cabilonenſe, quam ex Matacenſi et Viennenſi civitatibus tranſlata eſt. Quod cum mihi ab eiſdem qui crediderant Judæis dolenter nuntiatum fuiſſet, juſſi eos qui reſidui erant, abſque læſione, vel damno aliquo in præſentiam meam ſub conſpectu eccleſiæ deduci, ut ſi qui inter eos eſſent qui noſtra *deſiderarent,* pateret eis janua matris eccleſiæ, ereptis de manibus impiorum. Statim igitur, mirabile dictu! ſex *pueruli* priuſquam ab aliquo exhortari cœpiſſent, ſacerdotum noſtrorum pedibus provoluti profitebantur *ſe velle* baptizari, atque ut ad me perducerentur *orabant.* Cumque perducti eſſent, ſimiliter *ſupplicantes* et *rogantes* omnium gratulatione ſuſcepti ſunt. Poſt vero et alii numero xlvii. qui idem *profeſſi ſunt,* quos omnes ſub conſpectu Dei et eccleſiæ bonis et fidelibus fratribus tradidi inſtruendos, et in ſolemnitate paſchali generalis lavacri celebritate baptizandos et nutriendos Domino. *Reliquos* vero, in quibus nihil boni deſiderii vel petitionis agnovi, reſtitui intactos parentibus ſuis.

CHAP. XIII.

BOHEMIA.

BOHEMIA is derived from Bohmen, which ſignifies, the country of the Boii, a tribe of Celts, who many years ago retired into what was then called the Hercynian foreſt to avoid the roman yoke. Under this name are now included the kingdom of Bohemia properly ſo called, the dutchy of Sileſia, and the marquiſate of Moravia. It has Auſtria and Bavaria on the ſouth, Brandenburgh and Luſatia on the north, Poland and Hungary on the eaſt, and Bavaria and Saxony on the weſt. The country is about three hundred miles long, and two hundred and fifty broad, and it is almoſt ſurrounded with impenetrable foreſts and lofty mountains.

The ſoil is fruitful where it is cultivated, and yields corn enough for home conſumption and for exportation. The inhabitants breed abundance of cattle in their extenſive paſtures, particularly horſes fit for war. They have inexhauſtible mines of gold, ſilver, copper, tin, iron, lead, ſulphur and nitre; and their carbuncles, emeralds and other precious ſtones are vended all over Europe. It is ſaid that this kingdom contains near three millions of inhabitants, who raiſe for the houſe of Auſtria a revenue of near a million a year ſterling.

To form a juſt notion of theſe people we muſt go back to remote ages, and divide them into three claſſes. The firſt claſs we call barons or LORDS. When the barbarous northern armies ſettled themſelves in a country by ſubduing or exterminating the natives, they divided the lands among themſelves, and each enjoyed his portion in abſolute freedom during his own life, and could diſpoſe of it, or tranſmit it to his children at pleaſure. His property was

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(1) *Variations, liv. xi.*

ALLODIAL, that is, he held of no ſuperiour or ſovereign, to whom he was bound to do homage, and perform ſervice: but as theſe new proprietors were in danger of being diſturbed by the remainder of the ancient inhabitants, or by ſucceſſive colonies of barbarians as fierce and rapacious as themſelves, they ſaw the neceſſity of becoming under obligations to defend one another. Theſe lords of the ſoil were therefore by tacit conſent obliged to take arms to defend the community. They had no king: but in time of war they choſe a general and obeyed his orders during the war, and after that each returned to his own independence. Theſe were the anceſtors of the preſent bohemian lords.

The ſecond claſs conſiſts of ſuch as were employed in cultivating the ground. Theſe are to be divided into three claſſes. The firſt conſiſted of captives taken in war, or perſons acquired by any other method, and theſe were properly SLAVES. Over this very numerous race of men the lords had abſolute dominion. They could puniſh and mutilate their perſons without any trial, or they could ſell them, or take away their lives as they thought proper. Theſe wretched people had no property, the men were allowed to cohabit with the female ſlaves: but the children like the parents were the property of the lord. They were diſtinguiſhed from freemen by their dreſs, and they were not allowed to give evidence againſt a freeman in any court of juſtice. The ſecond claſs of ruſticks were called VILLAINS, and in this they differed from ſlaves, that they paid a fixed rent to their maſter for the land which they cultivated, and after paying that, all the fruits of their labour and induſtry belonged to themſelves in property: but they might not quit the ſoil. The laſt claſs were FREEMEN, who poſſeſſed ſome little allodial property of their own, and, beſides that, cultivated ſome farm belonging to their more wealthy neighbours, for which they paid a fixed rent, and bound themſelves to perform ſeveral ſmall ſervices, ſuch as ploughing a certain quantity of their landlord's ground, aſſiſting him in harveſt, and ſo on. All theſe people being dependent on the lord and ſharing the benefit of his protection were obliged to ſerve him as troops in war, in ſuch proportion as he ſhould require where he was abſolute, and in ſuch proportion as had been agreed on where protection and ſervice were conditional.

The third claſs were CITIZENS, conſiſting of artiſts, manufacturers and tradeſmen, who held of ſome great lord, and were under his protection and arbitrary juriſdiction. The inhabitants of ſuch cities could not diſpoſe of the effects which their own induſtry had acquired, either by a deed during life or by a teſtament at death. They could not appoint guardians for their children, nor could they marry without the conſent of the lord. If they once commenced a law ſuit, they could not terminate it by an accommodation, becauſe that would have deprived the lord, in whoſe court they pleaded, of the perquiſites due to him by paſſing ſentence. In ſhort, there were but two ſorts of people in Bohemia, nobles and vaſſals. The people were in a ſtate of miſerable ſervitude, the lords were deſpotical, oppreſſive and cruel (2).

The firſt bohemian kings were elected by the ſtates, and while they were ſo the nobles made many laws to explain liberty to their governours and to inſure it to themſelves, and fought many battles to defend it: but as they never durſt truſt the people with freedom, but were always tyrants over them, and as they had frequent factions among themſelves, and were troubleſome to themſelves, royalty at firſt weakened and at laſt ſubdued ariſtocracy, and the nobles are now, what the people have always been, the abject vaſſals of a ſovereign lord (3). The kingdom is hereditary in the houſe of Auſtria, and all the effects of deſpotiſm are viſible in the people, genius and learning, virtue and a manly love of liberty are almoſt extinct.

We have authentick evidence in the writings of the apoſtle Paul that he PREACHED THE GOSPEL OF CHRIST IN ILLYRICUM, and that TITUS viſited Dalmatia; and hence the Bohemians infer that the goſpel was preached in all the countries of Sclavonia in the firſt ages of chriſtianity (4). They ſay, that St. Jerom, who was a native of Stridon a city of Illyricum, tranſlated the ſcriptures into his native tongue, and that all the nations of ſclavonian extraction, the Poles, the Hungarians, the Ruſſians, the Wallachians, the Bohemians and Vandals uſe this tranſlation to this day, juſt as the latin church uſe the vulgate: that if the ſclavonian were not the firſt tranſlation of the ſacred text, yet the Sclavi were the firſt Europeans, who had the oracles of God in their own language: that their biſhops and martyrs are mentioned in the early ages of the church: and that Bohemia received the goſpel from the eaſtern church, and not from the church of Rome, as the catholicks boaſt (5).

However it were, popery was introduced here by two greek monks under the patronage of duke Borzywog and his conſort Ludomilla in the ninth century. The intractable bohemian deſpots were very ſlow to put their necks under this foreign yoke; having lived in habits of thinking and acting for themſelves, they found it difficult to exerciſe implicit faith. They would have, and after a ſtruggle of ten years they had for ſome time divine ſervice performed in their own language. They had the cup in the ſacrament, and wives for their clergy, and when the pope ſent a cardinal to enforce celibacy both prieſts and people threatened to ſtone his eminence to death, ſo that he was glad to eſcape without executing his commiſſion. In the twelfth century they allowed ſome Waldenſes to ſettle at Saltz and Laun, on the river Eger: nor was popery fully eſtabliſhed till the fourteenth century, and then not by the conſent of the Bohemians, but by the power and artifice of the emperour Charles IV (6). Two of his chaplains endeavoured to perſuade his majeſty to curb the pope, and reform the church: but both of them were baniſhed. One of them, whoſe name was Janovius, who had ſtudied at Paris, being a man of ſenſe, learning and piety, was a very eager friend of reformation, and both preached and publiſhed againſt the antichriſtian hypocriſy of the times (7): but as he knew the world and by reſiding at court thoroughly underſtood the motives and views of great men, he comforted his friends with theſe remarkable words juſt before he expired: " Now, the fury of the enemies of the truth prevaileth againſt us: but it will not be ſo always. A mean people will ariſe, without ſword or power, and againſt them they will never be able to prevail (8)." A ſaying full of wiſdom, and confirmed by the experience of all ages, for reformation of abuſes never proceeds from great men, it originates with the people, and whenever the ignoble multitude dare claim their birthrights the noble are too few to reſiſt them.

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(2) See this ſubject at large in ROBERTSON's Hiſtory of Charles v. vol. i. paſſim.

(3) Barones pro majore parte effecti erant tyranni, nec timebant regem, prout decebat, quia regnum inter ſe diviſerant. CAROLI *Bohemiæ regis ... de vita ſua Commentarius ab ipſo ſcriptus. Rerum Bohemicarum antiqui ſcriptores* MARQUARDI FREHERI. *p.* 95.

(4) Rom. xv. 19. 28. 2 Tim. iv. 10.

(5) See *a hiſtory of the Bohemian-Moravian proteſtant church of the united brethren, by* ARVID GRADIN, a Swede, in *a letter to the archbiſhop of Upſal, chap. i. The hiſtory of the brethren, by* DAVID CRANTZ, part. i. ſ. 1.

By the diſgrace of Milicius and Janovius the friends of reformation loſt all hopes of ſucceeding by the favour of the emperour. They were ſhocked on the one hand to ſee the ignorance, profligacy and audaciouſneſs of all orders of men, and they found on the other that the court was intent on eſtabliſhing deſpotiſm and uniformity by an inquiſition, to effect which the patrons of the popular party were excluded from all magiſtratical offices, and, under pretence of reforming the cities, the ſtates were garbled ſo that in the ſenate at Prague there were ſixteen Germans and only two Bohemians. Multitudes therefore withdrew themſelves from the publick places of worſhip, and followed the dictates of their own conſciences by worſhipping God in private houſes, woods and caves. Here they were perſecuted, dragooned, drowned and killed, and thus they went on till the appearance of John Huſs and Jerome of Prague (9).

It was in the latter part of Wickliff's life that king Richard the ſecond of England married Ann ſiſter of Wenceſlaus king of Bohemia, and conſequently opened a free intercourſe between the two kingdoms. About the ſame time John, commonly called Huſs, becauſe he was born at Huſſinetz in Bohemia, ſtudied in the univerſity of Prague, where he took his degrees, became a zealous diſciple of Wickliff, and received while he was very young a letter from that eminent reformer, written in the laſt year of his life (1).

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(6) PAUL STRANSKY *de repub. Bohem. apud Crantz.* DUBRAVII *Olomuzenſis Epiſcopi hiſtoria Bohemica. lib. xiv.* REGENVOLSCII. *Hiſt. Eccl. Slavonicarum Provin. lid. i. cap.* 3.

(7) *Scripſit multa, ut de vita chriſtiana . . . de hypocriſi . . . de antichriſto.* SYNOPSIS *Hiſtorica Perſecuutionum Eccleſiæ Bohemicæ. cap. vii.*

(8) *Exſurget enim populus ignobilis, ſine gladio et potentia, &c.* Ubi ſupra.

(9) In privatis domibus, tandemque in ſylvis et latebris ritu conſueto ſacramentum peragerent. . . Spoliabantur, cædebantur, fluminibus mergebantur . . . uſque ad tempora Huſſii SYNOPSIS *Eccleſ. Bohem. cap. vii.*

John Huſs, who was profeſſor of divinity in the univerſity of Prague, and preacher in one of the largeſt churches in the city, was a man of eminent abilities and more eminent zeal. He taught much of the doctrine of Wickliff. His talents were popular, his life was irreproachable, and his manners the moſt affable and engaging. He was the idol of the people: but execrated by the prieſts. He was not a baptiſt: but, as his ſermons were full of what are called anabaptiſtical errours, Wicklivites, Waldenſes, and all ſorts of hereticks became his admirers and followers, and as he in the ſpirit of a true Bohemian endeavoured to curb the tyranny of the churchmen, who the nobles knew were uniting with the houſe of Auſtria to enſlave the ſtate, he was patronized by the great, and all Bohemia was filled with his doctrine and his praiſe.

Jerom of Prague, who was a companion and coadjutor of Huſs, having ſtudied in ſeveral foreign univerſities carried home with him from England the books written by Wickliff, which were very much read and contributed greatly to forward the work of reformation. Two engliſh bachelors of divinity alſo diſputed publickly at Prague againſt the ſupremacy of the pope, and after they were prohibited by their ſuperiours to do ſo, having obtained the conſent of the landlord at whoſe houſe they lodged, they depicted upon the walls of their rooms in one compartment the humble deportment of Chriſt, and in another the pomp of the cardinals and the court of Rome (2). Huſs mentioned theſe in his ſermons, and the houſe was crowded with ſpectators, and the people were taught by what the catholicks had always called the books of the illiterate.

Huſs rendered himſelf yet more popular by his patriotick efforts in the univerſity of Prague. This famous univerſity was founded by Charles IV. for four nations, the Bohemians, Bavarians, Poles, and Saxons, and by the original ſtatutes of the founder the three laſt were comprehended under the general name of the german nation, and were to have but one vote in all matters that were carried by election in the univerſity: but the Bohemians were to have three votes. The german faction, however, had ſo altered things in their own favour that they aſſumed to themſelves the three ſuffrages, and domineered over the natives. Huſs reformed this abuſe, by procuring a ſentence in favour of the Bohemians. It was on this occaſion that Wenceſlaus,

(1) Comenius publiſhed this letter. A Johanne Wiklefo epiſtolam (ultimo vitæ illius anno 1387, ad Johannem Huſſum tum adhuc juvenem, ſcriptam) quia in noſtris quibuſdam adhuc conſervatis autiquitatibus reperi, huc appono. Jo. AMOS COMENII *Hiſtoria Fratrum Bohemorum*, ſect. 24.

(2) Anno 1404. Duo Angli, Theologiæ Baccalaurei, Jacobus quidam, et Conradus *Candelburguis*, &c. Probably it ſhould be Conradus *Cantabrigienſis*. SYNOPSIS ut ſupra, cap. viii. 6.

king of Bohemia, uttered a memorable pun. Being bribed by both the contending parties, he protracted inſtead of abridging this diſpute, and uſed to ſay with a ſmile, that he had found a good GOOSE, which LAID EVERY DAY A CONSIDERABLE NUMBER OF GOLD AND SILVER EGGS. This was playing upon the word HUSS, which, in the german language, ſignifies a GOOSE (3).

After this deciſion, which was extremely offenſive to the Germans, John Hoffman the rector of the univerſity with ſeveral thouſand ſtudents retired from Prague, and repaired to Leipſick, where Frederick the elector of Saxony erected for them, that famous univerſity, which ſubſiſts to this day. The Bohemians elected Huſs rector of the univerſity, and the monks in revenge procured archbiſhop Sbinco an illiterate man to condemn the books of Wickliff to the flames. He did ſo, and more than two hundred volumes beautifully written, elegantly bound and richly emboſſed, were burnt (4). Huſs publiſhed a book in defence of reading the writings of hereticks, and the common people aſſaulted the poor archbiſhop in rhymes for cenſuring and burning books, when he did not know his letters (5).

We ſaid juſt now that theſe two eminent men, Huſs and Jerom taught what are called anabaptiſtical errours. The following are a few of this ſort. " The law of Jeſus Chriſt is ſufficient of itſelf for the government of the church militant." .. " The church is the myſtical body of Chriſt, of which he is the head." " They are not of the world, as Chriſt was not of the world." " The world hates them becauſe it hates Chriſt, that is, the virtue and the truth of God." , .. Chriſtians ought not to believe in the church." . . . " All human traditions ſavour of folly." . . . " A multitude of human doctrines and ſtatutes is uſeleſs, and on many accounts pernicious." . . . " No other law beſide the rule of ſcripture ought to be preſcribed to good men." . . . " The devil was the author of multiplying traditions in the church." . . . " Deacons or elders by the inſtinct of God, by the goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, without any licence from a pope or a biſhop, may preach and convert ſpiritual children." We do not ſay, that theſe reformers followed their principles whither they led: but we do contend that ſome of their hearers reaſoned conſequentially from them, and ſo became Baptiſts (6).

Every

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(3) Bohemis, ut indigenis, debere votorum pluralitatem, non Germanis, ut extraneis SYNOPS. *ut ſupra, cap. viii.*

See alſo MOSHEIM's *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, vol. iii. cent. xv. part ii. chap. ii.*

(4) JACOBI PICOLOMINEI *Cardinalis Papienſis de Huſſitis. . . Hiſtorica narratio, lib. vi.* ÆNEÆ SYLVII *Hiſtoria Bohemica, cap. xxxv.*

(5) SYNOPSIS *ut ſupra.*

(6) Lex Jeſu Chriſti *per ſe* ſufficit ad regimen eccleſiæ militantis. . . Eccleſia eſt corpus Chriſti myſticum. cujus ipſe eſt caput. . . Omnes igitur Chriſtiani, qui habent ſpiritum Jeſu crucifixi, et aguntur eodem ſpiritu, et ſoli illi non receſſerunt a deo ſuo, et ipſi ſunt unica eccleſia Chriſti. Et iſti, ſicut et Chriſtus, non ſunt de hoc mundo. Et iſtos mundus odit, quia et Chriſtum, id eſt virtutem et veritatem Dei odit. . . Non debent fideles in eccleſiam credere. . . Omnes traditiones humanæ habent permixtam ſtultitiam et ineptiam. . . Multitudo doctrinarum et

ſtatutorum

Every body knows the fate of theſe two eminent men. They were both condemned by the council of Conſtance to be burnt alive, though the emperour Sigiſmund brother of the king of Bohemia had given them letters of ſafe conduct. Some of the council were Germans, thoſe old inveterate enemies of Huſs, whom he had deprived of the government of the univerſity of Prague, which they had uſurped and aſſumed from the natives, and they embraced this opportunity of revenging themſelves. Several were bribed with money collected by the catholick clergy in Moravia and Bohemia for the purpoſe, and they ſold their votes to gratify their avarice. Others voted againſt them becauſe they ſaw clearly, that the doctrine taught by theſe men tended to ſubvert the dominion and wealth of the hierarchy. All of them conſidered this article of the creed, I BELIEVE IN THE HOLY CATHOLICK CHURCH, as the foundation of all religion, and they thought that the man who pretended to judge for himſelf, and profeſſed to believe only what he himſelf was convinced was true, was the moſt dangerous of all hereticks. To uſe the language of an eminent hiſtorian, " this certainly was moſt enormouſly criminal and intolerably heretical, according to the general opinion of the times. For it became a DUTIFUL ſon of the church to renounce his eye-ſight, and to ſubmit both his judgment and his will, without any exception or reſervation, to the judgment and will of the holy mother, under a firm belief and entire perſuaſion of the infallibility of all her deciſions. This ghoſtly mother had, for many ages paſt, followed, whenever her unerring perfection and authority were called in queſtion, the rule which Pliny obſerved in his conduct towards the chriſtians." " When they perſevere," ſays he in his letter to Trajan, " I put my threats into execution, from a perſuaſion that whatever their confeſſion might be, their audacious and invincible obſtinacy deſerved an exemplary puniſhment."

This barbarous execution was conſidered (as all other events are) in very different lights by different people according to their various intereſts and paſſions. The emperour and his creatures at court for reaſons of ſtate winked at the violation of publick faith. The King of Bohemia kept himſelf drunk (7). Poggius who was ſecretary to the pope and a frank ingenuous

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ſtatutorum hominum varias ob cauſas inutilis et pernicioſa... Juſtis nulla poteſt præſcribi alia lex, quam regula ſcripturarum... Diabolus author fuit traditionum multiplicatarum in eccleſia. Diaconi vel preſbyteri inſtinctu Dei per evangelium Jeſu Chriſti ſine ſpeciali papæ vel epiſcopi licentia poſſunt generare filios ſpirituales. JOHANNIS HUS ET HIERONYMI PRAGENSIS *Hiſtoria et Monumenta, tom. i. De ſufficientia legis Chriſti... De unitate eccleſiæ. cap. vi. De eccleſia. De pernicie traditionum humanarum. tom. ii... Defenſio Artic. Wikleſi. tom. i.*

(7) During the popular commotions excited by the burning of Huſs, Wenceſlaus was at Prague. A meſſenger one day came and informed him that one of his moſt ſplendid palaces in the country was on fire. His majeſty eagerly inquired, *Is the wine cellar burnt?* The meſſenger informed him it was ſafe. *Then,* exclaimed he, *let the whole caſtle burn and welcome as long as my Rheniſh wine is ſafe.* DUBRAVII *Olomuzenſis Epiſcopi Hiſtoria Bohemica. lib. 23. p.* 194.

man, ſaw and heard Jerom in the council, and wrote in a letter to his friend Leonard Aretin, an eulogium on him in a ſpirit of admiration and love. He was charmed with his eloquence and convinced by his arguments: but the ſecretary was a catholick, religion was a myſtery, he was not equal to the inveſtigation, and he acquieſced in the judgment of others wiſer than himſelf (8). Aretin, who was then hunting for preferment, and was ſoon after made chancellor of the republick of Florence, was more reſerved and cautious, and though he applauded the elegant ſtile of his friend's letter, yet he blamed him for writing too freely, and adviſed him to ſpeak more cautiouſly on ſuch ſubjects in future (9). The patriotick nobility of Bohemia were extremely offended with the council, and fifty-eight lords, in the name of the whole community, remonſtrated againſt its injuſtice and cruelty in an inſtrument properly ſigned and ſealed. Among other things they repreſent, that their paſtor, an innocent man, a pious holy faithful teacher of the truth, was unjuſtly condemned to die (1). But the council did not think fit to make any reply: on the contrary they wrote to ſome noblemen to deſire they would aſſiſt the pope's legate to eradicate hereſy (2).

How low muſt Europe be ſunk when the council of Conſtance was ſuffered in the face of the whole world to burleſque religion in the name of the holy ghoſt! This aſſembly was convened at the deſire of the emperour to reform religion, by one of the moſt abandoned profligates of the age, pope John XXIII. This man had been in his youth a pirate, then became a prieſt, and being made legate in Germany he grew rich by ſelling indulgences and purchaſed a cardinal's hat, and afterward having poiſoned his predeceſſor he was elected pope. As there were two other popes at the ſame time ſupported by two other factions, John went to war to diſmount his competitors, in which he committed many crimes and ſhed much blood. The council thought fit to depoſe all the three and elect a new pope.

This was the man, who by deed duly executed called Wickliff's doctrine THE ABOMINATION OF DESOLATION STANDING IN THE HOLY PLACE, and commanded his bones and his books to be burnt (3). Soon after he and Huſs were both tried by the ſame council at Conſtance: he was degraded: but Huſs was burnt.

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(8) Mirum eſt vidiſſe quibus verbis, qua facundia, quibus argumentis, quo vultu, quo ore, qua fiducia reſponderet adverſariis, ac demum cauſam peroravit: ut dolendum ſit tam nobile ingenium, tam excellens, ad illa hæreſis ſtudia divertiſſe, ſi tamen vera ſunt quæ illi objiciuntur. *Non enim meum eſt tantam rem judicare. A quieſco eorum ſententiis, qui ſapientiores habentur.* POGGII *Florentini de Hieronymi hæretici obitu narratio.*

(9) Ego cautius de hiſce rebus ſcribendum puto. LEONARDO ARETINI *ad Pog. Epiſt.*

(1) Comenius ſays, he had been credibly informed, that a copy of this inſtrument is preſerved in the library of Aberdeen. See COMENII *Hiſt. Ff. Bohem. ſect.* 29. I have ſeen in the library of the univerſity of Edinburgh an ancient deed with ſeals appending, which profeſſor Robertſon, who did me the honour to ſhew it me, aſſured me was the original itſelf. As I did not then think of writing this hiſtory I did not particularly examine: but I remember it had the air of an original.

(2) MOSHEIM'S *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, vol. iii. cent. xv. part ii. p.* 235. COMENII *Synopſis, cap. ix.*

This ſolemn aſſembly, properly enough called by ſome the ſenate of Europe, ſat four years. It conſiſted of a crowd of prelates from all parts, the emperour Sigiſmund, twenty-eight great vaſſals of the empire, four electors, two dukes, twenty-ſeven ambaſſadors from the ſeveral courts of Europe, with ſecretaries and clerks in abundance, attended by players, minſtrels, courtezans, and artiſts without number, miniſters to luxury and incontinence. In the end of the ſolemnity this auguſt and infallible body publiſhed in the name of the holy ghoſt for the glory of God, the reformation of religion, and the happineſs of mankind, five or ſix laws, the leaſt frivolous of which was that a prieſt ſhould not celebrate maſs in a lay habit, and that they who had benefices ſhould ſhave the crowns of their heads, and ſhorten the ſleeves of their gowns.

The news of the times flew like lightning all over the kingdom, and Bohemia was all in an uproar. The king was ſeldom ſober, and took no thought about publick affairs. The nobility were divided into factions, ſome zealous to reſent the inſult offered to the nation by the council, and to repel the forces of foreigners, who were excited by the pope to ſuppreſs hereſy in Bohemia, and to oblige that fierce nation to eſtabliſh uniformity in religion. Others were paying their court to the emperour Sigiſmund, and ſacrificing the conſtitution of their country to the ambition of the houſe of Auſtria. Sbinco the archbiſhop hardly knew his letters, and endeavoured to make up that defect by perſecuting the Huſſites: but as the king, who loved his bottle better than fighting, would not humour him, he fled to Sigiſmund, who, though he had no right to dictate to the Bohemians, promiſed the archbiſhop that he would ſuppreſs hereſy and ſettle both church and ſtate. The clergy, as may well be ſuppoſed under ſuch a primate, were declaiming ſome for the old religion and others againſt it. The populace at firſt were only a harmleſs inquiſitive ſtaring multitude: but as the catholick prieſts publiſhed in the churches bulls from the pope, exhorting all kings, princes, dukes, marquiſſes, lords, citizens, and all other perſons to take up arms againſt hereſy, conjuring them by the wounds of Chriſt to exterminate hereticks, and promiſing the forgiveneſs of all ſins to any one who ſhould kill one Bohemian heretick, the people felt their importance, gathered together in great multitudes in the country about five miles from Prague, where the preachers adminiſtered the Lord's ſupper at three hundred tables (boards laid upon caſks) to forty thouſand people. Somebody there propoſed to elect a new king, and the news being carried to his majeſty, he was ſo afraid of being depoſed that he became ſober for a day: but he ſunk again into his favourite lethargy on being informed that Coranda a popular preacher had turned the tide in his favour. He ſaid in his ſermon among other things; "Brethren, although we have elected an idle and a tipſy king, yet we ought to prefer him before all other monarchs, and to propoſe his love of peace and his affection for us as examples worthy of their imitation. While he reigns who dare interrupt us? We may think and act as we pleaſe. Though his ſentiments of religion are not like ours, yet he neither controuls us himſelf, nor ſuffers others to do ſo. I think, therefore, we ought, each of us, moſt earneſtly to pray for his life, for his inactivity is our ſafety." Wenceſlaus when he was told of it was extremely pleaſed with this popular declamation, and accounted the orator one of his moſt loyal ſubjects. Confuſion however increaſed, riots and murders were frequent. In the city of Prague the enraged citizens threw twelve imperial officers out of the windows of the council chamber; in the country, the german faction ſold bohemian prieſts at five florins a piece and laymen at one, and toſſed their meſſengers alive down the deepeſt mines. The king died, his brother Sigiſmund the emperour entered Bohemia with an army, and the multitude took up arms IN THEIR OWN DEFENCE, and choſe Ziſka their general (4).

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(3) Labbæi *Concilia*, tom. i. p. 2323.

John de Trautenau, commonly called Ziſka, that is one-eyed, becauſe he had but one eye, having loſt the other in a battle, was of a noble family, brought up at court and in the higheſt reputation for wiſdom, courage, the love of his country, and the fear of God. Fugitives from all parts daily reſorted to him, and put themſelves under his protection till his army amounted to forty thouſand. At one time four hundred poor men who had lived in the mountains for the ſake of enjoying religious liberty, came down with their wives and children to Prague, and committed themſelves to Ziſka (5). It is highly probable, that theſe were Waldenſes, or Picards, the deſcendants of thoſe who had come and ſettled in remote parts of the kingdom more than two hundred and fifty years before, for even then in the reign of Frederick Barbaroſſa Bohemia was accounted the ſink of all hereſies (6). Freedom from the auſtrian yoke, the recovery of their country, their conſtitution and their laws, deliverance from the tyranny of Rome, the full enjoyment of civil and religious liberty, theſe were the objects which the general held up, and to his ſtandard innumerable multitudes repaired.

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(4) ÆNEÆ SILVII *Hiſtoria Bohemica. Quanquam, viri fratres, ebrioſum atque inertem, &c. cap. xxxvi.*

See alſo DUBRAVII *Olomuzenſis Epiſcopi Hiſtoria Bohemica. lib. xxxiii.*

COMENII *Synopſis, cap. ix.* ESROMI RUDIGERI narratiuncula de eccleſiis fratrum in Bohemia et Moravia. Non tamen ad ulciſcendam tantum injuriam doctoribus ſuis illatam, ſed etiam ut *ſe defenderent* adverſus pontificios, p. 155. CAMERARII *hiſtorica narratio de eccleſiis fratrum in Bohemia et Moravia, p. 43.* MICHAEL SLAVATA *de Huſſiticis motibus oratio, p. 255.* ADRIANII REGENVOLSCII *Syſtema Hiſtorico chronologicum eccleſiarum Slavonicarum.* Bohemi irati adverſus *Sigiſmuudum* imper. bellum moverant. lib. cap. 6.

(5) ÆNEÆ SILVII ut ſup. Quadringenti viri lepra Huſſitarum infecti, cap. 38.

(6) DUBRAVII *Olomuzenſi Epiſcopi Hiſt. Bohem.* Hac tempeſtate hæreſis Piccardica malo aſtro micare cœpit, &c. lib. xiv. p. 110.

Æneas Silvius, afterwards pope Pius the ſecond, who had travelled all over the empire, ſays, that the churches and religious houſes in Bohemia were more numerous, more ſpacious, more elegant and ſumptuous, than in any other part of Europe, and that the images in publick places and the habits of the prieſts were covered with jewels and precious ſtones. Ziſka began with theſe, demoliſhed idols, diſcharged monks, who, he ſaid, were only fatting like ſwine in ſties, converted cloiſters into barracks, took towns, and ſtrongly guarded one, Cuthna, which as it commanded the mines he called antichriſt's purſe. He routed armies, tolerated and protected all religions, and incamped his followers on a rocky mountain about ten miles from Prague, which he ſoon after fortified with a wall within which the people built houſes, and to which he gave the name of Tabor, in alluſion to the mount of transfiguration, where the apoſtle Peter would have erected tents, ſaying, IT IS GOOD TO BE HERE (7).

Though the general had the misfortune to loſe his other eye ſo that he was quite blind, yet he continued five years at the head of the army. His military qualifications were equal to all his undertakings. His wonderful ingenuity in deviſing ſtratagems and concerting plans, his aſtoniſhing dexterity in executing them, the coolneſs and intrepidity of his meaſures, and the ſucceſs that crowned all his enterprizes place him deſervedly among the firſt heroes of any age. Sigiſmund offered him as much wealth and as many honours as he could wiſh: but Ziſka refuſed to take theſe in lieu of the liberties of his country. He reſiſted the power of Rome and Germany united, laughed at the bulls of the pope, and routed the armies of the empire. He fought eleven battles and won them all. When his colleagues and the army were inclined to faint, he mounted a caſk ſet up on end, and harangued them with ſuch eloquence as the love of liberty inſpires, and reanimated them to proceed. When he was dying a friend aſked him where he would be buried, to which he replied, "When I am dead, let the brethren take off my ſkin, let them give my fleſh to the fowls of the air, and make a drum of my ſkin, the Germans will flee at the ſound of it when you approach them in battle." The inhabitants of Tabor erected for him a noble monument, inſcribed on it an epitaph deſcriptive of his merit, put up his picture at the gate of the city, and were inconſolable for his loſs.

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(7) DUBRAVIUS ſays, that ſome Picards went out about this time from the Taborites, and ſettled themſelves in Moravia . . that they were protected by the nobility, of whom he mentions Peter Strazſnicius, Haſco Oſtroviencis, Boczeco of Kunſtat . . that they held the Lord's ſupper only as a repreſentation of the death of Chriſt, which might be adminiſtered by laymen as well as prieſts, and other foul blaſphemies . . that they ſuppreſſed ſome abbies, and were a long while after themſelves expelled by the biſhop of Olmutz, and ſix thouſand of the hungarian forces. Lib. xxvi.

The people under Ziſka were all called Taborites from the city of Tabor which he had built, and which he inhabited: but they conſiſted of ſeveral claſſes widely different from each other, and agreeing only in one general principle of liberty. A political view of theſe people would oblige us to diſtinguiſh them into monarchical, ariſtocratical, and republican parties, and perhaps there would remain ſome dregs, who followed only for plunder, and were moſt inclined to anarchy: but if we conſider them in a religious light we muſt divide them into three claſſes.

The firſt, which was very numerous, were called CALIXTINES, from the latin word CALIX, a cup, becauſe they required in general no other alteration than the adminiſtration of the cup in the Lord's ſupper to the people. In all other reſpects they were of the ſame ſentiments as the catholicks. Theſe were a violent ſet of people and maintained their cauſe with fire and bloodſhed.

A ſecond ſort were called ZEALOTS. They contended for a thorough reformation of both doctrine and diſcipline, and with this they intended to introduce a reformation of the ſtate, and ſo to place religious liberty on a bottom of civil conſtitutional freedom, agreably to the ancient rights of the kingdom before the Germans had made a party in the country to inſlave it. This claſs made uſe of arms and policy, and all the uſual methods of acquiring liberty.

The third claſs, which was very numerous, were called WALDENSES and PICARDS, becauſe ſome of them were the deſcendants of theſe people, and had come down from the mountains to live in peace under the protection of Ziſka: others had fled from other countries to the ſame place for the ſame reaſon; and others, who were native Bohemians and had been followers of Huſs, had embraced the religious ſentiments of the Waldenſes and therefore went by the ſame name.

To diſentangle this difficult part of hiſtory it will be neceſſary to obſerve further, that there is a third kind of diviſion of the Taborites, which regards neither their political nor their religious ſentiments: but merely their opinions concerning the prudence and policy of continuing the war, for after the death of Ziſka great numbers were inconſolable for the loſs of him, and thought the damage irreparable. This part of the Taborites called themſelves ORPHANS, becauſe Ziſka their parent and protector was no more, and they retired with their wives and children and property to remote parts where they ſettled themſelves. One large colony went into Sileſia, and another went and peopled a part of Moravia. It ſhould ſeem they ſettled about the borders of all theſe countries for the ſake of removing in caſe of oppreſſion out of one kingdom into another. The old Puritans in England in times of perſecution made uſe of the ſame policy, and held their religious aſſemblies on the borders of counties, ſo that in caſe of ſurprize they might have a chance by going a few ſteps to get out of the reach of the ſheriff's writ. A third colony called OREBITES, from a mountain adjacent called Oreb, where they had encamped, went under the conduct of Bredric Straznicius and ſettled on the borders of Sileſia, in and about Luſatia (8). Bredric was a native of Moravia, and had been a prieſt: but he had renounced popery, and was married. He founded a city called Colonia. After the death of his firſt wife he married a ſecond from Poland, and after a long and proſperous life left a large family who inherited his property and continued in the profeſſion of his religion. In a few years theſe Orphans and Orebites were in poſſeſſion of ſeventy cities and caſtles. They conſidered the german ſettlements round them as ſtrangers, or rather enemies to liberty, and denominated ſome Philiſtines, others Edomites, others Moabites: but their own they called the land of promiſe (9). The remainder, who choſe to continue at Tabor, whatever were their religious ſentiments inherited the name of Taborites. The colonies who went and the inhabitants who ſtaid were called Huſſites, for all held Huſs in veneration: but ſome followed their maſter only a little way, others purſued his reaſoning further than he himſelf had done, and it is not impoſſible that ſome of them might ſtep over the line of liberty and become licentious. The hiſtorians of the church of Rome confound them all together and conſider them as the moſt monſtrous of all hereticks.

We have no exact circumſtantial account of the religious ſentiments of theſe coloniſts, we only know in general that though they parted, yet they joined the Taborites in times of danger againſt the common enemy, and underwent various fortunes. Sometimes they were perſecuted, at other times protected, on ſome occaſions they confederated with neighbouring little ſtates, at other times they paid a tribute to the emperours and were under their protection. During the reign of the emperour Maximilian liberty of conſcience was fully allowed. Rudolph the ſecond by an imperial edict ratified the ſame: but after the council of Trent, when the emperour Ferdinand was induced to perſecute the proteſtants, and to inforce the decrees of the council, the moravian Baptiſts were expelled. The Baptiſts at that time occupied ſome waſte lands of the crown and therefore lay at the abſolute mercy of the emperour, having no patron at court. They lived in forty-five diviſions, in each of which were about a thouſand perſons. They had no concern at all with affairs of ſtate, and took no part in the political confuſions of the times: but, ſo it happened, there was at that time a violent effort made by the Bohemians at Prague to throw off the yoke of the emperour Ferdinand the ſecond, and to chooſe the elector palatine Frederick for their king. Frederick paſſing through Moravia, theſe hoſpitable people had entertained him, without taking any other part in the diſpute. The imperialiſts took occaſion from this to baniſh them. In was in autumn, the harveſt and the vintage were juſt at hand, and probably like other induſtrious people they had ploughed and ſowed, planted and pruned, in hopes of a joyful in-gathering of the fruits of their labour, the bountiful donations of their heavenly father: but, alas! the iron rod of power blaſted all their proſpects, and obliged them to quit their houſes, to leave their yellow fields, and their luxuriant vintage, and to depart. There was no remedy, they went, carrying the aged and the ſick, their infants and ſuch of their wives as had newly lain in, with many a heavy heart, in ſeveral hundred carriages. Some ſettled in Hungary, others in Tranſylvania, from whence ſeveral went into Poland where they found many patrons, who knew the worth of them. They lived peaceably under their own diſcipline, and held all things common, they were injurious to nobody, but by their kind offices, their induſtrious improvements and their ingenious manufactories, they were beneficent to all (1). "A certain Poliſh biſhop had a farmer, who was an Anabaptiſt; and a receiver of his rents, who was a Socinian. Some perſon propoſed to the biſhop to proſecute the latter in the ſpiritual court, for not believing in tranſubſtantiation, and to turn the other out of his farm, becauſe he would not have his ſon chriſtened till he was fifteen years of age; the prelate very prudently replied, "that though he made no doubt of their being eternally damned in the next world, yet he found them extremely neceſſary to him in this (2)."

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(8) DUBRAVII *Hiſt. lib. xxiv.*

(9) ÆNEÆ SILVII *Hiſtoria Bohemica, cap. xlvii.* DUBRAVII *Olomuzenſis Epiſcopi Hiſtoria Bohemica, lib. xxvii.*

To return to the Taborites. After the former colonies had departed the Taborites choſe Procopius to ſucceed Ziſka, and in time of danger they all united under Procopius, and made a common cauſe: and he at the head of an army of his brethren, not unlike that which Cromwell afterwards formed, continued to beat the imperialiſts (3). He was not inferiour to Ziſka: but reſiſted and routed the vaſt armies which the emperour and the pope brought againſt Bohemia for the purpoſe of reducing the people to a ſtate of the moſt deſpicable ſlavery. At length Sigiſmund loaded with titles and misfortunes opened a conference, and propoſed an accommodation, which was accepted, preparatory to a council, which the pope had engaged to hold at Baſil, for the final ſettlement of all religious diſputes.

Indeed it was high time to put a ſtop to the barbarous outrages committed in this diſtracted country, in which all parties had their ſhare. One day captain Hinco an orthodox catholick paſſing through a village where a congregation of Calixtines were celebrating divine ſervice, violently ruſhed into the congregation, killed ſome, took others priſoners, and ſeizing the cup, which ſtood upon the communion table full of wine, gave it to his horſe, and boaſted afterward that "his nag was a Calixtine, and received the communion in both kinds (4)." Another time the mob in a great frenzy for reformation pulled down two monaſteries at Prague, and finding great plenty of wine and old beer in the cellars of the monks, drank ſo freely that they performed a great many pranks both ludicrous and lamentable. A tanner dreſſed himſelf in the habit of a prieſt, and with the ſacramental cup in his hand took off the monks to the great diverſion of the people. The ſenate committed the tanner to jail, and there in the night the monks put him to death, and in the morning gave out that an angel had fetched him away (5). Another day John Zeliveus a very popular preacher was declaiming againſt the corruption of the times, and earneſtly preſſing home the neceſſity of reforming according to the pureſt ſentiments of the Taborites. Haſchek the governor of old Prague was preſent, and being exceedingly offended ordered the preacher and twelve of his hearers to be arreſted, and inſtantly carried to the ſenate houſe. There they were all ſentenced to be beheaded, which was inſtantly done. The blood ran into the ſtreet, the multitude gathered together, broke open the doors, found the bodies, and one of them carried the head of the preacher into the ſtreet, the ſight of which excited ſuch groans and ſhrieks as no pen can deſcribe. Preſently a prieſt in the company ſeized the head, put it in a diſh, and went up and down the ſtreets to ſtir up the people to revenge this bloody execution. The mob roſe, ſome ſenators they killed, others they drove away, and in the end carried the bodies to the church to be buried. When the preacher aſcended the pulpit, ſome of the congregation wept, others ſhrieked, others fainted away, and the preacher himſelf for awhile was ſtruck dumb. After ſome time recovering his ſpirits he read the text: "Devout men carried Stephen to his burial, and made great lamentation over him." In the cloſe of his ſermon, pouring out a flood of tears, he lifted up the bloody head of Zeliveus, and conjured the people by all that was ſacred to hold faſt that doctrine "which," ſaid he, "you have learned at the lips of this faithful teacher. Though we, or an angel from heaven preach any other goſpel unto you, let him be accurſed (6)."

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(1) Anabaptiſtæ... ſua ſub diſciplina, et rerum communitate more ſuo uſi, pacate vivebant, nemini moleſti aut graves, omnibus potius commodi, opificiis nempe et officiis ſuis. Illi, relictis domibus, agris, vineis magnis agminibus in vicinam Hungariam et Tranſylvaniam commigrarunt. COMENII *Synopſis Hiſtorica Perſecutionum Eccleſiæ Bohemicæ. cap. xlv.* DAVID CRANTZ's *Hiſtory of the Brethren, part iv. ſect.* 41.

(2) VOLTAIRE's *Treatiſe upon Toleration, chap. iv. p.* 44.

(3) VOLTAIRE's *Annals of the Empire, anno* 1429, 1430.

All parties were weary of this anarchy, and willing to try the expedient propoſed by the emperour and the pope. The Bohemians were to be admitted to the council by their deputies, and it was neceſſary firſt of all to agree among themſelves that the deputies might know what to demand. For this purpoſe an aſſembly was convened in the caroline college at Prague. Twelve noblemen elected for the purpoſe preſided and kept the peace. The Calixtines were headed by John Rokyzan a reputable divine at Prague, and the Taborites by Nicholas Peldizymovius. A great number of people of all ranks were

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(4) COMENII *Synopſis, cap. xiii.*

(5) ZACHARIÆ THEOBALDI *Bellum Huſſiticum, cap. xxix.*

(6) COMENII *Synopſis, cap. xv.*

preſent.

preſent (7). It is eaſy to conceive the difficulty, or rather the impoſſibility, of propoſing any thing in religion that could meet the views and expreſs the ſentiments of ſuch an heterogeneous multitude. The Calixtines required nothing more than the cup in the Lord's ſupper. The cup, the cup, was all their cry. All their ſermons were about the neceſſity of the cup, and when they went to burn and deſtroy they diſplayed cups upon their flags, ſo that the wags ſaid they looked more like the diſciples of Bacchus than of Jeſus Chriſt. The Taborites inſiſted on a thorough reformation both in articles of faith and ceremonies of worſhip (8). After much diſputing they came to an agreement on four articles. Firſt, that the Lord's ſupper ſhould be adminiſtered in both kinds, and divine worſhip performed in the mother tongue. Secondly, that the clergy ſhould exerciſe no ſecular authority. Thirdly, that the word of God ſhould be freely taught. Laſtly, that open ſins ſhould be publickly puniſhed. The management of this buſineſs with the council was committed to general Procopius, lord Koſka, Rokyzan, Coranda, Peldizymovius, Peter Payne an engliſhman, accompanied with noblemen, counſellors, orators, and above two hundred attendants. They entered Baſil in proceſſion, many prelates quitted the council to gratify their curioſity, and the ſuburbs and the ſtreets were crowded with ſpectators: but every eye was fixed upon the general, a man, ſays one who ſaw him, dreaded by his enemies, aweful even in the eyes of his friends, a bold intrepid commander, ſuperior to both fatigue and fear (9).

The delegates ſtated to the council the four articles which they were commiſſioned to propoſe. Rokyzan made a ſpeech three forenoons in behalf of the Calixtines in favour of giving the cup to the laity in the ſacrament. Coranda or Peldizymovius ſpoke two days for the inhabitants of Tabor, in favour of the article concerning the reſtraint of publick abuſes. Udalrick an elder among the Orphans pleaded two days for a free preaching of the word of God, and Peter Payne ſpoke four days againſt the ſecular dominion of the clergy. Rokyzan ſpoke cautiouſly: but the other three inveighed very much againſt errour and highly commended the books of Wickliff, which the council had juſt before committed to the flames. The council appointed four orators to anſwer the Bohemians, and they harangued for eighteen days. The general's patience was often put to the trial. He was extremely offendedwith one of the orators, who was a Bohemian and who called the delegates hereticks. He ſtarted up in the council, and exclaimed: THAT COUNTRYMAN OF OURS INSULTS US BY CALLING US HERETICKS. Cardinal Julian, who preſided, endeavoured to pacify him, and told him, he had been informed that his party differed from the roman church in many other articles beſide the four that had been mentioned, he had heard they taught that the fraternities of the monks were inventions of the devil, which was an offence to chriſtian ears. "Very true," replied the general, "for if neither the patriarchs, nor Moſes, nor the prophets, nor Chriſt, nor the apoſtles appointed monkery, who does not ſee that the devil was the author of it?" The council ſet up a loud laugh at the bohemian captain's logick (1).

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(7) JOHANNIS LUKAWITZ. *Confeſſio Taboritarum, cap. i.*

(8) COMENII *Synopſ.* Clamabant illi, ab eccleſiæ ritibus in omnibus ſecernendum non eſſe: clamabant hi, nullas ſuperſtitiones tolerandas eſſe, cap. xvi.

COMENII *Hiſtoria Fratrum.* Taboritæ ſimplicitatem ac puritatem in omnibus articulis et ceremoniis urgere cœperunt, ſect. 35.

(9) ÆNEÆ SYLVII *Hiſtori Bohemica.* In unum tamen cuncti Procopium defigere lumina, &c. Lib. xlix.

Great pains were taken to bring the delegates to ſubmit implicitly to the council: but that they utterly refuſed. Procopius and the Taborites were often on the point of returning: nor would they recede one jot from their commiſſion, and at length they departed. Rokyzan was won over by the promiſe of the archbiſhoprick of Prague, and a committee was ſent by the council to ſettle the matter at Prague, where the four articles altered and garbled were acceded to, and called the COMPACTATA: but none of them were obſerved, except the firſt, which contented the Calixtines, who then joined the papal party, and perſecuted the Taborites, and endeavoured to ſuppreſs them by force of arms.

When the deputies returned they aſſembled their friends, who all unanimouſly agreed to defend their liberties in caſe they were attacked as they had reaſon to expect, and publiſhed a memorial that would do honour to any people in their circumſtances. It is addreſſed to all and ſingular the faithful in Chriſt, kings, dukes, marquiſſes, counts, barons, noblemen, ſoldiers, tenants, citizens, and to all perſons of every rank and condition—by—The barons, nobles, ſoldiers, tenants, magiſtrates, governours, judges, ſenators, jurats, citizens, and the whole community of Bohemia, both in the kingdom of Bohemia and in the marquiſate of Moravia. It firſt ſets forth the four articles, which they had laid down as the baſis of a reform, and which they had at a great expence been to the council to debate. It declares next, that when they came to Baſil the council refuſed to determine the points in debate by the holy ſcriptures: but ſet up decrees of council for another rule of faith, and declared themſelves ſole judges both for themſelves and the Bohemians. They add, that they thought this unlawful and wicked, and therefore determined to quit the council and judge for themſelves. They call the ſecular power of the clergy a deadly poiſon. Then they draw a moſt beautiful picture of the apoſtles, and in contraſt a ſtriking one of the clergy. To this they add a declaration that if their adverſaries as they had threatened, ſhould preſume to moleſt them, they would, confiding in God, repel force by force. They cloſe all by intreating the readers to inveſtigate the caſe, to renounce popery, and not to aſſiſt the papiſts in depopulating the country and ſhedding the blood of the inhabitants for ſuch a cauſe. This beautiful compoſition is ſigned and ſealed with the common ſeal of all the adherents to evangelical truth within the kingdom of Bohemia and the marquiſate of Moravia (2).

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(1) ÆNEÆ SYLVII *ut ſup. cap. l.* LABBÆI *Concil.* tom. xii. p. 446. LABBÆI *et* COSSARTII *Apparatus Concil. General. Conc. Baſil.*

We are now to conſider the catholick party and the Calixtines as one body under the protection of the emperour, the pope, and moſt of the princes of Germany, and the Taborites, the Orphans, the Orebites, and the Zealots, under the command of Procopius as another. The emperour kept pouring in armies, the faction at home continued to practiſe all ſorts of cruelties, and Procopius went on to ſubdue them all. Victory for two years followed his armies: but at the end of that time he was ſlain in battle, "not in battle with the Germans, ſays the biſhop of Olmutz, for he always conquered them, but he was defeated by his own countrymen, for none but Bohemians can ſubdue Bohemia." At the general's death ſeveral thouſands were taken priſoners, and it was intended to kill and exterminate them all: but Maynard propoſed in a council of the nobles a method of ſeparating the officers from the men, of executing the firſt and enſlaving the laſt. For this purpoſe the crier was ſent about to give publick notice, that if the officers who had fought ſo courageouſly under Procopius would ſerve their country againſt its enemies they ſhould go into the next barns, give in their names, and enter into pay, and that the common men might return home. Several thouſands repaired to theſe places, which are built with ſtone without mortar, and covered with beams, boughs and ſtraw. They were a terrible-looking ſet of men blackened and hardened by the ſun, the wind, and the ſmoke of their camps, their countenances fierce and horrible, their eyes ſharp and piercing, their hair uncombed, their beards long, their perſons tall, their limbs ſlender and their veins lying full and large to the eye, their ſkins hard and almoſt impenetrable. As ſoon as they were within the barns the word of command was given, the guard ſurrounded, the doors were ſhut, the roofs were ſet on fire, and every man was conſumed in the flames. The people fled and ſettled where they could.

The army being thus diſbanded, the triumphant faction invited the emperour Sigiſmund to come into Bohemia. His majeſty came to receive the kingdom into the boſom of the church, however the ſtates obliged him to ſign a contract, which among other articles contained one in favour of the Taborites, for they were yet very numerous, very powerful, and well affected to the liberty of their country. It was therefore decreed, that they ſhould be allowed for five years to follow their own cuſtoms, that they ſhould not be obliged to alter their religion, that they ſhould have the rights of citizens, with an enſign and a publick ſeal, and that they ſhould annually pay a ſmall tribute. Neceſſity and not inclination brought the implacable emperour to this, for as he came into Bohemia he had demoliſhed the caſtle of lord Rohacius, which he had built in a ſequeſtered wood on an almoſt inacceſſible part of his eſtate for an aſylum for religious refugees, and which he called mount Zion. Plunder was pretended: but religion was the offence, and Rohacius was hung upon the higheſt gibbet, and about eighty refugees on the loweſt, and for the ſake of a pun the teacher, whoſe name was Medius, was hung in the middle below his lord and above the tenants (3).

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(2) *Epiſtola Bohemorum ad Moravorum ad Chriſti fideles, inter* MARQUARDI FREHERI res Bohemicas. LABBÆI *Concil.* tom. xii. Si illi ut proponunt, cum exercitibus ſuis validiſſimis regnum noſtrum invaſerint, uſque ad internecionem (ut aſſeritur) demoliri cupientes, nos in altiſſimi virtute, cujus cauſam proſequimur, habentes fiduciam, vim vi cogemur repellere, quem admodum omnes leges et omnia jura permittunt. pag. 1005. 1006.

Rokyzan the archbiſhop elect, was no favourite with the emperour or the court of Rome, for they conſidered him as a falſe apoſtle for allowing the cup to the laity, and therefore the pope delayed his inveſtiture, and the emperour enjoined him to endeavour to deſerve it by bringing the Taborites back to the church. He, irritated by this treatment, preached ſo vehemently againſt popery that the people called him John Huſs the ſecond, for he affirmed that the ſcripture and not the compactata was the rule of religion (4). Such of the Taborites as had not formed themſelves into churches were captivated with this, and Rokyzan and they became friends. He promiſed to reform and actually ſent to the patriarch of Conſtantinople to form an union between the greek church and that of Bohemia. Meantime the emperour died, as did his ſucceſſour Albert two years after. The queen lay in after Albert's death, and the infant Ladiſlaus was committed to the care of the emperour Frederick, who as guardian of the minor appointed George lord Podiebrad regent of the kingdom. The archbiſhop attached himſelf to the regent, and amuſed his old friends the Taborites with hopes of reformation, though the project of union with the greek church was defeated by the Turks taking Conſtantinople (5).

It was about this time (1451) that Æneas Sylvius viſited the Taborites. Sylvius was of the noble family of Piccolomini. He was educated at the univerſity of Sienna and was one of the beſt ſcholars of his time. He was ſucceſſively ſecretary to the council of Baſil and to the emperour, ambaſſadour to ſeveral ſtates, biſhop, archbiſhop, cardinal and pope, and took the name of Pius II. He was one of the moſt accompliſhed men of the age, and as he had no principles ſo he had a verſatility extremely convenient to himſelf, and a bewitching affability that rendered his changing of ſides plauſible to others. While he was ſecretary to the council at Baſil he proved that councils were above popes: but when he became a pope he proved that popes were above councils. "As Æneas Silvius," ſaid he, "I was a damnable heretick: but as pope Pius I am an orthodox pontiff (6)."

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(3) Silvius ſays ninety, cap. lii.... Dubravius ſays ſeventy, lib. xxvii.

(4) Pro religionis norma non compactata ſed legem Chriſti habendam..plerique alterum crederent Huſſum. Comenii *Synopſ.* cap. xviii.

(5) Nydprucki *Epiſtola Conſtantinopolitanæ eccleſiæ. apud* Freher.

(6) Bayle's *General Dictionary.* Article Æneas Sylvius.
Mosheim's *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*, vol. iii. cent. xv. part ii. ſect. xvi.

This man, when he was archbiſhop of Sienna, was made legate of Bohemia, and having a mind to divert himſelf with the hereticks, he took ſome noblemen with him and went twice to ſee Tabor. The firſt time he ſtaid all night at the houſe of a concealed catholick, who reſided there for the ſake of getting money. His hoſt gave him a deſcription of the religion of the place as the maſter of any inn would give to inquiſitive travellers. His firſt account therefore is rather of what the people did not practiſe than of what they did believe. It amounts to no more than that they had rejected the authority of the church of Rome, and had put themſelves into the poſſeſſion of religious liberty. His deſcription is ſuch an one as a catholick archbiſhop after the maſter of a tavern would now give of Amſterdam or Philadelphia. His deſcription of the city is pleaſing, his ſtyle is eaſy, and his wit enchanting. " They deny the ſupremacy of the church of Rome and condemn the emoluments of the clergy. They have no images of Chriſt or his ſaints. They diſallow the fire of purgatory. They affirm that the prayers of the ſaints in heaven are of no benefit to mankind. They keep no feſtivals except Sunday and Eaſter. They deſpiſe faſting. They reject canonical hours. They give the ſacrament both bread and wine to infants and madmen. They uſe only the Lord's prayer, and the words of conſecration, neither changing their habits, nor putting on any ornaments. Some carry their folly ſo far as to contend that the very body of Chriſt is not in the ſacrament of the altar, but that it is only a repreſentation, and herein they follow Berengarius before his recantation. They receive none of the ſacraments of the church except baptiſm, the eucharist, matrimony, and orders. They think little of penance, and of confirmation and extreme unction nothing at all. They affirm that the devil was the inventor of the religious rules of the monks. They uſe nothing but water in baptiſm. They uſe no holy water, they have no conſecrated burying places: but they bury their dead in the fields, and as they deſerve commit their carcaſes to the earth like beaſts. They think prayer for the dead vain. They laugh at the conſecration of churches, and adminiſter the ſacrament any where. Their greateſt concern is to hear ſermons, and if any one in ſermon time ſits idle at home, or employs himſelf in amuſement or buſineſs he is beaten, and compelled to go and hear the word of God. They have a ſort of a wooden houſe like a country barn, which they call a church. Here they preach to the people, here they every day expound the law, here they have one altar neither conſecrated, nor fit to be conſecrated, and here they give the ſacrament to the people. He adds, the people are not of one faith, but every one believes what he pleaſes. There are as many hereſies as heads, for all the hereſies that have infected the church from the firſt ages to this day have found a way into this ſynagogue of Satan. Here are Nicolaitans, Arians, Manicheans, Arminians, Neſtorians, Berengarians, and the poor people of Lyons. The Waldenſes are accounted the chief, and while they remain enemies of the vicar of Chriſt, and the apoſtolical ſee, while they reject all ſuperiority and preach liberty, they muſt neceſſarily countenance all kinds of errours. When I quitted the city, I ſeemed as if I came out of hell (7)."

At his ſecond viſit he ſtaid only a few hours: but leſt the Taborites ſhould blaze abroad that a prelate of his rank had been there and had ſaid nothing againſt hereſy, and leſt any body ſhould infer from thence that he was a favourer of hereſy, he was determined to have a little converſation with a few of them. There were in the city ſome whom he had ſeen at the council of Baſil, and they went to pay their reſpects to him, and made an apology for not waiting on him when he was there before. They were abſent from home. "There came," ſays he, "Nicholas, whom they called biſhop, the ringleader of all miſchief; John, who lately eſcaped burning in Poland for hereſy, and Coranda, that old ſervant of the devil, who contends that the ſacrament of the altar is nothing but a repreſentation. There were with them many ſcholars and citizens who underſtood latin, for this wicked generation, it muſt be ſaid, have one good quality, they encourage literature, and excel in it." Sylvius did not exactly know the names of the men with whom he converſed. Nicholas, whom he calls a biſhop, was Nicholas Peldizymovius or Peldrimowſky, ſometimes called Nicholas Epiſcopius. He was ſuch a biſhop as ſome of Cromwell's old ſoldiers were, and ſo was general Procopius, who both taught the Taborites and fought for them. Wenceſlaus Coranda was ſuch another. Sylvius began in a long artful harangue to ſet forth the glory of the church of Rome, and the benefit of obedience to the apoſtolical ſee. The Taborites did not reliſh this, but told him that ſuch ſubmiſſion was contrary to the holy ſcriptures. He endeavoured to prove the infallibility and purity of the church: but they refuted him by arguments drawn from the lives of the popes, and their contradiction to one another. They proved from ſcripture that Rome was in an errour for denying the cup to the laity in the Lord's ſupper, and they did this by a very deliberate and wiſe examination of what all the evangeliſts had ſaid on the ſubject, concluding that it was impoſſible for them to obey the pope without offending God. Ought we not rather, ſay they, to obey God than men, Chriſt than the pope, the goſpel than the decretals of Rome? Sylvius anſwers this artfully enough, praying God to open his eyes that he might ſee the wonderful things in his law. The ſcripture, ſays he, is very difficult, the letter killeth, it is the ſpirit that giveth life. No man can underſtand the ſcripture unleſs the ſpirit of God enlightens him. I am a poor ſinner, I dare not truſt myſelf, I therefore believe in the church, for Chriſt by the holy ſpirit aſſiſts the church to determine. Let us not be wiſe above what is written. Hear the inſtructions of your mother, for the church cannot err. No, ſay the Taborites, we will be determined by ſcripture. You ſay, replies the archbiſhop, that the ſcripture is on your ſide, we ſay, it is on ours.

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(7) ÆNEÆ SYLVII. COMENII *Synopſis, cap. xvi.* REGENVOLSCII *Hiſtoria Eccleſ. Sclavonic. lib. iii. cap. vii.*

Who muſt determine? Nicholas replied, the Lord Jeſus Chriſt. After a great deal of talk of this kind, in which the Taborites ſeem evidently to have the advantage, Sylvius entertained them with the ſame thing over again, covered with oratorical figures: "If you inquire for truth, if for conſolation, attend to the apoſtolical church, obey her traditions, honour her as the holy and immaculate ſpouſe of Chriſt, the ſpotleſs dove, having in her mouth the olive branch of peace for good men, and threatning the proud with war." At this one of the Taborites was warmed, and riſing up exclaimed: "Why do you decorate the apoſtolical ſee with ſuch fine language? We know, that the popes and the cardinals are ſlaves to avarice, impatient, arrogant, oſtentatious, devoted wholly to gluttony and laſciviouſneſs, miniſters of ſin, prieſts of the devil, and heralds of antichriſt, whoſe god is their belly, and whoſe heaven is wealth." This man was corpulent, and had a very prominent belly, and the archbiſhop, who was never at a loſs, roſe up, went to him, and putting his hand lightly on his belly, ſaid with a ſmile, "Whence came this ſwelling? Why do you reduce yourſelf to ſuch a ſkeleton by faſting and prayer?" This well timed jeſt produced a loud laugh, and they all with many compliments parted in great good humour (8).

Archbiſhop Rokyzan is repreſented by all bohemian writers, catholicks, Calixtines, and others, as a time ſerver, and a very bad man. He being at the head of affairs, they all wanted him to ſuppreſs every party except their own, and ſome perpetually ſtunned him with intreaties to reform the church, that is, to force people to act contrary to their inclinations. His grace allowed the neceſſity of reformation: but aſſured them it was not in his power to force the multitude. In vain he adviſed them not to be precipitate, they wanted him to be their head. He abſolutely refuſed this as impracticable, and adviſed them to go and reform themſelves, giving them ſome books with his prayers and good wiſhes, and what was more, a permiſſion, which he had obtained from the regent, to ſettle on the king's domain in the lordſhip of Lititz between Sileſia and Moravia, a place which had been laid waſte by the ravages of war. There he adviſed them to ſettle, and regulate divine worſhip according to their own inſight and conſcience.

To the lordſhip of Lititz twenty miles from Prague they went, and a great number of all ranks joined them, Gregory Rokyzan the archbiſhop's nephew being one. Here Bradazius formed them into a church, and denominated them BRETHREN. It ſhould ſeem they were moſtly Calixtines, it is certain Bradazius, and moſt of their firſt miniſters were: but being afterwards joined by many called Waldenſes and Taborites, they obtained more knowledge, and a new name, and called their church UNITAS FRATRUM, the unity of brethren, and themſelves united brethren. Among other articles for the regulation of their church diſcipline they inſerted one on paſſive obedience, and agreed not to bear arms, but to ſuffer all things for conſcience ſake: and another, which was an old doctrine of Huſs, that the ſcripture without tradition was a perfect rule of life for chriſtians.

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(8) ÆNEÆ SYLVII, JOHANNI DE CARVAIAL *Cardinali, Epiſt. cxxix.*

The archbiſhop had not foreſeen the conſequences of ſettling theſe people on the crown lands. Other people in all parts of the kingdom began to follow the example, and either formed ſeparate ſocieties or repaired to Lititz. Many of them renounced infant-baptiſm, and the miniſters baptized them before they received them into the church (9). Thus on account of the maxims which they laid down as rules of action, and the members, whom they received, they were called brethren of the law of Chriſt, Waldenſes, Picards, and other opprobrious names, became too numerous and too ſcandalous for an archbiſhop in Rokyzan's ſituation to patronize, and he was obliged to treat them with indifference and keep them at a diſtance.

About this time the young king Ladiſlaus came to Prague. The archbiſhop went thither with a great party to congratulate him on his ſafe arrival. Ladiſlaus hated hereticks, and received him very cooly, though at the ſame time he was very affable to the catholick clergy, and could not help exclaiming, "Theſe are the miniſters of the God I ſerve. I acknowledge their character." The archbiſhop, the regent, and all the huſſite nobility were extremely chagrined, and as the young king died ſuddenly ſoon after, the Germans reported that either Rokyzan or Podiebrad had poiſoned him (1). Immediately after the king's death a new ſcene opened, and by all the uſual methods lord Podiebrad was elected king, and conſequently Rokyzan and he had ſo much to do to maintain their own dignity, that they had no time to attend to reformation.

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(9) Pragenſes illi cives, Baccalaurei, Magiſtri, ſeſe contulerunt: alii vero aliunde plebeii, et nobiles, docti et indocti, non exiguo numero confluxerunt. Comenii *Synopſis hiſtorica perſecutionum eccleſiæ Bohemicæ, cap. xviii.*

Concurrebatur ad ipſorum templa, et communicatio ſacramenti cænæ dominicæ expetebatur promiſcue ab omnibus. Hoc nullo pacto fiere oportere, neque ſibi faciendam eſſe ſciebant, ut ſine diſcrimine, vel manifeſte improbos, vel quoſlibet (non explorata antea ſententia voluntateque eorum) ad illam communionem admitterent, &c. Camerarii *de eccleſiis fratrum narratio, p.* 87.

Legem Chriſti . . fundamentum cauſæ Huſſi . . ſufficientem eſſe ad eccleſiæ militantis regimen, ſine additamentis legum humanarum reſpectantes, et ne a fundamento hoc vel ipſi vel poſteri recederent, præcavere volentes ſubſcribebant. Fratres legis, ſeu regulæ Chriſti, &c. Regenvolscii *Hiſtoria Eccleſ. Sclavonic. provinc. Lib. cap. viii.* Iſthæc rebaptiſatio, jam dictis tot cauſis uſurpata et introducta, a noſtris, duravit in eccleſia noſtra ad hæc uſque tempora. *Apologia veræ doctrinæ eorum qui vulgo appellantur Waldenſes vel Piccardi, &c. Oblata D. Georgio Marchioni Brandebar, anno* 1532. *Ex Bohemico exemplari tranſlata in linguam latinam per Burigenum doctorem de Kornis. Par. iv. De baptiſmo.*

Initio creſcente in cœtu multitudine hominum, et ex diverſarum religionum profeſſionibus accedente, ſi quis forte de veritate baptiſmi chriſtiani dubitarent, et animo ſuo angerentur, et conſcientiam haberent malam, eos expetentes hoc curarunt denuo baptizandos, exigendo et ſinceræ fidei integram confeſſionem, et promiſſionem de obſervatione diſciplinæ et vitæ ſanctitate. Quem confitendi promittendique morem priſca eccleſia religioſiſſime tenuit. Camerarii. *ut ſup.*

(1) Fleury *Hiſt. Eccleſ. an.* 1457.

The king was well affected to it, and the archbiſhop ſecretly encouraged it: but before any thing could be done it was neceſſary for the king to be crowned, and for Rokyzan to receive the inveſtiture, and as popery had interwoven itſelf with the laws of the kingdom both muſt proceed from Rome. The pope abſolutely refuſed either, unleſs they would take an oath to re-eſtabliſh the old religion, and clear the kingdom of hereſy, and though he had no more right to diſpoſe of the kingdom of Bohemia than Rokyzan had to give away the city of Rome, yet he excommunicated the king for favouring hereſy, and excited Matthias king of Hungary to ſeize the kingdom.

It was with great reluctance and with a very ill grace that the king and the archbiſhop went into the trammels of the church of Rome, however, they did ſtoop to the diſhonourable ſervice and reſigned the glory of expelling popery and tyranny, the one for a crown that never ſat eaſy on his head, and the other for a mitre with which he was never lawfully inveſted. The king took the oath and was crowned, the pope called him his beloved ſon George, and he by force of arms for thirteen years ſcattered and diminiſhed, impriſoned and deſtroyed the reformed (2). The archbiſhop firſt publiſhed a book againſt the Taborites, then ſilenced the anſwers by impriſoning the authors. When a tide of threatnings came in from Rome his ambition and fear excited him to uſe ſeverity, and he proceeded to break up the religious aſſemblies of the ſeparatiſts, and to commit the refractory preachers to priſon: when reflection and early impreſſions returned he viſited the priſons, condoled with the ſufferers, embraced and wept over his nephew, who was one, and exclaimed, O MY GREGORY, I WISH TO GOD I WERE AS THOU ART! In the end he became a confirmed perſecutor, and though he could not go ſo far as to burn hereticks, yet by his great influence with the king he procured their baniſhment, and continued to perſecute till his death.

During this period the brethren retired into woods, faſtneſſes, and caves of the earth, where they held their religious aſſemblies, elected their own teachers, and continued to reform and improve themſelves. Some of their enemies nicknamed them Grubenheimer, that is, inhabitants of caves, others called them ſtrollers, and conſidered them as a few years after all Europe conſidered the people called Gypſies. In theſe gloomy receſſes ſacred to famine and liberty they held what later writers call a ſynod at a place called LHOTA, or freedom, and having now given up all hopes of being comprehended in the national church, they elected miniſters, and ſettled a form of divine worſhip and diſcipline. Whether ſome weak brethren doubted of the validity of a miniſtry not regularly appointed by men in authority, whether the newly elected teachers aſpired at dominion, or whether it were to avoid perſecution, and to give themſelves credit with the papiſts, or whatever were the motive, they ſent the newly elected miniſters into Auſtria to find out Waldenſes, from whom they might receive ordination, and from whom they might all boaſt of a ſucceſſion from the apoſtles. Having found an old teacher in Auſtria, who ſaid he was in poſſeſſion of this magick charm, he ordained them, and they at their return communicated a part of what, through Stephen of Auſtria, they had received from the apoſtles, to others of their brethren in the deſert, and ſo eſtabliſhed a regular miniſtry. What a triumph over Rokyzan, who with all the power of Bohemia could never obtain an inveſtiture, though he ſought it of ſucceſſive popes for forty years!

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(2) Obedientiam ſacro ſanctæ Romanæ eccleſiæ in unitate fidei.. profitetur.. et illam tueri et propugnare pro virili enixe velle, ac populum ſibi ſubjectum ab omnibus erroribus, ſectis, hæreſibus revocare, &c. DUBRAVII *Hiſt. lib. xxx.*

The next effort was a deputation to the auſtrian Waldenſes to ſolicit an union, on condition, however, that they conformed to the bohemian brethren. The Auſtrians were too much at eaſe to think of changing: but while they were debating, government got intelligence, Rokyzan iſſued out new orders to perſecute the brethren in Bohemia, and Stephen of Auſtria was burnt alive. About three years after king George ended his unfortunate life, having loſt the affections of the nobles, and the confidence of the people, chagrined at the loſs of Sileſia, Luſatia and part of Moravia, enraged becauſe he could not ſecure the ſucceſſion to his family, and exaſperated at his favourite Rokyzan, whom he ſurlily forbad to approach him. A dying illneſs attacked him, he ſtruggled, and having plundered a rich monaſtery, and collected all the wealth he could, and lodged it in the family caſtle of Podiebrad, he expired. The archbiſhop died about the ſame time, and, poor man! was buried in ſacerdotal habits with two cups, and with all the honours uſually paid to archbiſhops of Prague. One hundred and ſixty years after, his remains, little more than cups, rags and red hair, were moved to make room for the corps of a jeſuit (3).

There were two candidates for the crown, the catholick party ſupported Matthias king of Hungary, to whom the pope had given Bohemia, and the Huſſites declared for Uladiſlaus prince of Poland. The latter carried the election and was crowned king of Bohemia: the former fought, and at the end of four or five years obtained Sileſia and Moravia. Neither Uladiſlaus nor Matthias were diſpoſed to perſecute: but through various manoeuvres of the prieſts the brethren were expelled from Moravia, and driven from place to place all over Hungary, Tranſylvania, part of Turkey and Moldavia, till Matthias thought proper, on conviction of their inoffenſiveneſs, to recal them to ſettle in Moravia, promiſing at the ſame time, that if he ſhould at any time hereafter think proper to baniſh them, they ſhould be allowed the ſpace of one year to diſpoſe of their effects. The king died ſoon after of an apoplexy, Uladiſlaus married his widow and ſucceeded him, and the brethren returned and ſettled.

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(3) DUBRAVII *Hiſt. Bohem. lib. xxx.* CANISIUS *apud Lydii Waldenſ. Prolegom.* COMENII *Synopſis, cap. cv.* Quod narramus ab occulato teſte relatum eſt. Rokyzanus ſepulchro ſuo alteri ceſſit, p. 406.

Under this mild prince the brethren cultivated their lands, applied themſelves to literature, and enjoyed proſperity as well as peace, and to uſe the language of the learned and polite lord Haſſenſtein, who was a bitter enemy to all but catholicks: "They took ſuch deep root, and extended their branches ſo far and wide, that it was impoſſible to extirpate them (4)." There were two hundred congregations in Bohemia and Moravia (5). Many counts, barons and noblemen joined their churches, who built them meeting-houſes in their cities and villages, becauſe the Calixtines and the catholicks were in poſſeſſion of the churches. They got the bible tranſlated into the bohemian tongue, and printed at Venice; after they had diſpoſed of that edition they printed two more at Nuremberg, and as they had a rapid ſale they ſet up one printing preſs at Prague, another at Bunzlau in Bohemia, and a third at Kralitz in Moravia, where in the beginning they printed nothing but bohemian bibles.

The king was ſo averſe to contention that every morning when he roſe, and every evening when he retired to reſt, he addreſſed this prayer to God, Give peace in my days, O Lord! A prayer worthy of a king: but this king did not know that the prince who deſires an anſwer to ſuch a prayer ought to diſcharge his chaplains. It happened, that the brethren debated at their conference meetings the queſtion concerning ſecular power, whether a chriſtian with a ſafe conſcience could hold a public office in the ſtate? Whether he could bear arms? Whether he could exact or take oaths? The church had reſolved at their firſt formation fifty years ago, that they could not bear arms, but they would rather patiently ſubmit to every indignity in ſecular affairs, and on this principle they had conſtantly acted: but now the majority thought otherwiſe. The minority defended the primitive faith of the ſociety, and withdrew, and formed themſelves into a ſeparate congregation in Prague (6). The debate got abroad, and ſome officious prieſts informed the king with much falſe colouring and many aggravating circumſtances. What! exclaimed the king, are they going to act Ziska's part over again? The clergy had their wiſh, a ſevere edict was iſſued. The congregation at Prague took no notice: but the church of the brethren preſented an apology to the king, and he, with his uſual lenity, ordered his clergy to converſe with the Picards, and to endeavour to reclaim them by reaſon, and by all means to make peace among themſelves.

The next year an order was publiſhed requiring the lords and patrons of the brethren to bring ſome of their principal miniſters to Prague on a certain day to hold a conference with ſome of the eſtabliſhed clergy. They choſe ſome of their number, who went to Prague at the time: but early in the morning of the appointed day Martin Poczatecius, the principal enemy of the brethren, died ſuddenly. The citizens who were biaſſed in favour of reformation, thought it a judgment, and the conference was put off.

(4) Adriani Regenvolscii *Hiſt. Eccleſ. Slavon. lib. ii. cap. viii.*
(5) An. 1500.
(6) An. 1503.

The king did every thing in his power to induce his ſubjects to be at peace, and as the brethren thought that a confeſſion of their faith would help to promote it, they ſent one to the king, who was then in Hungary. It is intitled a confeſſion of faith of the waldenſian brethren, addreſſed to king Uladiſlaus in Hungary. It begins with informing the king that they were not Waldenſes, though they were perſecuted under that name (7). It goes on with a brief account of their ſufferings, and of their reaſons for laying before him the moſt ſecret articles of their religion, which they ſay were revealed by the holy ſpirit, are depoſited in the ſacred ſcripture, and are perfectly agreable to the apoſtle's creed and the faith of the primitive church (8). Then follows the creed, which conſiſts of fourteen ſhort articles. The ſixth is concerning baptiſm. Whoever, having arrived at years of diſcretion, hath believed by hearing the word of God, and hath acquired power over ſin by the renewing and enlightening of his mind, ought to profeſs the inward cleanſing of his mind by faith by exteriour waſhing, and is to be baptized into the unity of the holy church in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghoſt. This our profeſſion extends to children, who by an apoſtolical canon, as Dionyſius writes, ought to be baptized, and afterward by their pious godfathers to be accuſtomed and invited to a life of faith (9).

This laſt clauſe concerning godfathers and infants is extremely doubtful, and ſeems to have been added by tranſlators, for it is to be obſerved, that though a creed was preſented to Uladiſlaus, yet it was written in the bohemian language, and not tranſlated into latin till many years after, and then from a bad german copy. The brethren complained, that it was tranſlated into german by one who did not underſtand the bohemian language, and who had altered ſome things and added others of his own head (1). However it were it did not anſwer the end at court, for the catholick biſhops, who were to be preferred at Rome in proportion to their merit in extending the pomp and power of the papal hierarchy, watched an opportunity to ſuppreſs the brethren, and found one, which they did not fail to improve. The queen of Bohemia was pregnant. Boſſak a hungarian biſhop, ſupported by ſeveral other prelates, had a great aſcendancy over the queen, and moſt humbly and earneſtly ſolicited her to obtain of the king an edict to ſuppreſs the Picards, for

(7) Orthuinus Gratius *in faſciculo rerum expetendarum.* Coloniæ, 1535.
Marquardus Freher de rebus Bohemicis. Hanoviæ, 1602... contemptibili quoque nomine falſo amicti.

(8) De religionis noſtræ arcanis.. omnem fidei veritatem ſpiritu ſancto revelatam, in ſcripturis deinde ſacris eodem ſpiritu ſancto repoſitam.

(9) Quicunque matura jam ætate auditu verbi dei fidem adeptus, qua in anima renatus, *illuminatuſque* vim nactus fuerit, talis exteriore lavacro in argumentum interioris munditiæ per fidem acquiſitæ baptizari tenetur, &c.

(1) Bathasaris Lydii *Waldenſia*... interpres libellum hunc (cui a vulgari noſtro in germanicum traducendum dedimus) idiomatis noſtri non admodum peritus, in pleriſque locis non eſt aſſecutus plene mentem noſtram. In quibuſdam autem liberioribus, quam par erat, verbis luſit, in nonnullis vero etiam ſtudio e cerebro ſuo admiſcuit quædam, &c.

as Uladiſlaus had an extreme affection for his conſort, they aſſured themſelves he would not at ſuch a time deny the queen any requeſt or give her a moment's pain. The king entered, the queen mildly aſked the favour. The king looked ſad and bowed; but ſaid nothing. Boſſak began to write inſtantly in the king's preſence, and the edict as ſoon as it could be prepared was ſigned: but the inſtant the humane monarch ſigned the inſtrument, he quitted the room, retired to his cloſet, fell on his knees, burſt into tears, and humbly beſought Almighty God to forgive him, and to fruſtrate the bloody purpoſes of the biſhops againſt innocent men (2). The ſtates would not at firſt allow this edict the force of law, for the Bohemians were very jealous of their liberties, and it took four years to bring them to conſent to a ſtatute which declared the Picards ſhould hold no religious aſſemblies publick or private, that their meeting-houſes ſhould all be ſhut up, that they ſhould not be ſuffered either to preach or print, and that within a certain time they ſhould aſſociate either with the catholicks or the Calixtines.

The Bohemians were not eaſily daunted, for they were at that time a fierce and fiery people, jealous to the laſt degree of their liberties, the poor having little to loſe, and the nobles being always in arms. The king and the wiſer magiſtrates did not therefore go heartily into the clerical meaſures of depopulation and deſtruction, for they knew the miniſters would preach, and their patrons would fight, and they were loth to provoke them. The catholick and calixtine parties were ſo ſtrong that the king durſt not openly protect the brethren, and was ſometimes obliged to wink at the cruel uſe made of the ſtatute by ſome paſſionate magiſtrates: but on the whole the pacifick inclination of the court was pretty well underſtood, and people acted accordingly.

Some emigrated, others retired and worſhipped God as formerly in remote places, and in ſmall companies, others ran all hazards, and ſome fell into bad hands and were puniſhed. Matthias Eremita, a plain but zealous man, who preached often in the ſtreets and fields of Prague to great multitudes, was by the procurement of the clergy impriſoned, but ſome time after releaſed. A painter too who reproved a prieſt for reading in the church a legend about S. Barbara inſtead of a ſermon, for amuſing the people with ſuch old wives fables, was impriſoned. One John Kalenetz a cutler, and another, who was a ſhoemaker, were burnt in the hand for baptizing and adminiſtring the ſacrament at their own houſes. Kalenetz was teacher of a congregation at Prague called THE LITTLE FLOCK (3). Lord Schwanberg caught ſix poor men at their devotions at a village called Augezd, Prokop a ſhoemaker, Simonowitz a weaver, Hranowitz a cooper, Herbek a potter, and two huſbandmen named Nabridka. The deſpotical baron ſeized theſe poor men, and the prieſt of his pariſh examined them. He aſked but one queſtion, whether they would obey him as a ſhepherd of ſouls, they only anſwered him, WE ACCOUNT CHRIST THE SHEPHERD OF OUR SOULS, and lo, they were convicted on the ſtatute againſt hereſy made in the twentieth year of the reign of their ſovereign lord the king, and directly committed to the flames. The king, who for peace ſake moſtly reſided in Hungary, wrote to ſeveral to diſcourage ſuch exceſſes, and ordered them to abate their ſeverity and to recal the proſcribed, and ſome of the haughty barons complied, but they committed ſeveral to priſon, who were ſo unwary as to truſt them. Freedom is never ſafe where magiſtrates are intruſted with diſcretionary power, and there were then many ſuch magiſtrates in Bohemia.

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(2) COMENII SYNOPSIS, cap. xxiv. ex regiis cubiculariis viris fide digniſſimis cognitum fuit, p. 83.

(3) GEORGII BARTHOLDI PONTANI. *Bohemia pia, lib. vii. cap.* 22. Kelenicze. COMENII *Synopſis, cap. xxix,* Joannes Kalenetz.

Sometimes ſuperſtition comes to the relief of people in diſtreſs. There were at this time many very convenient popular tales flying about, which reſtrained the effect of the penal ſtatute. The tales were true, and a little animation in telling them gave them a good effect. The hungarian biſhop, who had abuſed the mildneſs of the king, and had obtained the firſt edict by means of the queen, was returning in his carriage to Moravia, when having occaſion to alight, a hook caught hold of him, and the carriage moving, he fell, his inteſtines were torn from him and hung on the carriage, and he expired. An auguſtine friar, who had been a chief inſtrument in promoting perſecution, died ſuddenly at ſupper. Lord Sevihow, another principal mover of the buſineſs, being terrified ſoon after with a violent ſtorm of wind, hid himſelf in the cellar of his caſtle and was found dead. The chancellor, lord Kolowrat, returning from the diet where the ſtatute was paſſed, ſtopped at the ſeat of lord Coldicius. Coldicius had a ſervant named Simeon, who was one of the Picards, and while he was waiting the chancellor told Coldicius what had been done in the diet, and with great glee ſaid they all conſented to the ſtatute to ſuppreſs hereſy. There, ſaid Coldicius, addreſſing himſelf to the ſervant, how do you like that Simeon? My lord, replied he, THEY HAVE NOT YET ALL CONSENTED. The chancellor ſuſpecting ſome conſpiracy exclaimed, Who is he, or what are they, who dare reſiſt a decree made in full ſenate? They are ſeditious and traitors, and whoever they are, they will be ſeverely puniſhed. Simeon, very deliberately pointing upward with his finger, ſaid, "There is one in heaven, who, if you did not conſult him, will fruſtrate all your ſtatutes." "You knave, ſaid the chancellor, you and many more will ſoon make trial of the lawfulneſs of the ſtatute." Up he roſe in great wrath to proceed home to his lordſhip at Krupka: but a pain took his foot, a ſwelling followed, St. Anthony's fire inflamed it, and the chancellor died. Theſe and many more ſuch events were conſidered as God's judgments on perſecutors. Whatever they were they did good, they emboldened religious people, and they made perſecutors afraid to run hazards, and hence came the bohemian ſaying, "If you be tired of life, oppreſs the Picards, for then you will not outlive the year."

Authors diſagree as much concerning the end of this church as they do about the riſe of it. Some affirm that it fell into the reformed churches in the time of Luther (2). Others ſay that it ſubſiſted in Bohemia till the reign of the emperour Ferdinand II. and that it was then ſcattered and loſt (3). The people among us who are called Moravians contend that they are the deſcendants of the bohemian brethren, and therefore they denominate themſelves as the ancient Bohemians did UNITAS FRATRUM (4). It is not to our purpoſe to inveſtigate this diſpute. It is certain the ancient church ſubſiſted at the reformation, and afterwards left off baptizing adults on their own profeſſion of faith.

As ſoon as the german reformers appeared the brethren ſent to congratulate them, and to deſire their countenance and ſupport. Eraſmus genteely declined it (5). Luther did not like them, and as the Munſter Anabaptiſts juſt then made a great noiſe in the world many reproached them that they were Anabaptiſts, and that their teachers followed trades (6). They made the beſt apology they could. They ſaid, in regard to their teachers, they had never been ſo mad as to think it a ſin for a teacher not to labour, they had heard of one who had been a prieſt, but who choſe to become a huſbandman becauſe it was written, IN THE SWEAT OF THY BROW SHALT THOU EAT BREAD, but their miniſters, thank God, had never been ſuffered to fall ſo low, however, they had been obliged, having no certain ſtipends to ſupport them, to work in ſome reputable ſhops (7). As to baptiſm it was very true they had always rebaptized ſuch as had joined their churches: but ſo, in the early ages of chriſtianity, had S. Cyprian; beſide they were naturally led into this at firſt by Huſs and Rokyzan and the firſt reformers in Bohemia, who had taught them to conſider the pope as antichriſt, and all the clergy of the church of Rome as emiſſaries of Satan, who had corrupted all the ordinances of religion, and therefore they thought what the papiſts called baptiſm was no baptiſm, and conſequently they rebaptized the brethren: but that, however, now they had ſtudied the ſubject more diligently, in which they had been aſſiſted by ſome eminent divines, they had concluded there was no need to rebaptize, and they had left off the practice, and moreover they had unanimouſly agreed never to rebaptize in future, nor ever to call rebaptizing baptiſm, but anabaptiſm (8).

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(2) HENRY RIMIUS's *Narrative of the Hernhutters, page* 14.

(3) TABLONSKY in Rimius. MOSHEIM *Eccleſ. Hiſt. cent. xviii, ſect. xvii.*

(4) ZINZENDORF in Rimius. DAVID CRANTZ's *ancient and modern Hiſtory of the Brethren.* ARVID GRADIN's *letter to the archbiſhop of Upſal.*

(5) The anſwer of Eraſmus to the two brethren, who waited on him at Antwerp, is in Camerarius. *De Eccl. Frat. p.* 125.

(6) Neque enim diſſimulare poſſumus, Lutherum aliquando ea eccleſiis noſtris credidiſſe, et ſcriptis ſuis inſerviſſe, &c. Confeſſio fidei... *Quam regi Ferdinando obtulerunt Viennæ... An.* 1535.. BARONES.. *Fratrum Bohemarum. In proœmio.*

Adverſarii nobis hunc titulum, i. e. Anabaptiſtarum, et nomen indere conantur. Præfatio in confeſſionem. Apud LYDIUM.

HOSII *Cardinalis opera.* Eſt tertia Anabaptiſtarum ſecta. De quo genere videntur etiam fuiſſe fratres Waldenſes, quos in ipſos non ita pridem rebaptizaſſe conſtat quamvis eorum nonnulli nuper adeo, ſicut ipſi in apologia ſua teſtantur, iterare baptiſmum deſierint in multis tamen eos cum Anabaptiſtis convenire certum eſt. *De hæreſibus noſtri temporis, lib. i. p.* 431. Coloniæ, 1584.

(7) Plerique ex noſtris neceſſitate eo adiguntur, ut opus faciant, et honeſtæ officinæ operas exerceant, ne eſuriant, cum ſtipendia certa nulla habeant, quibus ſe et ſuos alant. *Proemium ut ſupra.*

Theſe apologies ſatisfied the reformers in Germany, and Luther put a recommendatory preface to that edition of their confeſſion of faith which by the advice of the bohemian gentry at court was preſented to the emperour. There were eight ſucceſſive confeſſions of faith publiſhed by this church. The firſt was very ſhort and ſimple, and was preſented to Rokyzan, the ſecond to king George, the third was a little enlarged, the fourth was preſented to Uladiſlaus, as was alſo the fifth three years after much improved (9). The ſixth was preſented to Lewis ſon of Uladiſlaus (1). The ſeventh was eight years after, a tranſlation of the fifth, made by deſire of a bohemian nobleman, and preſented to George duke of Brandenburgh (2). To this Luther prefixed his preface, in which he ſays, that he had formerly been prejudiced againſt the brethren called Picards. Indeed he had always admired their aptneſs in the holy ſcriptures, and it was no wonder they had expreſſed themſelves obſcurely, becauſe the learned languages had been little underſtood in general, and theſe people in particular had entertained ſuch an averſion to the ſubtilties of the ſchools that they had gone to the other extreme, and had neglected polite literature, beſide they had been obliged in times of perſecution to work for their bread. This confeſſion however was ſuch a learned performance that it had no need of his recommendation (3). The eighth was amended and improved again, and prepared for the inſpection of Ferdinand then king of the Romans (4). There were ſeveral editions of the two laſt, all improved, and ſeveral accompanied with letters of Oecolampadius, Melancthon and other german reformers, in praiſe of the orthodoxy of the brethren.

By theſe means, after a negociation of many years the brethren obtained what they had ſo long ſought, a comprehenſion in the eſtabliſhed church, the imperial edict was publiſhed at Prague, Te Deum was ſung, a ſermon was preached, the bells rung, and the reproach of picardiſm was rolled away: but alas! ſays the devout Comenius, as uſual, we relaxed our diſcipline, our quiet became carnal ſecurity, we aimed at liberty and we obtained licentiouſneſs, the pious wept, and till the horrid reign of Ferdinand rouſed us, each good man might truly ſay, BEHOLD, FOR PEACE I HAD GREAT BITTERNESS (5). The title biſhop, which had hitherto been an empty name given to ſhepherds and cutlers, now became a patent for power. Three divines of the brethren were put into commiſſion with three Calixtines, three Lutherans, and three profeſſors of the univerſity, and were a board of juriſdiction for the reformation of the church. This power to reform had always been the favourite object with the brethren, they had not foreſeen that three brethren would have no more influence in this council than three dutch boors in an oriental divan. One would hardly think it poſſible for men to ſubmit to ſuch an indignity, but it is an undoubted fact, that as the lay brethren inſiſted on receiving the cup in the Lord's ſupper, and as the catholick prieſts refuſed to adminiſter it, the diſpute was at laſt ſettled by the grant of the RINSE-CUP, as it is called, that is water juſt coloured with a drop or two of wine left at the bottom after the prieſt had drunk the reſt, and which theſe people were mean enough to receive.

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(8) Is autem rebaptizandi modus, hucuſque in eccleſiis noſtris extitit... adjuti doctorum virorum quorundam ope, rebaptiſmum hunc nihil eccleſiæ opus eſſe compererunt, &c. *De baptiſmo ut ſupra.*

(9) Aliquanto luculentius. Duplicem confeſſionem exhibuerunt, unam brevem 1504, et alteram copioſorem, 1507.

(1) Anno 1524.

(2) Anno 1532.

(3) Quanquam fratres hi, per Bohemiam et Moraviam agentes, felicius et eruditius ſuam confeſſionem et doctrinam ediderint, quam ut mea vel commendatione vel præfatione opus habeant, tamen cum jam multis annis odioſo nomine Picardi ceu hæretici et ſchiſmatici ſint traducti, &c. LUTHERI *Præfat, ut ſup.*

(4) Anno 1535.

On the whole, how different ſoever we think the Anabaptiſts at the court of Vienna from a horde of emigrants wandering from thicket to cavern, and how much ſoever we think the change for the worſe, the Baptiſts ought always to honour this church, it was a cradle in which many of their denomination were cheriſhed. Several Bohemians, eſpecially Lutherans at the univerſity of Wittemberg, have taken great pains to prove that the ancient reformed churches of their country, called UNITAS FRATRUM, were unjuſtly called Waldenſes and Picards, though, ſay they, both were TOLERATED among them: but none of them ever attempted to deny that they baptized adults on a profeſſion of faith, before they received them into the church; on the contrary, they apologize for it, and they all allow that the Anabaptiſts of Moravia proceeded from a SCHISM in this church. It is pleaſant enough to hear people in their circumſtances talking of toleration and ſchiſm: but this is the language of modern apologiſts, not of the old united brethren in the times of perſecution.

Leaving then the church of the unitas fratrum, let us turn our attention to that of the Baptiſts in this country, for though they were increaſed and multiplied by parties who withdrew from the unitas fratrum, yet none of theſe parties were their founders.

All bohemian hiſtorians ſay Picards or Waldenſes ſettled in Bohemia in the twelfth century at Satz and Laun on the river Eger. Many affirm that there was a ſet of arian vagrants there long before, who had fled from Meſopotamia from the athanaſian perſecution, and who were joined by others fleeing from perſecution in ſucceſſive ages from all parts of Europe. On this account moſt bohemian catholick hiſtorians call their country a ſink of hereſy, and Prague the metropolis a common and ſafe aſylum for all ſorts of hereticks. To enable us to judge of the credibility of this report, which at firſt ſight appears ſo different from our ideas of the condition of a country inhabited by catholicks eſtabliſhed by law, whoſe avowed principle it is to extirpate all ſects but their own, let us advert to the few following facts (6).

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(5) COMENII *Synopſis, cap. xl.*

It is an unqueſtionable fact, that, in the times we are ſpeaking of a great part of Bohemia, Hungary, Muſcovy, Moravia, and other places thereabouts, was a vaſt deſert of foreſts, marſhes, mountains, and immenſe tracts not aſcertained and partly uninhabited. A little before the time of Jeſus Chriſt, Cæſar deſcribed the hercynian foreſt thus: "It is nine days journey over... It begins on the confines of the Helvetii, Nemetes and Rauraci, (that is Switzerland, Baſil and Spires) and extends along the Danube to the borders of the Daci and Anartes (that is to Tranſilvania) there turning from the river to the left, it runs through an infinite number of countries. None could ever yet come to the end of it, or know its utmoſt extent, though ſome have gone ſixty days journey in it." Mela gives this foreſt an immenſe length; for, according to him it extended from the Rhine to the country of the ancient Sarmatæ, which is at preſent a conſiderable part of Muſcovy. In proceſs of time a part of the hercynian foreſt was grubbed up and inhabited by different nations. The black foreſt, and the foreſt of Bohemia were formerly parts of the hercynian (7). Whoever caſts his eye on a map of ancient Germany will inſtantly perceive that it would require ages to clear ſuch a foreſt as is there deſcribed (8). The deſcriptions of this part of the world in the two laſt centuries given us both in maps and by hiſtorians, confirm the ancient accounts, for there are yet immenſe tracts, of which the neareſt inhabitants have only an imperfect knowledge. It is needleſs to prove that the ſkirts of this foreſt were inhabited by many claſſes of people different from each other in manners, cuſtoms and language. Some ſettled, others followed and fed their flocks, ſome collected honey, and wax, and materials of traffick, while others

(6) Dubravii *Olomucenſis epiſcopi Hiſt. Bohem. lib. xiv.* Georgii Bartholdi Pontani. *Bohem. Pia. lib. i. p.* 9. Pauli Stransky *de republica Bohemorum, p.* 272. Spondani *Annales eccleſiaſtici.* Errones illi quos Galli Boemos vocant ... ſe ex illis deſcendiſſe Singaræ urbis Meſopotamiæ incolis, qui poſt extinctum Julianum Apoſtatam inde pulſi vagi deinceps facti ſunt. An. 1419. Poplinerii *Hiſt. Franc.* Albigenſes doctrinam ſuam non per Galliam ſolum totam, ſed etiam per omnes pene Europæ oras diſſeminarunt. Nam Galli, Hiſpani, Angli, Scoti, Itali, Germani, Bohemi, Saxones, Poloni, Lithuani, et gentes aliæ eam ad hunc diem (1581) pertinaciter defenderunt, lib. i. Jacobi Picolominei *de Huſſitis narratio.* Pragam repetiit, commune ac tutum hæreticorum aſylum. Comment. lib. vi.

(7) Cæsar *Comment. lib. vi. cap. xxv.* Universal History, *vol. v. book iii. ch. xvii. Note T.*

(8) See that in the Universal History, *vol. vii. book iv. chap. xii.*

ſubſiſted by plunder and the ſpoils of war (9). Fiſhing and hunting were common to them all, they reſted as it were in the lap of an unbounded ſpace.

Let us obſerve next, that the people, of whom we are now in ſearch, were fitted by their own avowed principles to inhabit ſuch places. They were paſſionately fond of independence as the only true baſe on which freedom could be built. They were averſe, probably through what they had ſeen in every country, to the bearing of arms, and the taking and exacting of oaths, and conſequently to kings and prieſts and civil governments, as they were then modelled. They aimed at no honours, they coveted neither wealth nor fame, they held all things common, they deſpiſed the literature of the pagan and papal ſchools, they placed religion in virtue more than in faith, they thought every man competent to underſtand the new-teſtament, and their publick worſhip, with the adminiſtration of baptiſm and the Lord's ſupper, exactly reſembled that of the very reſpectable body of chriſtians among us whom the lower ſort of people in deriſion call Quakers. Let it not ſeem romantick if we ſuppoſe that Waldenſes, who, we know, ſtudied the revelation of John, thought themſelves directed to retire by God himſelf to ſequeſtered places, for by the new-teſtament prophet he had ſaid, "The woman fled into the wilderneſs, where ſhe hath a place prepared of God, that they ſhould feed her there a thouſand two hundred and threeſcore days."

Further, it is clear by the ſtatutes of an ancient king of Bohemia, Charles IV. that theſe fugitives did certainly reſide about the borders of this kingdom; probably they did, as all men in ſuch circumſtances would do, ſhift their quarters to ſuit their convenience, according to proſpects of ſafety or danger. Several of the caroline laws, the magna charta of Bohemia, are for the regulation and preſervation of the foreſts. One forbids making fires in them, another barking the trees, and another the felling or conveying away of the timber by water, all which it ſeems were often done. One provides for the ſettling of diſputes concerning limitation of claims, between baron and baron, between the barons and the king, and between both and foreigners. From the whole we learn that from time immemorial parcels of the foreſts had been granted to individuals, and were held by patent from the crown on payment of a ſmall quit-rent. The clearing of theſe parcels muſt employ a great number of hands. In theſe ſtatutes the king thought fit to allow the borderers to burn the dead wood of the foreſt, and to direct that hereticks, who, he had been informed, had fled from other countries, and dwelt near the borders of his kingdom, and who denied the doctrine of the trinity, ſhould be in the ſight of all the orthodox committed to the flames. It is doubtful whether the barons, or the woodwards on the borders underſtood ſtatute law, or whether they could have read this ſtatute had they ſeen it, and it is very credible that nobody minded it, for a reaſon which we ſhall preſently give. What a contraſt does hiſtory preſent to our view: the pious and orthodox Charles, whoſe firſt article in his ſtatutes is a declaration of his faith in a triune God, the virgin Mary and the catholick church, in the next article but one condemns chriſtians to the flames: while John Baſilowitz, one of the moſt bloody tyrants that ever exiſted, who puniſhed Jews only becauſe he could not truſt them, allowed all the ſubjects of his vaſt empire liberty of conſcience (1)! It was wiſe advice, which Jeſus gave his diſciples, WHEN THEY PERSECUTE YOU IN ONE CITY FLEE TO ANOTHER, for tyrants are ſeldom all diſpoſed to be cruel at a time: ſuch deſpots as Baſilowitz always governed ſome of theſe contiguous kingdoms, and the advice of Jeſus was always practicable.

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(9) SIGISMUNDI DE HERBERSTAIN *Comment. rerum Moſcoviticarum.*

It is further to be obſerved, that Bohemia was a country of mines the richeſt in Europe both for gold and precious ſtones, and which have been wrought time out of mind. A great multitude of people was always employed in the three great branches of this buſineſs, ſome digging, raiſing and ſmelting the ore, and taking out other materials, ſome manufacturing theſe materials for market, and others merchandizing and ſelling them. Kuttenberg has no leſs than thirty mines in its neighbourhood, one is nineteen fathom deep, containing ſilver and copper. Carelſbadt is chiefly inhabited by armourers and other artificers in iron. Egra, near which ſome of the Waldenſes ſettled, has mines of ſilver and copper, and has been long noted for making the beſt mead, which is ſold all over Germany. It has a great number of tanners, who ſend ſkins all over Hungary and Auſtria, and a conſiderable navigation on the river Eger. Glatz is full of workmen in ſilver and iron. Bohemian chryſtals are ſet in ear-pendants, rings and ſhirt buttons, and as they take a good poliſh they are made into luſtres and drinking glaſſes, and vended all over Europe. With theſe commodities they ſupplied merchants in neighbouring kingdoms, and when the czar Baſilowitz plundered two of theſe mercantile towns he loaded three hundred carriages with gold and ſilver wares (2). Sylvius ſays, the churches and monaſteries in Bohemia in his time were the moſt magnificent in Europe, and the relicks of ſaints and the veſtments of the prieſts were loaded with precious ſtones.

Further, in thoſe times the kingdom of Bohemia was in a very diſordered and ill-governed ſtate. The kings were elective, and their power extremely circumſcribed. They often reſided in other kingdoms, governed by deputies, and viſited Bohemia only occaſionally. Barons were abſolute on their eſtates. Competitors for the crown ſupported their claims by arms, and happy was he that got poſſeſſion of the mine towns. Cabals were always forming, and diſputes were terminated by the ſword. Diets where held for form, and laws had no operation. Huſbandmen tilled the ground ſword in hand, and lodged in rocks and caves. Governours were arbitrary and citizens factious. The contentions of the great often procured peace to the poor, for, as an ingenuous courtier of thoſe times expreſſes himſelf, "conſidering the wickedneſs of men, eſpecially of great men, who know not themſelves, neither believe that there is a God, it is neceſſary for every prince and governour to have an adverſary to keep him in fear and humility, otherwiſe no men would be able to live under them or near them (3)." While they were fighting, Jews and other farmers and collectors of the revenue gathered the tribute, a part of which was paid by both pagan and chriſtian inhabitants of the borders and foreſts in ſkins, oil, bone hafts for knives, hilts for ſwords, and a variety of other articles, in which they dealt largely with neighbouring merchants. Jews carried on the trade in the metropolis, and often farmed the taxes. Very early in the bohemian hiſtory, we are told there was a ſcarcity in Prague, and it was neceſſary to diſmiſs ſome of the inhabitants. On taking an account of them there were five thouſand two hundred and fifty Jews in the city. The governours were obliged though in fear of famine to retain one thouſand of this number, ſo neceſſary were they to the ſtate. We have an authentick document to prove that the governours of cities both ſecular and ſacred made no ſcruple of employing the Jews to promiſe hereticks ſecurity of their liberties and properties on condition of their paying a certain ſum. Many embraced theſe offers and paid what the jewiſh factors demanded, and ſuch as could not raiſe the money were expelled. The Jews knew no hereticks but bankrupts (4).

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(1) PAULI GESCHINII *Majeſtas Carolina.* Hi hæretici ſanctæ et individuæ trinitatis eſſentiam denegant... Sicut accepimus ex exteris nationibus accedentes.. Omnes ſectæ hæreticos a quoquam juxta limites regni noſtri Boiemiæ in domibus aut agris, &c. Rubr. i. iii. v. &c. PAULI ODERBORNII *Joannis Baſilidis vita.* Nec enim memoriæ proditum eſt, ullum hominem ab immaniſſimo principe religionis ergo divexatum fuiſſe, p. 319.

(2) ÆNEÆ SYLVII *Hiſt. Bohem.* Templa.. fornicibus tegebantur lapideis... altaria auro et argento quo ſanctorum reliquæ tegebantur onuſta... ſacerdotum veſtes margaritis textæ, &c. cap. xxvii. GENEALOGIA *Magni Moſcoviæ ducis.* Urbes duas.. ob mercimonia ditiſſimas et ampliſſimas.. redegit. Tantæ fuere Novogardenſium opes, ut trecentos currus auro et argento onuſtos inde abduxiſſe dicatur.

Finally, it ought to be obſerved, that though in Bohemia kings, barons, and enterprizing ſoldiers of fortune were inflamed with ideas of military glory, yet it was not ſo with the common people, to whom it was indifferent what maſters they ſerved, on condition they might be allowed to live in peace. It was a very ancient popular prejudice received down from father to ſon, written in their hiſtories, and cheriſhed by the earlier monks, and probably founded in truth too (for it was not peculiar to Bohemia) that they, the poor, were the deſcendants of the aboriginal owners of the ſoil, who had fed their flocks in patriarchal ſimplicity before the barbarous northern nations had invaded the land and inſlaved the inhabitants. They conſidered themſelves as proprietors, and the barons as invaders of their rights. The monks in their chronicles are eloquent on this ſubject. "Zechus, ſay they, the firſt leader of our anceſtors into this country, called his companions brethren, none had any thing of his own, they held all things common. Their manners were ſimple, their dreſs plain, their diet frugal. They adored God in the woods and fields, and ſettled every diſpute among themſelves by a brotherly arbitration. Their wants were few, and the waters and the woods richly ſupplied them. Happy golden age! An eternal ſhame to chriſtians (5)." This popular prejudice, well or ill founded, prepared the common people every where for the doctrine of Huſs and Jerom, and they without knowing or intending it handed them forward toward the fugitive chriſtian labourers and manufacturers, who chiefly reſided in and about ſolitary places, and who have been ſince reproached for what was their higheſt honour, and called WANDERING Anabaptiſts.

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(3) PHILIP DE COMMINES, liv. iv.

(4) PONTANI *Bohêm. Pia.* Pragenſes et Adminiſtrator pecuniæ cupidi inſtruunt Judæos, ut ab civibus in hæreſi ſuſpectis pecunias poſcant, beneficii gratia, quod illis ſecuritatem et libertatem apud conſulem obtinere poſſunt, itaque acceperunt ab aliquibus 30. 60. et abditoribus 100 et plus, author de ſe dicit in hoc capitulo, quod a conjuge ſua 30. poſtulaſſent, cum nihil dare vellet ſimiliter urbe ejectus, per annos 4 manſit. Lib. vii. cap. xxvii.

Jerom of Prague was a far more conſiderable man than his friend John Huſs. His talents were more ſhining, he was a better ſcholar, and had much clearer notions of religion. He was admitted to a degree in the univerſity of Prague, but he was not in orders, nor were any of his writings publiſhed. He viſited ſeveral foreign univerſities, and was graduated at Paris, Cologn and Heidelberg. While he was in England he tranſcribed ſome of the books of Wickliff, and at his return to Prague carried ſeveral copies, and diſtributed them both among his own countrymen and foreigners. He held almoſt the ſame doctrines that Wickliff had taught, and took unwearied pains to convince the common people, that they might without any authority from the pope or the clergy read, judge, and explain the holy ſcriptures, that any one who could might preach, baptize and adminiſter the Lord's ſupper, and that theſe exerciſes were as effectual to anſwer all the ends for which they were inſtituted in the hands of the laity as in thoſe of the clergy. He compoſed ſome hymns for mechanicks to ſing when they met, and he exemplified his doctrine by preaching, all layman as he was, all over Bohemia and Moravia in caſtles, houſes, ſtreets and fields. At the univerſities he affixed theſes at the gates, and diſputed with the learned, feared or admired by all. He travelled into Ruſſia, Poland, Sileſia, and Lithuania for the ſame purpoſes, and was every where heard with admiration and reſpect. When he was informed of the danger of his friend Huſs at the council of Conſtance, he obtained a ſafe conduct and generouſly went to aſſiſt him: but he was impriſoned, examined in the council and condemned. One of the principal crimes laid to his charge was "that he the ſaid Jerom at divers times and particularly in the year one thouſand four hundred and ten, being a layman, in a lay habit, with a long beard, in many parts of Bohemia, and in other kingdoms, and particularly in the royal chapel of the caſtle of Buda in Hungary, in the preſence of the moſt ſerene prince and lord Sigiſmund king of the Romans and of Hungary, and of many reverend fathers, biſhops and prelates, and alſo in various other places in the preſence of great multitudes of common people, had held, taught and affirmed, that any learned or intelligent layman without any licenſe from the pope, or a biſhop, or any other perſon, might at any time in any place preach the word of God." His enemies were judges, and Gerſon, chancellor of the univerſity of Paris, where Jerom had formerly diſputed, triumphed over him, for at Paris, ſaid he, you thought yourſelf an angel with your eloquence. The maſter of the univerſity of Cologn told him, he had ſown errours there, which were not forgotten, and a third from Heidelberg ſtarted up and ſaid, he had uttered at his univerſity ſome grievous errours about the perſons in the trinity. At firſt they terrified him into a recantation: but he inſtantly recovered himſelf, avowed his principles, and defended them with great deliberation, perſpicuity and elegance. The council admired him, yet they explained away the ſafe conduct and committed him to the flames (6). So died one of the moſt eminent of the reformers, of whom very little is ſaid in eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, though no reaſon can be aſſigned for it, except that he was a layman. It was reported, and it is extremely probable, that he was baptized by immerſion by ſome of the greek church. We have elſewhere mentioned how much Poggius was affected with his arguments and his eloquence.

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(5) COSMÆ *Pragenſis chronica Bohemorum.* Nec quiſquam *meum* dicere norat ſed ad inſtar Monaſticæ vitæ, quicquid habebant *noſtrum*, ore, corde, et opere ſonabant . . neque fur, neque latro, neque inops quiſque erat. . . Quid plura? Proh dolor! communia in propria cedunt . . quia amor habendi ſævior ignibus Ætnæ in omnibus ardet. p. 3. G. B. PONTANI *Bohemia pia.* Fuerunt incolæ illi primi, ſimplices, ritu ſuo devoti, Eremitarum aut monachorum more incientes et ex venatione duntaxat, ſine lite, ſine indice omnia, aperta omnia, communia omnia, ut ſæculis futuris pietatis et charitatis veſtigia reliquerint, ea quæ merito confundat Chriſtianos. Lib. i. ad finem. ÆNEÆ SYLVII *Boh. Hiſt. cap. iii. De Zechio.* Primo duce Bohemiæ.

The common people of Prague thus rouſed out of a dead ſleep attacked popery during the lives of Jerom and Huſs, and much more after they were burnt. There was kept in the cathedral of Prague a holy relick, ſaid to be the vail of the bleſſed virgin Mary, which the people had been long accuſtomed to viſit and venerate. Jerom told them there was no more merit in honouring this than there would be in worſhipping the ſkin of the aſs upon which Chriſt rode into Jeruſalem. The ſimilitude ſtruck them, they threw relicks into the ſtreet and trampled on them, they pelted prieſts going in proceſſion with rotten eggs, and their flags and croſſes they covered with human excrements. They called the pope antichriſt, and, having hired ſome common proſtitutes, and ſet them in an open carriage with the pope's bulls hanging about their necks, they drew them through the city, and publiſhed at the corner of every ſtreet that they were going to burn the writings of an heretick and a ruffian. The ſober part refrained from thoſe exceſſes: but they withdrew from the churches, and worſhipped God in private. Archbiſhop Sbinco publiſhed an order againſt private preachings: but this made no impreſſion on them, for they knew the leaſt learned of them could read better than he. Nor did they think fit to be directed by their maſter Huſs. While Huſs was in priſon he wrote a letter to a friend at Prague, in which he ſaid, "ſalute alſo my beloved brother teachers in Chriſt, ſhoemakers, taylors, and writers, and tell them to attend diligently to the holy ſcriptures, not to be opinionated in their own gloſſes, but to reſpect the judgment of the fathers." This advice of the holy martyr came too late, and from him with an ill grace, for he had taught them to lay aſide implicit faith, and was juſt then going to be burnt, not for believing as the fathers believed, but for following his own convictions (7).

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(6) MONUMENTA *Joannis Huſs*. Narratio de magiſtro Hieronymo Pragenſi. LABBEI *Concilia*. tom xii. in appendice Contelorii, p. 1556, &c. 30. 32. 46. 53. 65, &c. FLEURY *Hiſtoire Eccleſ.* Poge etoit trop favorable a Jerome... L. Aretin lui-meme n'etoit point ennemi de Jerome, tom. xxi. an. 1416. BAYLE under *Leonard Aretin* D.

The moſt remarkable of theſe preachers was Peter Chelezicki, a ſhoemaker at Prague, an honeſt pious and ingenious man, but of no literature. The leading principle of this man was, that it was not ſafe to believe or practiſe any thing in religion which Jeſus Chriſt had not expreſsly taught. He was exactly ſuch a man as our Bunyan. He publiſhed a great many pieces in the bohemian language, and he divided one of them into forty parts, which he called kopyta inſtead of capita or chapters. Kopyta is pretty nearly allied to a bohemian word, which ſignifies the ſole of a ſhoe. The catholicks did not fail to improve this harmleſs blunder, and nick-named him doctor Kopytarum. The pun diverted them, and did no harm to the doctor's popularity, for the Bohemians were ſo fond of his works that they tranſlated ſeveral of them into latin, and bound them up with the works of Huſs (8). Doctor Otho a german phyſician collected and publiſhed the works of Huſs with a dedication to Luther, and ſome parts look more like the productions of Chelezicki than of Huſs, eſpecially thoſe which are called fragments. Had not the authour of THE ANATOMY OF ANTICHRIST quoted the fathers, one would ſuſpect that Chelezicki and not Huſs wrote that curious piece. It conſiſts of forty-four chapters concerning the head, the noſe, the eyes, the chin, the tongue, the teeth, the knees, the legs, the loins, the entrails, and even the ſpittle of antichriſt (9). One of the fragments is intended to prove that the apoſtles after they were inſpired uſed manual labour, and thence the writer thought the inference was eaſy, that there is nothing in labouring inconſiſtent with teaching, and that tithes to ſupport men in idleneſs were not of divine right.

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(7) HUSSI ET HIERYNOMI *Hiſtoriæ et Monumenta.* Appellatio ab Archiepiſcopo, tom. i. p. 90. *Epiſtolæ Huſſi.* Doctores meos fratres in Chriſto dilectos, ſutores, ſartores, et ſcriptores etiam ſalutabis, &c. Ep. xxviii.

(8) JOACHIMI CAMERARII *Hiſtoria Fratrum, p.* 62. 65. 81. Chelzichius ſcripſit multa ſermone Bohemico, et ſunt quædam converſa in latinum ſermonem, ſuperioribus annis, una cum Huſſi ſcriptis edita. Hominem perhibent fuiſſe probum et pium et valde ingenioſum.

(9) CONRADI GESNERI *Bibliotheca.* In verb. Otho Brunfelſius.

About this time hereticks from all parts flocked to Prague, animated with hopes that God was going to put a period to the tyranny of Rome, to pour out his ſpirit upon all fleſh, and to ſet up a kingdom of righteouſneſs to be eſtabliſhed in peace, and to be filled with joy in the holy ghoſt. There was Peter of Dreſden, and his company from Saxony. There were graduates from Cambridge, and many engliſh diſciples of Wickliff, among the reſt there were forty frenchmen with their wives and children, who had fled from perſecution at home (1). Theſe laſt were called Picards or Beghards, a term of very general meaning, applied in different ages to people of very different deſcriptions, to the pious and the profligate, to monks in the church of Rome and to Vaudois who had departed from it, and which ſignified only an importunate beggar (2). Theſe were called Adamites, and many incredible tales are told about them, which probably all took their riſe from the ſtudiouſneſs of this people to recommend and imitate the innocent life of the firſt man. It was reported that Ziſka deſtroyed all theſe people: but it is not credible that ſuch a general as Ziſka could ſo thirſt for human blood as to put to death a ſmall company of men women and children, who were unarmed, and as their enemies ſay ſtark naked. Sylvius's account is a piece of waggery, and the biſhop of Olmutz though ſerious was not well informed. When we put together what different people ſay of theſe Adamites it amounts to this. Fifty men with their wives and children, making all together about forty went over ſtark naked from Flanders into Bohemia, and there gathered a great multitude whom they perſuaded to go ſtark naked alſo. Thus equipped they ruſhed into a village, and drawing their ſwords out of the ſheaths murdered two hundred farmers for the glory of God. Ziſka heard of this, and though he was blind and very wicked, yet he could not bear to ſee the nakedneſs or hear the wickedneſs of theſe people. Taking therefore a large army he deſtroyed them, for he firſt burnt them all, and then ſtabbed forty of them, and then pardoned two on condition of their telling him of what religion they were. The reſt he committed to priſon, women and men all together, there the women lay-in; and thirty years after the ſame people lived on the eſtate of lord Rozinſki, where they carefully educated their children in the religion of their anceſtors. So monſtrous and ridiculous are the tales of hiſtorians! Probably the truth was: Ziſka did what other men in his circumſtances would do, that is, he chaſed them away, for he wanted men to fight, not a company of hungry naked beggars to maintain: and they did what others in their condition would do, flee into remote parts of the country, where they might obtain work and food and liberty of conſcience, for which they had come from home (3).

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(1) Fleury *Hiſt. Eccleſ. tom. xxi. an.* 1418.

(2) Mosheim's *Eccleſ. Hiſt. vol. iii. cent. xiii. part ii.*

(3) Joannis de Polemar *Oratio Concilio Baſilienſi habita.* Apud Labbeum. Audivi aliquando in Bohemia aliquam ſectam his ſimilem fuiſſe, quæ tamen exſufflata et deleta fuit,

Deo

Here then in various parts of Bohemia and Moravia hereticks obtained a ſettlement. Some had long ago lived in remote parts of the kigdom about the foreſts and the mines. Theſe were now multiplied by an acceſſion of foreigners, and by converts of Huſs and Jerom, who reaſoning on the principles laid down by their teachers, entertained the ſame ideas of religion as the old Vaudois did. They were all indiſcriminately called Waldenſes and Picards, and they all rebaptized: but they were of very different ſentiments, ſome held the divinity of Chriſt, others denied it, ſome believed more, others leſs, but all were obliged to act with caution, for though they were generally connived at, yet they were not allowed to hold their aſſemblies publickly by law. New Prague was very friendly to them, and ſo were Boleſlaus and Wilemi, and thence they were ſometimes called Wilemites and Boleſlavians (4).

By an inquiſition taken at Prague, when ſome were caught and examined by the magiſtrates, the Picards are taxed among others with the following crimes. "They blaſpheme God, for they ſay, they do not know whether trinity be male or female, or what it is. The ſacraments of Chriſt, and all the commands of the church they deſpiſe. Conſecrated water is nothing. Any body may baptize in any water. Chriſm and oil and ſalt are unneceſſary. Infants born of chriſtian parents in a profeſſion of faith are already baptized. A parent is the godfather of his child. Holy orders are uſeleſs. Election not unction makes a prieſt. Laymen may preach, as Nicholas Sſorff did at S. Michael in Oppatowicz. The fathers are contemptible. Religious meetings may be held in the night. Chriſt is not in the ſacrament of the altar, but in heaven at the right hand of the Father to be adored. Prieſts may marry... with many more horrible and abominable things (5)."

It ſhould ſeem theſe people were not in Ziſka's army during the war. They do not ſeem to have borne arms at any time. They were always going and coming, ſome retiring from the cities, and others coming thither to reſide. They do not ſeem to have had any regular miniſters: but when they aſſembled together they exerciſed their abilities alternately. The moſt teachers we hear of at a time in Prague, were four or five. When they were perſecuted in Prague they left the city and ſettled in Moravia, and in time that ſettlement

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Deo gratias, tom. xii. p. 1367. ÆNEÆ SYLVII *Hiſt. Boh.* Adamitas omnes *gladio* delevit, duobus tantum *reſervatis*, *cap. xli.* DUBRAVII *Hiſt. Boh.* *Comburi omnes* juſſerit, *lib. xxvi.*

(4) Prima Epiſtola Fratrum ad M. Johannem Rokyzanum. Apud CAMERAR. Dionyſii et Wilemitarum tum temporis utebamur .. ſed .. horum doctrina cum tuo dogmate minime conveniebat, &c.

(5) GEORGII BARTHOLDI PONTANI. *Bohemia Pia.* Quos Pikhartitas vocabant *omnem* cultum catholicorum Romanorum tanquam ſuperſtitioſum et impium ridebant... S. Trinitatem blaſphemabant, quod neſciant utrum vir an fœmina, vel aliud quid ſit... Omnia ſacramenta Chriſti, eccleſiæ præcepta aſpernabantur. Aquam baptiſmatis nihil eſſe, quilibet poteſt baptizare qualicunque aqua. Chriſma, oleum, ſal, lutum, &c. non eſſe neceſſaria. Infans a chriſtianis parentibus natus in ſide jam baptizatus eſt. Pater proprii filii patrinus admittitur... Ordines ſacros eſſe inutiles. Electio non unctio faciet ſacerdotem... Laicos concionantes non impediebant, prout Nicholas, &c. lib. vii. cap. xxix.

became their chief reſidence, though a great number went into Auſtria, and other places (6). Such as reſided in the country enjoyed peace: but others who lived in the cities were often involved in the diſputes of the citizens, and were ſometimes proſcribed, and at other times put to death along with the popular party, for whenever they interfered in ſecular affairs they always took the ſide of liberty againſt all ſorts of oppreſſors.

There was a clergyman named Martin, miniſter of the pariſh of Bethlehem, who, having received ſome knowledge of the nature of a chriſtian church, endeavoured to reduce his knowledge to practice in his own pariſh, by examining ſuch of his pariſhioners as intended to receive the ſacrament, before he admitted them to do ſo. His deſign was to obtain evidence of the true religion of the communicants. He put down the names of ſuch as he approved in a book. When this got abroad, ſome of the magiſtrates pretended that Martin had been ſetting down the names of ſuch citizens as he diſliked in order to raiſe a tumult, and expoſe the lives of the ſenators to danger. Martin preſented a memorial to the ſenate to explain and juſtify his conduct, which was ſigned by ſome other pariſh prieſts, who fully juſtified his innocence. On examination it was found that he had allowed mechanicks and huſbandmen to preach in his church, and that the ſame had been done in other churches. As nothing criminal could be laid to the charge of theſe innovators, and as their characters appeared irreproachable, they were diſmiſſed. Some time after, Martin, having found that his ideas could not be practiſed in his pariſh, reſigned his office, caſt off the clerical habit, learned the art of weaving, married a wife, and retired into the country and ſettled at Kaczow, on the eſtate of lord Czerniczky, where he maintained himſelf by weaving, and continued to teach his brethren in their aſſemblies (7). There were alſo two citizens of Prague, a ſhoe-maker, and a great cutler named Kalenetz, burnt in the hand, and baniſhed from the city, the firſt becauſe he had baptized in his own houſe, and the laſt becauſe he had adminiſtered the Lord's ſupper in his own houſe, and was the teacher of a congregation called the little flock. Some time after the governours of the city made a law, that whoever of either ſex had ſuffered themſelves to be rebaptized by the Picards ſhould be burnt in the hand, and baniſhed from the city (8). Though all theſe people rebaptized, yet ſome of them adminiſtered baptiſm by pouring, for on the trial of Nicholas a private old gentleman of good learning, and Clara an aged widow at whoſe houſe he lodged, a baſin or bowl was produced in court in which it was ſaid Clara was baptized by Kalenetz the cutler. Clara allowed ſhe was baptized by Kalenetz, and Nicholas ſpoke highly of him as the man by whom he had received his knowledge of chriſtianity. Theſe were both burnt, and along with them the bowl (9).

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(6) Comenii *Synopſis.* Piccardos nominabant Waldenſes, qui paulo ante ea tempora (1418) e Gallia pulſi in Auſtria conſederant, et fœdiſſimorum hæreticorum nomine jam (1423) innotuerant, cap. xvi.

(7) G. B. Pontani *Bohemia Pia, lib. vii. cap. xiii. xiv.* Abjecto habitu clericali et officio ſacerdotali uxorem duxit, texturam exercuit prout cæteri laici, &c. lib. ii. cap. xii. Apud S. Michaelem in Oppatowicz ruſticum quendam munus concionatoris obire. Ibid.

(8) Quicunque inventi fuerint utriuſque ſexus homines, qui a Pikhardis rebaptizare ſe paſſi ſunt, hi ſtigmate notati ex urbe ejicientur. Ibid.

There was one very remarkable man, named Matthias, a ſkinner or a fell monger, who with great zeal preached often to great multitudes in and about the city, and was very much admired and followed. No place could hold his hearers, and he generally preached abroad. His brethren thought him a pious holy good man, having the ſpirit of Elias, but they ſaid his knowledge was imperfect. He wrote letters monitory and explanatory to the ſenate, in which he treats with great freedom the abuſes that had crept into the eſtabliſhed religion. The ſenate ſent for him, and affected to treat him with great lenity, and even with friendſhip. He told him that Chriſt, his apoſtles, and ſucceſſors had addreſſed their goſpel to the reaſon of mankind: but they applied penal laws, and yet produced no faith. The chief magiſtrate's name was Gallus Zahera, a Calixtine, and a bitter perſecutor of the Picards, and he prevailed on his brethren to impriſon the old man. They did ſo, and finding that he wrote a great many epiſtles, which were diſperſed every where, they kept him there in cloſe durance for ſeveral years: but on a change of magiſtrates he was at laſt releaſed.

About this time flouriſhed the famous Lewis Hetzer, a native of Bavaria. He was a man of learning, and wrote a book againſt the divinity of Chriſt, which was ſuppreſſed by Zuinglius. He publiſhed another againſt the uſe of images in churches: but his chief work was a tranſlation of the four greater and the twelve leſſer prophets into the german language, which was printed at Worms in the year one thouſand five hundred and twenty-ſeven, in octavo, and again in folio at Augſburg in the year one thouſand five hundred and twenty-eight. Luther commended the induſtry of this tranſlator, but he thought he had paid too much attention to the rabbinical comments of the Jews. Some ſay he was aſſiſted in this work by John Denckius, another member of one of the baptiſt churches in Moravia. Hetzer was put to death at Conſtance for denying the doctrine of the trinity: but the Baptiſts continued to increaſe ſo much, that when the diſciples of Luther went into Bohemia and Moravia they complained, that between Baptiſts and papiſts they were very much ſtraitened, though they grew among them like lilies among thorns (1).

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(9) Ibid.

(1) SANDII *Bibliotheca Anitrinitar.* Hetzerus. . fuit e ſocietate anabaptiſtarum (ut vulgo audiunt) Moravarum. Docuit enim ſolum patrem eſſe ſummum Deum, Chriſtum non eſſe æqualem Deo patri, ſed eo longe inferiorem, nec ejuſdem cum eo eſſentiæ. In uno Deo non eſſe tres perſonas, &c. SANDII *Nucleus Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. iii. anno* 1529. JO. FRANCISCI BUDDEI *Iſagoge, tom. ii. cap. viii. p.* 1573. CONRADI GESNERI Bibliotheca, per Simlerum et Friſium.

STEPHANI, SZEGEDINI *Loci Communes* in Præfatione Grynæi.

When Ferdinand, then archduke of Auſtria, got himſelf elected king of Bohemia, all Europe ſaw that the houſe of Auſtria would ſucceed in making Bohemia and Hungary hereditary in the family, for though he acknowledged at his coronation by a deed which he ſubſcribed that he held the crown not by any previous right but by their gratuitous and voluntary election, yet every body knew how he would underſtand the contract. This amazing acceſſion of power added to that which Charles v. then had, rendered the houſe of Auſtria formidable to all Germany, and Ferdinand ſoon taught the Bohemians to leave off circumſcribing the prerogatives of their kings. He fixed his eye on the foundations of their conſtitution and laid a train to ſubvert them. He had to cut through zeal for civil rights and ardour for religious liberty: but he felt the courage to attempt, and had the misfortune to ſucceed in his deſign. He erected a ſpacious and ſplendid college at Prague, and ſoon after three more at three other cities, and filled them all with jeſuits, who, under pretence of educating youth, perverted their minds, rendered their hearts depraved, and prepared their ſhoulders for the intended yoke.

The Bohemians ſaw his deſign, and firſt refuſed to aſſiſt him againſt the confederates of Smalcald, next aſſociated together for the preſervation of their liberties, and entered into an alliance with the elector of Saxony, and laſtly, provoked by his repeated acts of deſpotiſm, took up arms, choſe a general, and appeared in the field with thirty thouſand men. Ferdinand gained time by negotiation, and at length led a great army of imperial troops into Bohemia, before which by ſome miſmanagement the Bohemians fled. This ill ſupported effort rivetted their chains. The implacable king entered Prague in triumph, was inſenſible to all their ſupplications, aboliſhed ſome privileges, abridged others, and new modelled the conſtitution at his pleaſure. Some he proſcribed, others he put to death, all were diſarmed and the arms laid up in forts, new and exorbitant taxes were laid on, and as the Picards were on the ſide of freedom, they were baniſhed from all the cities, or left to be puniſhed at the diſcretion of the creatures of the crown.

A memorable ſtory is related of one of the bohemian barons, John Proſtiborſki. He was a man of great merit, and had been in what was called the rebellion. After he was arreſted, as he would not make any confeſſion, he was ordered to be put on the rack, that a confeſſion might be extorted from him. Stung with reſentment and inflamed with zeal for the cauſe, in the agony of a hero he cut off the end of his tongue, and ſpat it out on the ground. When the aſtoniſhed officers enquired why he had done ſo, he made marks to inform them, that as they would not believe him when he had coolly told them the truth, he was reſolved they ſhould not by any puniſhments force him to accuſe falſely either himſelf or his friends. To this declaration he added a citation addreſſed to the king and his counſellors to meet him and account for their cruelties at the tribunal of Almighty God. The officers told the king, the tyrant ſent a ſurgeon, but the priſoner was dead.

Ferdinand did not always make a cruel uſe of his power, for the proteſtants in Bohemia were almoſt as numerous as the catholicks. The church therefore ſubſiſted and flouriſhed by connivance and expedients till the acceſſion of his ſon Maximilian the ſecond. This prince had been educated in mild and moderate principles by his tutor John Phauſer, for his uncle Charles v. having acceded to the treaty of Paſſau, which allowed liberty of conſcience to the Germans, and his father having confirmed the ſame treaty, it had become neceſſary to the grandeur and proſperity of the houſe of Auſtria to govern their vaſt dominions with lenity. Maximilian after he became emperour openly declared to Henry III. of France, as he paſſed through Vienna, that ſuch princes as tyrannize over the conſciences of men, attacked the ſupreme being in the nobleſt part of his empire, and frequently loſe the earth by concerning themſelves too much with celeſtial matters. He uſed to ſay of Huſs, they very much injured that good man. His phyſician, Crato, was one day riding with him in his carriage, when his imperial majeſty, after much lamenting the contentions of mankind about religion, aſked the doctor what ſect he thought came neareſt the ſimplicity of the apoſtles? Crato replied, "I verily think the people called Picards." The emperour added, "I think ſo too." During this reign every body enjoyed liberty of conſcience, and when it was attacked, the effort came to nothing. A faction of catholicks at Prague, envying the happineſs of the Picards, formed a cabal of ſenators, who ſent the chancellor of Bohemia to Vienna to entreat the emperour to empower them to reſtrain theſe hereticks. By ſome means the chancellor ſucceeded, and ſet out for Prague with the inſtrument: but attempting to paſs a bridge over the Danube the bridge gave way and he and his company fell into the river and were drowned. His corpſe was taken up by ſome fiſhermen, but the diploma was never found.

Rodolphus, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Maximilian, was of the ſame pacifick diſpoſition as his father, and while he followed the emotions of his own good heart, he diſturbed no perſon in the poſſeſſion of his rights, and by ſuch conduct he maintained the inward tranquillity, and the outward proſperity of his dominions (1). Trading cities too every where began to find out by experience the folly of depopulating countries under pretence of eſtabliſhing religion, and became zealous for univerſal liberty for the ſake of the temporal advantages annexed to it. In general therefore Bohemia enjoyed peace, and the Baptiſts in Moravia multiplied and flouriſhed.

There are two events which we muſt not paſs over, becauſe they caſt light on two articles of ſome conſequence. The firſt is, that a deputation from the churches in Poland was ſent to the churches in Moravia (2). Philipowſki, collector of the taxes in Poland, Simon Ronemberg the druggiſt, George Schoman the miniſter, and ſeveral others who will be mentioned more at large in Poland, came to hold a conference with the brethren in Moravia concerning both doctrine and diſcipline. They exceedingly admired their diſcipline, and

(1) An. 1516.

(2) An. 1569.

honoured them for their piety and good morals: but they did not approve of their doctrine, for they contended warmly for the trinity, which the Poles did not believe, however they departed in peace. This may ſerve to ſhew how inconcluſively they reaſon, who infer from the doctrine of Lewis Hetzer that all the moravian Baptiſts were Anti-trinitarians (3).

The ſecond event is, that ſome jeſuits, having got into the councils of the too eaſy emperour, procured an edict to inforce that which was made in the reign of Uladiſlaus againſt the Picards an hundred years before (4). This had no effect, for the emperour ſigned it with great reluctance, and as he had a little turn towards ſuperſtition, when the news was brought him immediately after he had ſigned the edict, that the Turks had taken Stuhl Weiſſenberg, one of his towns in Hungary, he exclaimed, "I expected ſome ſuch blow from the moment I began to uſurp dominion over the conſciences of men, for they belong to God alone." The publication of this edict excited the fears of the church of the Unitas Fratrum, and their patrons took occaſion to inform the emperour that their churches were not, and ought not to be affected, becauſe they were not the people deſcribed in the edict. Indeed they had always declared this, but this is ſuch a direct and expreſs diſavowal, that it is wonderful any writers ſhould confound their church with that of the Picards (5).

Soon after the emperour expreſly granted liberty of conſcience, and the free exerciſe of religion, and the people had reſt for ſeveral years till the reign of Ferdinand the ſecond (6). The peaceful philoſophical indifference of Rodolph excited the ambition of his brother Matthias, who deviſed to make himſelf ſovereign of Hungary, Bohemia and Auſtria. The emperour condeſcended to cede to him Hungary, Auſtria and Moravia, and about three years after Bohemia alſo. The Bohemians did not like to be thus diſpoſed of without their conſent, however they carried their complaiſance to the emperour ſo far as to elect Matthias and crown him king. The year after Rodolph died, and Matthias ſucceeded him in the imperial throne of Germany, being in poſſeſſion of fourteen millions of crowns, which Rodolph had left in his exchequer, and having ſucceeded in his former enterprizes, he endeavourcd to prevent the ſucceſſion from paſſing to his remaining brothers Maxamilian and Albert, and to ſecure it to his own family. For this purpoſe he adopted his couſin Ferdinand de Gratz duke of Stiria, and took the firſt ſtep, which was to ſecure to him the ſucceſſion of Bohemia and Hungary. Both theſe kingdoms were extremely jealous of their rights, and proteſtants and catholicks were equally fond of their privileges. The princes of Germany, too, were not diſpoſed to chooſe an auſtrian emperour, and the evangelical union, which ſtill ſubſiſted, left Matthias but few hopes of ſucceſs. However, by a variety of manoeuvres he did ſucceed, and Ferdinand was elected by the ſtates of Bohemia, as ſucceſſor to Matthias, and crowned at Prague. From that time till the death of Matthias, which was two years, the diſcontented Bohemians held ſeveral councils, and reſolved to take ſome vigorous ſteps for the recovery and ſecurity of their liberties. They ſaw the houſe of Auſtria elevating itſelf on the ruins of the liberties of Germany, and they knew the kingdom of Bohemia was intended to be made hereditary in that houſe. When therefore, on the death of Matthias, Ferdinand was elected emperour of Germany, they choſe Frederick the elector palatine king of Bohemia. Frederick had married the daughter of James I. of England, and had reaſon to expect ſupport from his father in law, as well as all the other princes of Europe who dreaded the enormous power of the houſe of Auſtria. The elector was flattered with promiſes, and the Bohemians having ſtipulated with him for their liberties, crowned him king at Prague, and raiſed an army to protect themſelves in the enjoyment of their ancient rights of electing their kings, and making their own laws. This kindled up a war of thirty years continuance. Frederick was not properly ſupported, and his fate was decided by a battle in Bohemia, which put an end to his ſhort-lived dignity and rivetted thoſe chains on the Bohemians, which they wear to this day. Ferdinand became abſolute, his generals Dampier and Buquoy completed the reduction of the country, and many of the bohemian gentry fell by the hands of the common executioner.

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(3) GEORGII SCHOMANNI *Teſtamentum.* Iveramus cum De Philipovio, De S. Pharmacopæo, et aliis compluribus in Moraviam... Gubernationem populi Dei optimam invenimus: ſed Deum trinum omnes ſectæ Mordecus defendebant. Anno 1569.

(4) An. 1602.

(5) COMENII *Synopſis.* Fratrum enim patroni, proceres proteſtati ad ſe iſtud nihil pertinere, cum tales uon ſint quales Piccarditæ illi deſcribantur, cap. xl.

(6) An. 1609.

Ferdinand, to extricate himſelf from the difficulties, into which his ambition had led him, employed that reputable engine religion. He won the common catholicks by affecting great devotion to the virgin Mary, and ſaints and relicks. He paid a viſit to our lady of Loretto as ſoon as he was crowned, and made a vow to extirpate hereſy out of his dominions on condition her ladyſhip would give his army ſucceſs. In his letters and orders to his generals he beſtowed the title of generaliſſimo on the bleſſed virgin, and the army and the cauſe were repreſented as belonging to the mother of Almighty God. He hired the clergy at immenſe ſums, and they entered heartily into his ſervice. The jeſuit Le Morman was his confeſſor, and the jeſuits were the principal inſtruments of his cruelty. The pope and the court of Spain embarked in the ſame cauſe, and aſſiſted him to extirpate religion under the name of hereſy, and civil liberty under the opprobrious character of ſedition. Having prepared matters by reinſtating the jeſuits, it was thought proper to begin with that part of the Baptiſts, whoſe principles would not allow them to make any reſiſtance, and who would remove at a word, without giving his majeſty the trouble of putting them to death.

The bohemian and moravian Baptiſts were then divided into two claſſes, the one conſiſted of calviniſt Picards, and reſided at different places all over the kingdom. Some of their miniſters kept ſchool: others practiſed phyſick. The other claſs lived all together in Moravia, and are called in the edict by the new german name Anabaptiſts. Theſe people lived in forty-five diviſions called colleges or fraternities, exactly as their anceſtors had done before their baniſhment from France, about four hundred and fifty years before this period (4). Each of theſe little corporations conſiſted of many families, who held all things common. It is extremely difficult, not to ſay impoſſible, to determine the number of the inhabitants. Carafa the jeſuit, who was the immediate cauſe of their baniſhment, mentions the leaſt number, and he ſays they conſiſted of more than twenty thouſand (5). Others ſay, that each fraternity contained between ſome hundreds and a thouſand, and thence it is inferred that they were about forty thouſand (6). Some of theſe houſes carried on manufactories, others were factors and merchants, and others were employed in agriculture, and a wine trade. All were buſy peaceable and happy under regulations of their own making, having none of that claſs of mankind, among them, who live on the vices and follies of their fellow-creatures. They were no burden to any body: on the contrary they ſerved and enriched the community. They had founded liberty on independence, and independence on induſtry (7).

It was not an eaſy matter to get rid of theſe Baptiſts. The emperour's chaplains who were privy counſellors talked of hereſy: but it was difficult to bring a direct charge againſt a people who had no public faith, and who never attacked any religion by publiſhing creeds. They could not be charged with perjury, for they had never taken any oaths, and one of their maxims was, SWEAR NOT AT ALL. Sedition could not be pretended, for they never bore arms. They could not be awed by one another, for they had no maſters, they could not be bribed, for they had no neceſſitous gentry. Filled with that unſuſpicious freedom, which innocence inſpires, they had not even one patron at the imperial court, and their whole expectation was placed on the ſuperintending providence of God (8). Prince Lichtenſtein, on whoſe domain they lived, and to whom they paid rent, and many other noblemen,

(4) Labbei *Concilium Turonenſe.* De diverſis partibus in unum latibulum crebro conveniant, et, præter conſenſum erroris nullam cohabitandi cauſam habentes, in uno domicilio commorantur, tom. x. canon iv. anno 1163. Commenii *Synopſis.* Circiter quadraginta quinque poſſidentes domos, ſeu collegia ſingula a plurimus ſimul familiis habitata, cap. xlv. pag. 179.

(5) Caroli Carafa *Commentaria de Germania ſacra reſtaurata.* Pluſquam viginti millia illa labe infecti reperirentur, pag. 181.

(6) David Crantz. *Hiſtory of the Unitas Fratrum, pag.* 66.

(7) Comenius *ut ſup.* Sua ſub diſciplina, et rerum communitate more ſuo uſi, pacate vivebant nemini moleſti aut graves, omnibus potius commodi, opificiis nempe et officiis ſuis, cap. xlv. Carafa *ut ſup.* In curandis agris, in mercimoniis, officiis, hoſpitiis, et opera manuam valde utiles, p. 182.

(8) Comenius *ut ſup.* Anabaptiſtæ omni humano preſidio deſtituti.

endeavoured to ſave theſe people, on account of the benefits which they derived from them, ſo that the jeſuit who effected their baniſhment, might well compliment himſelf for ſurmounting the ſeemingly inſuperable difficulties. "When I thought," ſays he, "of proſcribing the Anabaptiſts of Moravia, I well knew that it was an arduous undertaking, however, by the help of God, I ſurmounted many obſtacles, and obtained an edict for their baniſhment, though it was againſt the conſent of ſome princes and governours, who had a worldly intereſt in ſupporting theſe profitable raſcals (9)."

Comenius ſays, this cruel act was coloured with a pretence that king Frederick, when he paſſed through Moravia, viſited theſe people, and was hoſpitably entertained by them. It might be reported ſo at the time: but this is not mentioned in the edict. The truth is, government ſtood in no fear of theſe people, and they were baniſhed firſt only by way of trial. It was intended to rid all the emperour's dominions of all denominations except catholicks, who, as they are nurſled in ignorance, and habituated to an implicit confidence in their prieſts, are the only ſubjects fit for deſpotical governments: but Lutherans and Calviniſts were very numerous, and powerfully ſupported by proteſtant princes in the empire, and it was not time to provoke them: but the expulſion of Anabaptiſts would offend nobody, for all proteſtant princes had been taught by their prieſts to do them the ſame honour (1).

Ferdinand wrote firſt to prince Lichtenſtein and cardinal Dietrichſtein, the firſt general of the army in Moravia, and the laſt governour of the province, to inform them of his deſign, and to require their concurrence on pain of his diſpleaſure. Then followed the edict, in which his majeſty expreſſes his aſtoniſhment at the number of the Anabaptiſts, and his horror at the principal errour, which they embraced, which was, that according to the expreſs declarations of holy ſcripture they were to ſubmit to no human authority. He adds, that his conſcience compelled him to proſcribe them, and accordingly he did baniſh them, both natives and foreigners, from all his hereditary and imperial dominions on pain of death (2). The jeſuits contrived to publiſh this edict juſt before harveſt and vintage came on for two reaſons, firſt that the neighbouring gentry would be abſent, and next that the people might not carry away the produce of the preſent year. They allowed them only three weeks and three days for their departure, it was death to be found even on the borders of the country beyond the expiration of the hour.

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(9) CARAFA *ut ſup.* De Anabaptiſtarum ſecta proſcribenda cogitavi, licet arduam me provinciam ſubiturum pro certo ſcirem, tamen Deo duce, multis ſeparatis difficultatibus, invitis nonnullis principibus ac proceribus, a quibus fex illa (ſi temporale lucrum ſpectemus) proficua dependebat, &c. pag. 129. Gravatim illos dimittebant, præcipue qui patriæ imperabant, p. 182.

(1) IBIB. *ut ſup.* Idem tentavimus in Bohemia .... ſed immaturum omnibus videbatur, p. 129. COMENIUS *ut ſup.* Nondum tempus fuit reformatæ religionis principes ac reges irritandi, p. 161.

(2) Decreta Diplomata, &c. ab anno 1621, uſque ad annum 1629, ex cancellaria regni Bohemiæ et Marchionatus Moraviæ Ferdinandi ſecundi. Monuit imo impulit conſcientia noſtra . . ut omnes utriuſque ſexus Anabaptiſtæ . . ab omnibus fundis et agris . . abſcedere jubeantur, addicto, ut nemo ſub amiſſione vitæ in poſterum, &c. pag. 69.

It was autumn, the proſpect and the pride of huſbandmen. Heaven had ſmiled on their honeſt labours, their fields ſtood thick with corn, and the ſun and the dew were improving every moment to give them their laſt poliſh. The yellow ears waved an homage to their owners, and the wind whiſtling through the ſtems and the ruſſet herbage ſoftly ſaid, PUT IN THE SICKLE, THE HARVEST IS COME. Their luxuriant vine leaves, too, hung aloft by tendrils mantling over the cluſtering grapes like watchful parents over their tender offspring: but all were fenced by an imperial edict, and it was inſtant death to approach. Without leaving one murmur upon record, in ſolemn ſilent ſubmiſſion to the power that governs the univerſe and cauſes ALL THINGS TO WORK TOGETHER FOR GOOD to his creatures, they packed up and departed. In ſeveral hundred carriages they conveyed their ſick, their innocent infants ſucking at the breaſts of their mothers who had newly lain in, and their decrepid parents whoſe work was done, and whoſe ſilvery locks told every beholder that they wanted only the favour of a grave. At the borders they filed off, ſome to Hungary, others to Tranſilvania, ſome to Wallachia, others to Poland and Szek-hel: greater far greater for their virtue than Ferdinand for all titles and for all his glory (3).

The jeſuit, who executed this buſineſs, ſays, ten thouſand ſtaid in Moravia, and became catholicks. That numbers eluded the ſearch of their perſecutors, and remained in the country is evident: but it is not ſo clear that any conformed. The perſecution was carried on for ſeven ſucceſſive years, and as perſecution drives people of different ſentiments together, probably they mixed with the calviniſt Baptiſts, and were confounded all together in ſubſequent edicts, in which hereticks of all deſcriptions, Lutherans, Calviniſts, Picards, and all other diſſenters were confounded together, and puniſhed with unremitted fury. All the following edicts are full of complaints that hereticks met for divine worſhip in woods, mills, lone houſes and caſtles, and as they could be caught, were tried for both rebellion and hereſy. Many ſuffered and probably ſome remained, for in time the auſtrian family found that perſecution would abſolutely depopulate and deſtroy the country, and when their power was well eſtabliſhed, and there were no competitors, they found it politick to lighten the people's burdens: but as liberty by connivance is only eligible when no better can be had, the Baptiſts ſeem to have quitted

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(3) COMENIUS *ut ſup.* Illi, relictis domibus, agris, vineis, (quanquam vindemiandi jam inſtaret tempus) magnis agminibus, imbecillem turbam aliquot centenis curribus ſecum trahentes, in vicinam Hungariam et Tranſilvaniam commigrarunt, &c. p. 160. CARAFA *ut ſup.* .. LAUR. TOPPELTINI *Origines Tranſylv. cap. v. De Siculis, Scythis Tranſylvanis, ſeu Szek-heliis.* .. *vid.* .. *Cancellaria Hiſpanica* .. *N. xxiii.* CARAFÆ *epiſt. ad Hyacinthum monachum.* . *xxiv. Ejuſdem. Epiſt. ad Nuncium Bruxellenſem.* .. SCIOPPII *flores.*

Bohemia, and Moravia, or to remain only in ſome feeble ſcattered companies.

To recapitulate the hiſtories of theſe Baptiſts. Authentick records in France aſſure us that a people of a certain deſcription were driven from thence in the twelfth century. Bohemian records of equal authenticity inform us that ſome of the ſame deſcription arrived in Bohemia at the ſame time, and ſettled near a hundred miles from Prague, at Satz and Laun on the river Eger, juſt on the borders of the kingdom. Almoſt two hundred years after, another undoubted record of the ſame country mentions a people of the ſame deſcription, ſome as burnt at Prague, and others as inhabiting the borders of the kingdom, and a hundred and fifty years after that we find a people of the ſame deſcription ſettled by connivance in the metropolis, and in ſeveral other parts of the kingdom. About one hundred and twenty years lower we find a people in the ſame country living under the protection of law on the eſtate of prince Lichtenſtein exactly like all the former, and about thirty or forty thouſand in number. The religious character of this people is ſo very different from that of all others that the likeneſs is not eaſily miſtaken. They had no prieſts, but taught one another. They had no private property, for they held all things jointly. They executed no offices, and neither exacted nor took oaths. They bore no arms, and rather choſe to ſuffer than reſiſt wrong. They held every thing called religion in the church of Rome in abhorrence, and worſhipped God only by adoring his perfections, and endeavouring to imitate his goodneſs. They thought chriſtianity wanted no comment, and they profeſſed the belief of that by being baptized, and their love to Chriſt and one another by receiving the Lord's ſupper. They aſpired at neither wealth nor power, and their plan was induſtry. We have ſhewn how highly probable it is that Bohemia afforded them work, wages, and a ſecure aſylum, which were all they wanted. If theſe be facts, they are facts that do honour to human nature, they exhibit in the great picture of the world a few ſmall figures in a back ground, unſtained with the blood, and unruffled with the diſputes of their fellow creatures. It was their wiſdom in their times not to come forward to deliver apologies to the world, and creeds with flattering prefaces to princes, the turbulence of the crowd would have cauſed the ſtill voice of reaſon not to be heard.

Gratitude to the noble defenders of the civil and religious liberties of Bohemia, on whoſe eſtates in various parts of the kingdom people of all denominations had reſided in peace, requires a few words to be added concerning them. After the defeat of Frederick, and the reduction of the country, about forty-ſeven noblemen and gentlemen were at one time impriſoned and tried. One of the firſt was count Andrew Schliki. When he was on his trial, and the judges had fatigued him with a ſtring of impertinent queſtions, he tore open his habit, and expoſing his naked breaſt, ſaid, " Divide this body into a thouſand parts, and ranſack this heart to the bottom, and you will find nothing there but what you know already. The love of liberty and religion compelled us to draw the ſword: but as it hath pleaſed God to give Cæſar the victory, and to deliver us into your hands, the will of the Lord be done!" When a liſt of the names of thoſe priſoners was carried to Ferdinand for him to diſpoſe of them as he thought proper, he lay awake the whole night deliberating what he ſhould do. Early in the morning he ſent for Le Morman his confeſſor, and on his entring the room, ſaid, "Father, I conjure you by your conſcience tell me, may I with a ſafe conſcience pardon theſe people, or muſt I order them to be executed?" The jeſuit bowed and anſwered, "You may do which you pleaſe, Cæſar." The cruel tyrant took the pen, directed all their eſtates to be confiſcated, and marked ſome to lie in priſon for further orders, others he condemned to impriſonment for life, others to be executed, having firſt two fingers or a hand cut off, and count Schliki was firſt to have his right hand cut off, then to be divided into four parts, and each part hung up in the high way: but by ſpecial favour he was only beheaded, and his head and hand ſet up on the top of the tower of the caſtle of Prague (4). When this dreadful ſentence was told him, he only ſaid, "It is eaſy to triumph over a corpſe." His miniſter Roſacius endeavoured to comfort and embolden him, to whom he ſaid, "I thank you, Sir, for your devout wiſhes: but know I am ſo ſtrengthened through divine grace that I can meet death without fear in any ſhape. I have not been afraid to attack antichriſt, and now I can die for Chriſt." On the ſcaffold (he was only fifty) the grave and pleaſant compoſure of his countenance, the ſteadineſs of his ſteps, for he walked backward and forward awhile in deep meditation, moved all the ſpectators to weep, the princes in office could not refrain ſhedding tears. The ſun ſhining very brightly, he ſaid, "Chriſt, thou ſun of righteouſneſs, lead me through this dreary paſſage of death into the eternal light of thy preſence!" So ſaying, he kneeled down and ſubmitted to his fate.

Wenceſlaus lord Budowitz was a nobleman of high rank, eminently learned, and had held ſeveral offices of great truſt under the emperour Rodolph, who admitted him into his councils. He was of a mind ſo liberal that all his tenants and all of every denomination on his eſtates enjoyed full religious liberty, and conſidered him as their father rather than their lord. He had always eſpouſed the patriotick party, and when Frederick triumphed he fled. Soon after he returned, and was arreſted. He was ſeventy-four years of age. Being aſked by an officer of the crown in the priſon, why he had returned to the ſeat of danger, he replied, "My conſcience obliged me. I hold it a part of my religion not to deſert my country and the good cauſe. Who knows the ſecret purpoſe of God? Perhaps he intends I ſhould ſeal my ſentiments with my blood." Then riſing from his ſeat he exclaimed, "Here am I, my God, diſpoſe of thy ſervant as it ſeems good in thy ſight. I have had enough of life. Take me away, and let me not live to ſee the evils which I know are coming upon my country." One day the ſame gentleman told him it was reported in the city that he had died of grief. "What I?" exclaimed he, ſmiling, "I hardly ever enjoyed ſo much happineſs in my life. See," added he, reaching out a bible, which he held open in his hand, "this is my paradiſe, it always afforded me pleaſure, but never ſuch rivers of delight as now. I live, and I ſhall live as long as ever God pleaſes, and the day, I hope, will never come, in which it may be ſaid, Budowitz died of a broken heart." On every examination he acquitted himſelf nobly, and immediately after the judge had paſſed ſentence on him, he ſaid, "You have long thirſted after my blood, now enjoy it: but recollect, the God for whoſe cauſe we ſuffer is a righteous avenger of innocent blood!" Three days before his execution he ſaid to his ſervant, "Zidnowſky, I dreamt laſt night I was walking in a pleaſant meadow and anxiouſly thinking what I ſhould do in my preſent condition, when a ſtranger came up to me and offered me a book. The book was elegant and the leaves perfectly clean, but there was nothing written in it except theſe words, Commit thy way unto the Lord, truſt alſo in him, and he ſhall bring it to paſs." During his confinement two capuchin friars viſited him, and told him, they waited on him to exhibit mercy to him. He aſked, "What mercy?" My lord, we come to ſhew you the way to heaven. "The way to heaven!" ſaid he, "through the mercy of my God I know the way." Your lordſhip is opinionated. "Opinionated! no, my hope is not founded in my conjectures, but on the infallible word of God, for I know no other way than him who calls himſelf the way and the truth and the life." But my lord, there is no ſalvation out of the church, of which our holy father the pope is the head. Stung with indignation at ſuch vain babbling the noble priſoner ſtepped back and exclaimed, "Away with you and your pope: begone where your crimes deſerve. I know he is antichriſt, the vicar of ſatan, the beaſt of the apocalypſe, red with the blood of the ſaints. Leave me, unleſs you chooſe I ſhould ſpend a few minutes in teaching you the way to ſalvation." The friars croſſed themſelves and withdrew. He would not ſuffer any prieſt to approach him on the ſcaffold, under pretence of aſſiſting him in his devotions. They ſtood at a diſtance, looking like the devil when a penitent eſcapes him, and he has loſt his prey. The noble ſufferer, juſt before he kneeled to the block, ſtroking his head, and his large white beard, ſaid, "My gray hairs, who would ever have thought you were reſerved for this honour!" Then kneeling down, and lifting his hands and eyes to heaven, he prayed moſt fervently for his country, the church, and his enemies, and then ſtooped down and received the ſtroke.

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(4) COMENII *Synopſis, cap. lix, &c.*

Caſpar of Sulewitz was a brave old Bohemian of eighty-ſix years of age when he was arreſted. He expreſſed his ſentiments thus: "Through the mercy of my God I have preſerved fidelity and a good conſcience toward

God, my king and my country. I have faithfully ſerved four emperours. Death, it ſeems, is my reward: but I appeal to God, who knows all my concern in this affair. He knows I neither ſought riches nor empty fame: but I durſt not connive at the oppreſſion of liberty and religion, and, though we ſaw we were circumvented, yet we choſe rather to riſk our lives, and hazard every thing, than by an ignoble inactivity to ſubmit to tyranny and betray poſterity. I bow, however, to the will of God, and I acknowledge his goodneſs for allowing us to render truth more illuſtrious by our conſtancy and to adorn the cauſe of freedom and virtue with our blood." Speaking of religion, he ſaid, "I have peace with God through our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. I can boldly ſay, with David, Though my fleſh and my heart faileth, yet God is the ſtrength of my heart and my portion for ever." On the morning of his execution he choſe to dreſs far more elegantly than uſual, and ordered a long full garment of fine white ſattin to be prepared, which he put on, and over that a ſilken cloak. He called this his wedding ſuit. His attendant reminded him, that the righteouſneſs of Chriſt was a ſplendid dreſs. "I know it," replied he, "but I chooſe to dreſs thus in honour of my heavenly bridegroom." It was with difficulty, being ſo far advanced in years, he got up the ſteps of the ſcaffold, and at the block he could not ſtoop ſo as to afford the executioner a fair opportunity to perform his office. His attendant ſaid, "My noble lord, you have commended your ſoul to Chriſt, now offer your venerable head to God, by raiſing it up a little." He did ſo, and with great calmneſs ſaid, "Lord Jeſus, into thy hand I commit my ſpirit." The executioner then performed his office.

Lady Catharine Ottia de Loſs was condemned to be baniſhed for obſtinately perſevering to diſſent from the eſtabliſhed church, and continuing to profeſs the reformed religion. Her judges urged her to conform, or, ſaid they, you muſt go into exile. "No," replied her ladyſhip, "I will do neither. I cannot live in exile, for I ſhall have nothing there to ſubſiſt on. I cannot conform to the church, for my conſcience forbids me. If you can propoſe a middle way I will comply: if not, I ſhall run all hazards, the will of the Lord be done." Whatever might be the cauſe, ſhe was diſcharged, and continued to live on her own eſtate in the enjoyment of that middle way, toleration.

Dr. Matthias Bourbon was phyſician to prince Lichtenſtein. The prince favoured him for his own ſake in the heat of the perſecution: but the year after a neighbouring catholick nobleman, who hoped to add the doctor's eſtate to his own if he could contrive to get him condemned for hereſy, for then his eſtates would all be confiſcated of courſe, endeavoured to compaſs his deſtruction. The prince durſt not openly protect him: but tried all methods to perſuade him at leaſt to conceal his ſentiments. Smeczanſky, a man of diſtinguiſhed addreſs and eloquence, was employed. With all the arts of perſuaſion he attacked the doctor. They had been intimate friends. He wept, he embraced him, he exclaimed, "Ah, my Bourbon! how much good would your converſion to the catholick religion do! how many ſouls would your example ſave!" "Quite the contrary," replied the doctor, "I ſhould do your church irreparable damage." "How ſo?" "Give me leave to aſſure your eminence, that my conſcience is ſo tender it will not ſuffer the leaſt degree of force. Should I therefore act againſt its dictates, I have nothing to expect but remorſe, pungency, and torture, hurrying me from precipice to precipice, till I ſhould plunge myſelf into a gulf of deſpair. Should I depart this life uttering ſuch horrible ſhrieks as conſciouſneſs of guilt inſpires, what could my example teach ſpectators, except to beware of imitating me?" To what it was owing I know not, but though a ſurgeon, who was a Baptiſt, was allowed to continue in practice not far off, yet Bourbon, who was phyſician to the prince, was obliged to quit his country. He removed to Poland, and was phyſician to the king, which poſt he held till his death.

Numbers of ſuch men were baniſhed and a great quantity of ſuch blood was ſpilt, twenty-ſeven noblemen were executed at one time, and at different times after many of all ranks ſuffered the ſame fate. We have mentioned three or four juſt to ſhew what kind of men they were. The reſt reſembled theſe. They were of various denominations: but all did honour to the general cauſe of civil and religious liberty, in which they had mutually embarked. They were TAKEN FROM THE EVIL TO COME on their country, for what they foreſaw actually came to paſs, and the Bohemians, inſtead of making laws for the government of themſelves, were obliged to take edicts for laws, and the will of Cæſar for the voice of God (5).

A ſhort ſketch of the political hiſtory of the moravian Baptiſts will clearly ſhew the injuſtice of feodal tenures, and the inſecurity of the freedom of the inhabitants of ſuch ſtates. The marquiſate of Moravia was a fief, (a feod, feud, or fee) belonging to the ancient kings of Bohemia, and was granted by them at firſt, under the name of Moravia on Mocram and Mockny, as moſt fiefs were, only for life, on condition of military ſervices to be performed by the feudatory, or tenant of the fief. In time, the tenant being loyal to the reigning family this fief became hereditary (6). At length it was granted by Charles II. by and with the advice of the lords ſpiritual and temporal, to his brother John, and to his lawful male heirs, under the deſcription of the marquiſate of Moravia, with the cities, lands, diſtricts, towns, villages, monaſteries, governments, barons, vaſſals, ſoldiers, tenants, citizens, ruſticks, copyholders, ſtewards, and all belonging to the glebe, caſtles, fortifications, farms, lands cultivated or waſte, mountains, vallies, plains, woods, groves, underwood, paſtures, meadows, hunting, fowling, fiſhponds, fiſhing, vineyards, waters, watercourſes, mills, mines of gold, ſilver, tin, lead, or metals of any kind, juriſdictions, bailiwicks, courts, in the lordſhips of Brin, Olmutz, and of all other barons, and inhabitants of Moravia . . . to have and to hold, and ſo on. This grant, which is very long and explicit, and to which are annexed five other inſtruments ſigned upon oath by John, makes ample proviſion for the freedom of all the noble families of Moravia, who held their eſtates by grants from the crown, or who might hereafter hold of the new paramount, John now become marquis of Moravia. John was abſolute on his own demeſne-lands: but his power was extremely circumſcribed in regard to the demeſnes of other lords, who did what they pleaſed on their eſtates as long as they paid quit rents and did homage to their paramount (7).

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(5) *Diplomata ex cancellaria regni Bohemiæ.* Ita jubet, ac mandat noſtra clementiſſima voluntas. Præſidentibus in Bohemia, &c. Jul. 30. 1624. . . In hoc explebitur benigniſſima et finalis noſtra voluntas. Nobilibus regni Bohemiæ Pragæ, Dec. 6. 1627. . . Jubente ſic noſtra Cæſarea voluntate. . . Mandamus omnibus et ſingulis ut de fidei erroribus ad veram fidam eo citius ſe ſubditi retrahant et iſto modo noſtræ Cæſareæ voluntati et mandato quam obedientiſſime ſe accommodent. *Omnibus et ſingulis noſtris ſubditis, &c.* Pragæ, Oct. 13. 1627.

(6) *Bulla aurea Henrico Marchioni Moraviæ, &c.* Apud BOHESLAUM BALBINUM. *Pragæ* 1687.

Of the great families in Moravia, who patronized the Baptiſts, there were two very powerful and very much attached to them. The one was the noble family of Bozkovicz, allied by blood or marriage to almoſt all the grandees of the kingdom, and to ſeveral of the kings, we cannot ſay to the royal family, for there was no ſuch family in Bohemia, and the Bohemians were ſo ſcrupulous on this ſubject that they never allowed the children of their kings to be called princes of Bohemia, but princes ſimply, to preſerve the idea that royalty was elective and not hereditary. In the reign of Uladiſlaus II. about the time when he was prevailed on to ſign an edict againſt Vaudois and Picards, lord Ulrick Bozkovicz married lady Martha Ludanicz, and this lady became the patroneſs of theſe hereticks, ſhe was a heretick herſelf, and ſettled them on the eſtate of the Bozkovicz family. There they were ſo powerfully protected, not by arms, that method was not in their taſte, but by the irreſiſtible eloquence of the bohemian ladies, that a thouſand edicts could not have moved them (8). They obtained this influence over the ladies in a manner highly to their honour. They kept a ſchool for young ladies, and their mode of education and the purity of their manners were in ſuch high repute, that the daughters of a very great part of the nobility of Bohemia were ſent thither to be educated, and their bittereſt enemies ſay, they kept the young ladies from the company of the other ſex, and formed their manners with ſo much innocence, that there was nothing reprehenſible except the one ſingle article of hereſy. This curious ſchool ſeems to have been at firſt under the immediate direction of lady Bozkovicz, whom the jeſuit, who has related this, calls high prieſteſs, and it ſhould ſeem, that as they had no prieſts, ſo they had no ſchoolmaſters to inſtruct the young ladies, but that the whole plan of their education was conducted and effected by their own ſex. Lady Bozkovicz and other women expounded the ſcriptures to their fair pupils, and performed all religious offices among them, of which the jeſuit moſt bitterly complains as an invaſion of the rights of the prieſthood, and quotes S. Paul to prove that a WOMAN OUGHT NOT TO SPEAK IN THE CHURCH. When theſe young ladies were returned to their parents and married, they influenced their huſbands and children and friends to favour a people ſo harmleſs in themſelves and ſo uſeful to ſociety, and this preſerved them almoſt two hundred years (9).

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(7) *Collatio Marchionatus Moraviæ tanquam feudi regum, et coronæ regni Boiemiæ*, apud BOHESLAUM BALBINUM, *tom. v. p.* 164, *&c.*

(8) BOHESLAI BALBINI *Miſcellaneæ Regnum Bohem.* Omni bonitate evincere non potuit Uladiſlaus, ne improborum hominum inſidiis appeteretur, præcipue Picardum, quos oderat peſſime, et mille decretis confixos extirpare tamen e regno non potuit, nobilitate maxime fœminea virus Picarditarum alte in animo fovente, &c. tom. v. p. 225. Sub Uladiſlao et Ludovico regibus ſumma Piccarditarum Antiſtita fuit nobilis, fœmina Martha, ex illuſtri Bozkoviciorum genere. Ibid. p. 129. 130.

A catholick writer who was contemporary with lady Bozkovicz, ſays, " I cannot help lamenting the evils that threaten both church and ſtate. What an unparallelled crime is it, when you confeſs Chriſt to be the Son of God, to refuſe to adore him? What poiſon can be compared to this hereſy? I tremble while I think of it. Even a woman does not bluſh to ſupport this madneſs, though an apoſtle commands her ſex to keep ſilence in the church (1)." This lady perſevered till death in ſpite of all reproach, and her family after her continued to protect their tenants. It is remarkable, that two hundred years after the influence of this ſchool over the bohemian ladies was ſo great, that after the Baptiſts were expelled, the catholick miſſionaries aſſigned this as a reaſon why, though they had great ſucceſs in converting men in that neighbourhood, they had ſo little among women, that of fifteen hundred converts to the eſtabliſhed church there were only ſeven of the fair ſex. They accounted for it by affirming that their governeſſes had obliged them to take an oath never to renounce what they had been taught (2). In the reign of Ferdinand II. the family of Bozkovicz was reduced to two heireſſes, Ann, who married prince Charles of Lichtenſtein, and Catharine, who married his brother prince Maximilian of Lichtenſtein, both princes of the roman empire, and both as much at the diſpoſal of their paramount lord the emperour, as the Baptiſts of Moravia were at theirs (3).

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(9) BOHESLAUS BALBINUS *ut ſupra*. Difficile fuit Piccardos ex Bohemia pellere, cauſæ precipue fuerunt hæ duæ . . . totam fere Bohemiæ nobilitatem, maxime fœminas illuſtres, in partibus habebant, et iſtud quidem educationis merito, nam omnes virgines puellas inncocentiſſime educare ſolebant, ut præter unam hæreſim nihil eſſet quod reprehenderetur: omnis aſpectus et colloquium alterius ſexus vitabatur, ut multæ virgines ad nuptias venirent, quæ nunquam cum viro locutas ſe meminerant, pag. 229.

(1) BOHESLAUS LOBCOVICZ. *Epiſt. apud* BOHESLAUM BALBINUM, p. 230.

(2) BOHESLAUS BALBINUS. Novi apoſtolicum virum . . qui anno uno plures mille quingentis ad veram religionem adduxerat, in eo tamen numero non niſi ſeptem fœminas ad eccleſiam adductas numeraſſe, ita illas pertinacia fœminea obſtinaverat, quod peculiare in hac hereſi fuit. Harum authoritate tota ſecta nitebatur, quæ maritos blanditiis, filios et filias familias imperiis ad ſectam ſuam attrahebant. &c. p. 229.

(3) *Genealogia . . dominorum de Bozkovicz ex Mſs. apud Boheſlaum Balbinum, tom. ii. Tabula Sac. Rom. Imp. principum de Lichtenſtein.* Ibid.

The other family, patrons and friends of the Baptiſts, was the very ancient and noble houſe of Slavata. This family deſcended from the dukes of Satz, lords of the diſtrict where ſome of the firſt refugees for religion are ſaid to have ſettled. A ſon of this family was general of the forces of Moravia, and ſettled there. The famous lord John Slavata de Chlum, who was ſent by Wenceſlaus ambaſſadour to the council of Conſtance, and of whom, as a ſingular friend, ſuch honourable mention is made by John Huſs, was of this family, which is now extinct: but this family is mentioned chiefly on account of lord William, who was chancellor of the kingdom of Bohemia, and flouriſhed in the time of the revolution under Ferdinand II. This gentleman was educated till he was twenty years of age at a baptiſt ſchool at Kunewald, a town near the borders of Sileſia and Moravia, where ſome Vaudois dwelt who had fled from Auſtria in the fifteenth century. Lord William was pleaſed to become a catholick and ridicule his old tutors. Said he, "their publick diſcourſes were very ſilly, yet the poiſon was delicious. They talked a deal of loving one another, and their language was wonderfully ſweet and inſinuating. They inveighed very much againſt luxury of dreſs and other vices, and then they would all fall a-crying, ſo that they were called weeping brethren. If any had done wrong, and had not reformed after three admonitions had been given them, they were turned out of the community, and they uſed to call this caſting them into the world. They all boaſted that they underſtood the ſcripture, and indeed they could ſay a great part of it by heart, though I do not think they underſtand it in its depth and myſtery." This gentleman was a violent partizan of the houſe of Auſtria, and in a faction at Prague, when he was eighty years of age, was thrown out of a window of the caſtle and killed by the fall. Many of theſe great families protected and employed the Baptiſts: but when they loſt their love for civil liberty they neglected or perſecuted them. Woful is the ſtate of that people, who having no property in the ſoil, and no protection by law, are indebted for a momentary gleam of liberty to the precarious affection or convenience of great families. In a change of patrons purity of faith is a jeſt, innocence of manners is as the harmleſsneſs of ſheep, they are ſure to be ſacrificed whenever it becomes the intereſt of a family to make ſuch an offering to the ruling deſpot.

CHAP. XIV.

MUNSTER.

MUNSTER is the capital city of the biſhoprick ſo called, in the circle of Weſtphalia. It is the largeſt of all the weſtphalian biſhopricks, and yields the biſhop, who is a prince of the empire, ſeventy thouſand ducats a year. There are in the city five collegiate and ſix pariſh churches, a college belonging to the jeſuits, a great number of convents, and other religious houſes. The chapter conſiſts of forty noblemen, and maintains ſeven regiments of ſoldiers. It is eaſy to judge in what ſtate liberty is, even in this late age of the world, in this princely epiſcopal domain.

As this city has been rendered remarkable in the hiſtory of the Baptiſts, both by the cenſures of their enemies, and the apologies of their friends, and as we wiſh to avoid litigation and repetition, we think it may not be improper to put together in one point of view, under this article, ſeveral events, which, though they began at other places, were brought to a concluſion in this. As it would argue the utmoſt degree of prejudice to draw any concluſion, before the premiſes have been coolly examined, we are under a neceſſity of laying before the reader a few facts, which gave riſe to the events that fell out in this city in the year fifteen hundred and thirty-five. In order to this we muſt go back to a diſtant period, and ſo come down to obſerve the ſtate of Germany in the year twenty-four, eleven years before the period juſt mentioned.

The condition of the peaſants in Germany in the year twenty-four was deplorable, if there be any thing to deplore in a deprivation of moſt of the rights and liberties of rational creatures. The feudal ſyſtem, that execration in the eyes of every being that merits the name of man, had been eſtabliſhed in early ages in Germany in all its rigour and horrour. It had been planted with a ſword reeking with human gore in the night of barbariſm, when canibals drank the warm blood of one enemy out of the ſkull of another, and it had ſhot its venomous fibres every way, rooted itſelf in every tranſaction, in religion, in law, in diverſions, in every thing ſecular and ſacred, ſo that the wretched ruſticks had only one proſpect for themſelves and all their poſterity, one horrid proſpect of everlaſting ſlavery.

Thanks be to God, and the virtue of our anceſtors, we are incapacitated for forming any other than a faint idea of the ſtate now before us, as the german writers deſcribe it.

They divide the inhabitants of thoſe times into three parts, lords, citizens, and ruſticks. The ruſticks were ſubdivided into ſlaves, villains, and freemen. The condition of ſlaves may be comprehended by the ſeven following obſervations. Firſt, their perſons were the abſolute property of the lord of the ſoil, as much ſo as other animals on the eſtate. Secondly. At firſt, male and female ſlaves were allowed to cohabit without any ceremony of marriage, and when in later times they were allowed to marry, it was only to ſlaves of their own rank, the property of the ſame lord, to whom all the children belonged. Thirdly, all the produce of their labour of every kind belonged to the lord, and the ſlave had no one thing in the world, that he could call his own. Fourthly, of conſequence, ſlaves could not make any teſtaments, or diſpoſe of any thing at their death. Fifthly, they were obliged to furniſh their lords with fixed quantities of the produce of the earth, which were generally exacted with ſo much rigour, and in ſuch large proportions, that no leiſure or abatement of labour could be granted. Sixthly, it was impoſſible for ſlaves to eſcape, for, beſide taſkmaſters, there were laws to prevent it of a nature ſo ſevere that the attempt was deſperate. Laſtly, the lords might inflict corporal puniſhment at pleaſure, and if they killed them, they were liable only to the payment of a ſmall fine, and if one day intervened between the murder and the complaint, not even to that. Slaves were diſtinguiſhed by a peculiar dreſs, they could give no evidence in any court againſt a freeman, and their heads were ſhaved ſo that they were known from a freeman without any clothes. The condition of villains was a little better, for they paid a fixed rent, and the overplus was their own, but they were confined to the ſoil, and transferred with the eſtate, and it is eaſy to judge from this ſingle circumſtance that their condition was bad, and they had no remedy. The third ſort were called freemen. Theſe had ſome little property of their own, and held alſo farms of their wealthy neighbours, on condition of paying a fixed rent, and performing various ſervices of agriculture for their landlords. Theſe freemen were admitted to ſerve in war: but their condition was often rendered ſo wretched by the tyranny of the great landholders that they frequently in deſpair renounced their privileges, and went by choice into the condition of ſlaves. This was the ſtate of the ruſticks in Germany for ſeveral centuries, and all laws made in favour of theſe people before the reformation, are only to be conſidered as we now conſider laws for the preſervation of timber or game. They were not obtained by the virtuous efforts of the people, but roſe naturally out of the circumſtances of their tyrants, and were made to ſuit their convenience (4).

The great principle of the feudal ſyſtem, that all lands were derived from, and holden mediately or immediately of the crown, was always productive of unjuſt and oppreſſive conſequences, tyranny in a thouſand ſhapes, under the names of fines, quit-rents, alienations, dilapidations, wardſhips, heriots, and the reſt, fleeced the unhappy people, deprived them of their property, depreſſed their ſpirits, and drove them ſometimes to deſpair and diſtraction. To theſe innumerable evils muſt be added another innumerable maſs brought in by popery. Tithes great and ſmall, chriſtnings, churchings, marriage dues, offerings, mortuaries, with a thouſand other ſervile appendages of a horrible ſyſtem of oppreſſion, were incorporated in a pretended religion, itſelf the greateſt affront that ever was offered to the reaſon of mankind (5).

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(4) Johan. Angel. Werdenhagen. *De reſpublicis Hanſeat. par. i. cap. v.*.. Siffridi. *Chronicon. An.* 1486.

At the beginning of the ſixteenth century, Germany was divided into ſix circles, and governed by ſovereign princes, whoſe tyrannical oppreſſions would exceed belief, were they not well atteſted. The juriſprudence of Germany is an intricate labyrinth, and nothing determinate can be affirmed of the whole, for ſlavery was differently modified in different places. In regard to the peaſants, of whom we are ſpeaking, it was ſlavery every where, and germanick liberty does not mean their liberty, but the liberty of their herren, or maſters, to tyrannize over them, without controul from the emperour or neighbouring ſtates. An hundred years ſince the reformation ſome of their lords endeavoured to reduce their vaſſals to their ancient worſt ſtate of ſlavery, and ſaid, the peaſants ought to have nothing but a ſmall knife, a coat, and a cruſt of bread. We ought therefore to conſider the condition of the peaſants, in the year twenty-four, as it really was, a deplorable ſtate of abject ſlavery, from which nothing but a ſubverſion of the ſtate could ſave them and their poſterity. They had ſeveral times before attempted to obtain freedom, and they meditated a revolt now (6). Of the great number of good hiſtorians, who ſpeak of the ruſtick war, we have not ſeen one, who pretends to deny the exceſſive and inſupportable tyranny of the nobility and gentry, or one, who does not expreſsly affirm, that the peaſants groaned under intolerable grievances, which they were no longer able to bear.

The love of liberty, which is natural to every human being, is of itſelf an ingenious and active principle, but it is not unfrequently invigorated by circumſtances, and the peaſants were emboldened by ſeveral favourable circumſtances now. The attempt was not only juſt in itſelf, and an obedience to an univerſal and almighty impulſe: but in the preſent caſe it was countenanced by precedents, and could not be taxed with even the paltry plea of novelty. "There is," ſays a celebrated hiſtorian, "an ultimate point of depreſſion, as well as of exaltation, from which human affairs naturally return in a contrary progreſs, and beyond which they ſeldom paſs, either in advancement or decline (7)." The german peaſants ſunk to this ultimate point of depreſſion in different places at different periods, and then they took a contrary direction, and made noble efforts to recover their freedom. Within the memory of the preſent inſurgents there had been many inſurrections, as one

(5) WERDENHAGEN, *uti ſupra.*

(6) MOSHEIM, *Eccl. Hiſt. cent. xvi. ſect. i.* 22.. WERDENHAGEN, *p. i. cap. v.* eyn kniep, kittel, knauſt broot.

(7) HUME's *Hiſtory of England, vol. ii.*.. ROBERTSON's *Hiſtory of Charles V. vol. i.*

againſt the oppreſſions of the biſhop and canons of Spire, in fifteen hundred and two, another againſt the tyranny of a neighbouring abbot, in fourteen hundred and ninety-one, and ſeveral more. The recollection of theſe encouraged the preſent peaſants to riſe (8).

Good authors ſay, they expected aid from their neighbours the Swiſs (9). The Swiſs had thrown off their yoke, and, though they had conſiſted for an hundred and twenty-five years of only eight cantons, yet ſeveral more had of late imitated their example, and had been admitted into the confederacy, as Freybourg and Solothurn in fourteen hundred and eighty-one, Baſil and Schaffhauſen in fifteen hundred and one, and Appenzell in fifteen hundred and thirteen. If the Swiſs had done nothing more, as it does not appear they had, yet they had ſet them a laudable example. He who blames the peaſants for endeavouring to be free, ought to go into their condition.

A third circumſtance was the lamentable condition of both church and ſtate. In regard to the ſtate, " the princes, the great nobility, and the dignified eccleſiaſticks, acknowledged no ſuperiour, with reſpect to any point relative to the interiour adminiſtration and police of their domains. They enacted laws, impoſed taxes, coined money, declared war, concluded peace, and exerted every prerogative peculiar to independent ſtates (1)." The whole lives, therefore, of theſe wretched beings, the peaſants, were ſpent in earning money for a cruel, profligate and quarrelſome ſet of gentry to conſume in luxury or war. In regard to the church, the ſtate of that was equal in wretchedneſs. There were many candidates for preferment ready to ſtep into rich benefices: but there was a great ſcarcity of competent pariſh prieſts. There were ſixteen pariſhes in one biſhoprick vacant for ſeveral years, and no prieſts would accept them, though they were tolerably endowed, yet in the ſame dioceſe, when the public executioner died, twelve candidates the ſame day ſtood forward to ſucceed him. The ignorance of the prieſts was extreme. Numbers could not read, moſt only muttered maſs in an unknown tongue, and read a legend on feſtivals, and the very beſt ſeldom ſaw the bible. It was held by many that the doctrines of religion were ſo properly expreſſed by the ſchoolmen, that there was no need to read ſcripture. One of eminence was aſked what were the ten commandments, and he replied, there was no ſuch book in the library. Many doctors of the Sorbonne declared, and confirmed it by an oath, that though they were above fifty years of age, yet they had never known what a new-teſtament was. Luther never ſaw a bible till after he was twenty-one years of age, and had taken a degree in arts. Carloſtadt had been a doctor of divinity eight years before he read the ſcriptures, and yet, when he ſtood for a degree in the univerſity of Wittenberg, he obtained an honour, and it was entered in the univerſity records, that he was SUFFICIENTISSIMUS (2). Pellican could not procure one greek teſtament in all Germany, the firſt he got was from Italy (3). The peaſants all the while paid enormous tithes, for which they received either nothing at all, or a quantity of unmeaning or provoking words, ſuch as pope, cardinal, maſs, tranſubſtantiation, canoniſation, and ſo on (4). It is not to be imagined that the boors could be ignorant of theſe abuſes, they were too well acquainted with them. There was a monaſtery, before the gate of which ſtood a very old image of Jeſus Chriſt, and at the foot of it the ruſticks uſed to offer their gifts. The monks of another monaſtery oppoſite ſet up a new image of the virgin Mary, very fine and ſhowy. The people fond of novelty carried their offerings to the latter. The fathers, to whom the firſt belonged, in order to recover the good things, put two lines under the old image, the meaning of which is: O ANCIENT JESUS PITY OUR DISTRESS, THE NEW MARY GETS AWAY ALL THE FLAX AND THE EGGS. Such mean and barefaced beggary was common every where, and the people could not help reading ſuch books (5). The canons, too, often ſeverally ſcourged them, and we have leave from their maſters to ſay, they knew church authority as well as a dog knows a whip (6). When theſe depreſſed hearts ſighed for freedom, divines of all orders agreed to reproach them for their depravity, and to ſcandalize the firſt of all human bleſſings with the odious name of CARNAL liberty. Let tyrants of every order preach ſlavery from generation to generation, we will affirm, that in people in ſuch circumſtances as the common peaſants in twenty-four, rebellion was a virtue.

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(8) PETRI GNODALIS *Ruſticorum tumultus in Germania*... GEORG. FABRICII *Annales Miſnici, p.* 29. 59. 181. TRITHEMII *Uſpergenſis abbas Chron. an.* 1503.

(9) JOAN. PEDII TETHINGERI *De Wirtembergiæ reb. geſtis Huldricho principe, lib. iii.* Eſt autem hic tractus Helvetiis ad Rhenum ſedentibus affinis, idcirco ruſtici ſperabantit fore, ut Helvetii libertatis adſertores adminiculo recta volentibus adeſſent.

(1) ROBERTSON's *Hiſtory of Charles V. vol. i. ſect.* 3.

A fourth event that animated them was the example of Luther. Within the laſt ſeven years Luther and his aſſociates had broke out of priſon, and had ſet tyranny at defiance. All Europe knew this, and as all had as many reaſons and as much right as he had, all were agitated, and ſome acted. He had publiſhed in the year twenty a ſmall tract in german on chriſtian liberty, which was read with the moſt aſtoniſhing avidity, and the contents communicated by ſuch as could read to others, who could not. There is no need to ſtudy this book critically, for the ſenſe lies out ſo broad on the ſurface, that it cannot well be miſtaken. He ſpeaks of what he calls ſpiritual liberty, that is, the freedom of the ſpirit or the mind in matters of religion, and he aſſigns three cauſes of bondage, ſins, laws, and mandates, which naturally mean our ſinful paſſions, the laws of magiſtrates, and the canons of the church (7). He illuſtrates the ſubject by obſerving, that all chriſtians were kings and prieſts unto God, and that though it would be neither decent nor poſſible for every man to be a miniſter, yet that the diſtinction of clergy and laity was groundleſs and unſcriptural, and that the pope and all other eccleſiaſticks ought to be nothing more than ſervants of the church, to teach faith in Chriſt, and freedom to believers. His own conduct was a clear comment on the book, and gave the ſenſe in the moſt unſuſpicious manner. On the tenth of December in the year twenty, he had cauſed a pile of wood to be erected without the walls of the city of Wittemberg, and there in the preſence of a prodigious multitude of people of all ranks and orders, he committed to the flames both the bull that had been publiſhed againſt him, and the decretals and canons relating to the pope's ſupreme juriſdiction. The man, who publickly commits to the flames the code that contains the law of his ſovereign, ſhews thereby that he has no longer any reſpect for his government, nor any deſign to ſubmit to his authority (8). The diſtinction between ſpiritual and ſecular authority would be made with an ill grace here, for under what law of the empire, or by what law of the dutchy did Luther act in the preſent caſe? Was there any ſtatute or any charter to empower a monk in orders to aſſemble ten thouſand people, and publickly burn the code of law of his ſovereign lord the pope? It was a noble action: but the ruſticks had as much right to burn the feudal law, had right been the only queſtion. The year after he had burnt theſe papers, he had been heard in the diet at Worms, and had there been condemned by the unanimous ſuffrages both of the emperour and the princes, and declared to be an enemy to the holy roman empire; and yet he paid no other regard to this exceſſively ſevere edict than to eſcape and conceal himſelf in the caſtle of Wartenburg, where, far from feeling any conviction of having done wrong, he employed himſelf in tranſlating the new-teſtament, writing letters to encourage his friends, and at leiſure times riding out a hunting, never happier in his life, as he had never more cauſe to be ſo. One thing only troubled him, and he took no pains to conceal it, that was, a jealouſy leſt any competitor ſhould ſtep forward and put in execution that plan of reformation which he had laid out. Caroloſtadt, profeſſor at Wittemberg, carried on the reformation in his abſence, by taking down ſome images: but when the news reached him he flew like lightning, without the knowledge or advice of his patron, and at the hazard of his own life, to put a ſtop to his proceedings. It was this foible in the incomparable Martin Luther that excited ſome paſſions unworthy of a great and generous man. He fell out with Caroloſtadt, he diſliked Calvin, he found great fault with Zuinglius, who were all ſupported by great patrons, and he was angry beyond meaſure with the Baptiſts, who had none, as the ſequel will ſhew (9).

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(2) JOHANNIS LOMEIERI *De Bibliothecis, cap. viii.*

(3) *Ibid.* Lavaterus teſtatur ſe a ſene Pellicano ſæpe audiviſſe, per totam Germaniam nullum græcum teſtamentum quamvis multo emendum proſtitiſſe, &c. pag. 152.

(4) *Ibid.* Epiſcopus quidam Otto, cuidam prælato clericum ad functionem eccleſiaſticam commendaſſe dicitur, his literis: *Otto Dei gratia rogat veſtram clementiam, ut velitis iſtum clericum conducere ad veſtrum diaconum:* quæ verba abbreviata clericus quidam epiſcopo prælegere juſſus, ſic legit. *Otto Dei gram, rogat veſtram clam, ut velit iſtum clincum clancum convertere in vivum diabolum, &c.* BASNAGE *Hiſt. de l'Egliſe, tom. ii. chap. xxv.* . . . . VOLTAIRE *ſur la tolerance.*

(5) LOMEIERUS *ut ſup.* Epitaphia etiam hæc canerent.
Durus Durandus, jacet hic ſub marmore duro.
An ſit ſalvandus? ego neſcio, nec ego curo.
Item. Nudipes antiſtes non curat clerus ubites,
Dum non in cœlis, ſtes ubicunque velis, &c.

(6) LABBEI *Concil. Senonens. tom. xiv. pag.* 436. *Anno* 1528. Sciant ſicut baculo canes.

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(7) LUTHERI *opera*. *Edit*. 1562. *Witebergæ. Excudebat Laurentius Schwenck, tom. i. pag.* 10. Libera ab omnibus peccatis, legibus, mandatis.

(8) MOSHEIM *Eccl. Hiſt. cent. xvi. ſect. i.*

Luther's diſpute with his colleague Caroloſtadt was not only about the mode of proceeding in the reformation, they differed on a point far more important concerning the bread and wine in the Lord's ſupper. Zuinglius, Caroloſtadt and others, contended that they were only ſigns or ſymbols, deſigned to excite in the minds of chriſtians a remembrance of the ſufferings of Chriſt. Luther thought the ſacrament a myſtery, and pretended to convey an idea of it by ſaying the very body and blood of Chriſt were in the bread and wine, as fire was in a red hot iron. They differed, too, about the other ordinance, baptiſm. Luther had brought himſelf into a great difficulty here. Some of the old Vaudois had applied to him for his friendſhip and countenance, and to engage him the more had given him an account of their faith. He diſliked their notion of baptiſm, for they baptized infants in hope of future faith when they ſhould arrive at years of diſcretion. He told them this was wrong, it would be better wholly to omit baptizing children than to baptize them without faith. If you receive the ſacraments without faith, adds he, you bring yourſelves into a great difficulty, for we oppoſe againſt your practice the ſaying of Chriſt, HE THAT BELIEVETH AND IS BAPTIZED SHALL BE SAVED (1). This reaſoning of the reformer appears ſtrange, however, he found out a very convenient and ingenious way of getting rid of a charge of inconſiſtency. The Vaudois were plain people, and when they obſerved that faith and baptiſm were connected in ſcripture, they ſuppoſed it meant that ſuch as were baptized in infancy would believe the goſpel when they ſhould become able to judge of it: but Luther being a ſcholar, and having read Ariſtotle, and having got out of difficulty in the diſpute about the ſacrament, by only ſuppoſing an occult quality, he did the ſame here, and ſuppoſed that faith along with all other grace was a quality infuſed into children by baptiſm (2).

(9) Mosheim *Eccl. Hiſt. cent. xvii. ſect. i. notes.*

(1) Stan. Hosii *De hæreſ. noſtri temporis, lib. i.*

(2) Lutheri *Opera, tom. vii. Homilia de Baptiſmo.* Melancthonis *Opera, tom. i. Confeſſio fidei Auguſt.* Sacramenta ſunt efficacia, viii... De baptiſmo docent, quod ſit neceſſarius ad ſalutem, quod per baptiſmum offeratur gratia Dei. Et quod pueri ſint baptizandi, qui per baptiſmum oblati Deo recipiantur in gratiam Dei. Damnant Anabaptiſtas, qui improbant baptiſmum puerorum, et affirmant pueros ſine baptiſmo ſalvos fieri. ix... idem articuli copioſius.. declarati. Wormatiæ. 1540. Art.ix. xiii, &c. Ægidii Hunnii *Opera. tom. v. Diſput. lxiii. Contra Anabaptiſtarum Errores... Ejuſdem oratio de vita et morte principis Sabinæ.. Orat. de vita et morte principis Hedwigis.*

He thought, therefore, if the Vaudois did not ſome way or other connect faith and baptiſm, it would be better wholly to omit the adminiſtration of it, for even the church of Rome had contrived to promote the idea. They ſaid, the child was baptized into what the church believed, and the godfather was a ſubſtitute, a locum tenens repreſenting the church at the baptiſm of the infant. Godfathers attend, ſay they, IN LOCO ECCLESIÆ. There were ſeveral who denied Luther's notion of baptiſm, the Zuinglians did not admit it, and many others exploded it: with this difference, however, that Zuinglius retained infant-baptiſm as Luther did, only he accounted for it on another principle, for he thought all chriſtians and their children were in covenant with God as Abraham was, and that baptiſm was the ſeal of it on the part of man (3). But others ſuppoſed that as baptiſm and faith were united, the union could only be in adults, conſequently their notion led them to a further reform, by laying aſide infant-ſprinkling wholly, and by reſtoring the practice of dipping believers on their own profeſſion of faith. Luther bore the Zuinglians dogmatizing: but he could not brook a further reformation in the hands of the dippers. What renders the good man's conduct the more ſurprizing is, that he had himſelf, ſeven years before, taught the doctrine of dipping. "The term baptiſm," ſays he, "is greek, and may be rendered dipping, as when we dip any thing in water, ſo that it is covered all over. And although the cuſtom be now aboliſhed among many (for they do not dip children, but only pour on a little water) yet they ought to be wholly immerſed, and immediately taken out. The etymology of the word ſeems to require this. The Germans call baptiſm tauff from tieff, depth, ſignifying that to baptize is to plunge into the depth. And indeed, if we conſider the deſign of baptiſm, we ſhall ſee, that this is requiſite, for it ſignifies that the old man and original ſin are wholly waſhed away by divine grace. The mode of baptiſm therefore ought to anſwer the deſign of baptizing ſo as to convey a full and perfect idea of it (4)." To the ſame purpoſe he ſpeaks in his book of the babyloniſh captivity, where he ſets forth the abuſes of baptiſm (5). The catholicks tax Luther with being the father of the german dippers, ſome of the firſt expreſsly declare, they received their firſt ideas of it from him, and the fact ſeems undeniable, but the article of reforming without him he could not bear. This is the crime objected againſt them, as it had been before againſt Caroloſtadt. This exaſperated him to the laſt degree, and he became their enemy, and notwithſtanding all he had ſaid in favour of dipping, perſecuted them under the name of re-dippers, rebaptizers, or Anabaptiſts. It is not an improbable conjecture, that Luther at firſt conformed to his own principles, and dipped infants in baptiſm. If ſo, though I know no proof of the fact, he had more reaſon to ſtyle theſe people Ana-baptiſts than any others ever had, who only made uſe of ſprinkling in baptiſm. Whether he had done this or not, his general principles were the grounds on which the Baptiſts acted, and, it it is well enough ſaid by the catholicks, that when Luther perſecuted the Baptiſts he let out the life of his own cauſe (6).

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(3) CALVINI *Inſtitut. de baptiſmo, lib. iv. cap. xv... De Pædobaptiſmo, cap. xvi.* Inter pios omnes confeſſum rectam ſignorum conſiderationem, non in externis duntaxat ceremoniis ſitam eſſe: verum a promiſſione pendere potiſſimum ac myſteriis ſpiritualibus, quibus figurandis ceremonias ipſas dominus ordinat.

(4) LUTHERI *Conciones, tom. i, De ſacram. baptiſmi, pag.* 71, 72.

(5) Tom. ii. pag. 73.

It is very truly ſaid by cardinal Hoſius, that Luther did not intend to make all mankind as free as himſelf; he had not foreſeen that other men would apply the ſame reaſoning to his tyranny over conſcience, that he had ſo ſucceſsfully applied to that of the pope, and therefore he dethroned him to ſet up himſelf. His colleague Caroloſtadt found this to his ſorrow. It was not enough for Luther to render his continuance at Wittemberg impoſſible, he followed him to other places, where he exerciſed his miniſtry, and expelled him by order of the duke, yet the people were ſo fond of their late paſtor, that when they received letters from him, they aſſembled by the tolling of a bell to hear them read, and when the reader uttered the laſt ſentence, which was Andrew, without being condemned, or even heard ejected by Martin Luther, they burſt into tears. And what was this man's crime? He could not believe that the fleſh and blood of Chriſt were in bread and wine, as fire was in red-hot iron. Similarity of circumſtances led him to favour the dippers. There was a Thomas Muncer who had been a miniſter at ſeveral places, having been perſecuted by Luther, and driven to ſeek refuge where he could. There was Nicholas Stork, Mark Stubner, Martin Cellarius, and others. Againſt all of them Luther ſet himſelf. When he heard of their ſettling any where, he officiouſly played the part of an univerſal biſhop, and wrote to princes and ſenates to engage them to expel ſuch dangerous men. He publiſhed againſt them under the name of heavenly prophets, becauſe they had refuſed to take him for their prophet, and becauſe they choſe to conſult the ſcriptures, in which they ſuppoſed God himſelf ſpoke to them, and not his expoſitions of ſcripture, which they called the word of man. He taxed them alſo with making diſturbances, by which, if he meant any thing more than what he meant when he reproached Caroloſtadt with the ſame for removing images without his conſent, he was wrong (7). It is not probable, that he did mean any thing elſe, for though he took a journey to Jena, and preached againſt Caroloſtadt, who was at the ſermon, and poured out invectives both againſt him and Muncer, yet he called them only image breakers and ſacramentarians. Theſe were great crimes in his eye, and in vain did Caroloſtadt condeſcend to wait on the preacher after the ſermon, at his inn at the black bear, to remonſtrate with him how much he was hurt at ſuch publick invectives, it did not ſignify, he diverted the diſcourſe to the old ſubject, HOC EST CORPUS MEUM, and the man that preſumed to act againſt his authority, and who could not digeſt the doctrine of conſubſtantiation, and approve of the ſimilitude of red hot iron, muſt be an exile (8).

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(6) Hosii *De hæriſibus noſtri temporis, lib. i.* Anabaptiſmum ſuum eos e Lutheri ſcriptis hauſiſſe... Certe B. Pacimontanus, &c. pag. 431. Buceri *in Matth. iii. cap. com.* Hosius *ut ſupra.* Hinc occaſionem arripuerunt anabaptiſtæ. Basnage *Hiſt. de l'Egliſe, tom. ii. liv. xxv. cap.* 6.

Adami *vitæ Germanor. theolog. Caroloſtad.* Non dubitavit certe ipſe Lutherus ita ſcribere: ille (Caroloſtadius) cupiebat fieri ſubito novus magiſter, et ſuas ordinationes in populo, preſſa authoritate mea, erigere.

(7) Mutationibus Offenſus (Lutherus) Wittembergam, *inconſulto Electore,* reverſus eſt et *ſe abſente* geſta, concionibus aliquot habitis, pleraque improbavit, quaſi non ordine *legitimo* facta, &c. *ut ſup.*

During theſe tranſactions, in the ſummer of fifteen hundred and twenty-four, the peaſants of Suabia on the eſtate of count Lutſen groaned under their their hard ſervitude, and determined to ſeize the firſt opportunity to get free. Such an one happened the November following, and they revolted (9).

The counts Lutſen and Furſtenberg, and the neighbouring gentry in Suabia, who had all a mutual intereſt in ſuppreſſing the inſurrection, and who had entered into a confederacy for another purpoſe, agreed to ſuppreſs them, and Furſtenberg, in the name of all the confederates, went to inquire into their grievances. They informed him, that they were catholicks, that they had not riſen on any religious account, and that they required nothing but a releaſe from thoſe intolerable ſecular oppreſſions, under which they had long groaned, and which they neither would nor could any longer bear (1). The ſecond inſurgents were the peaſants of a neighbouring abbey, and they declared, as the firſt had done, the oppreſſion of the abbot, and not religion, was the cauſe of their conduct. The news, however, flew all over Germany, and the next ſpring three hundred thouſand men, having more reaſon to complain than the firſt had, left off work, and aſſembled in the fields in Suabia, Franconia, Thuringia, the Palatinate, and Alſace. They conſiſted of all ſorts of peaſants who thought themſelves aggrieved in any manner (2).

The feudal ſyſtem was at this time in full force in many parts of Germany, and in Suabia, and the countries on the banks of the Rhine, where the peaſants firſt roſe, and where their condition was moſt tolerable, their grievances were very great. They paid the full value of their farms in rent to their landlords. If they choſe to remove, or to follow any other profeſſion, they were obliged to purchaſe theſe privileges at a high price. All grants of lands expired at their death, and did not deſcend to their families. At a death, the landlord claimed heriots of the beſt of their cattle or their furniture. If the children deſired to ſucceed their fathers, the landlords required enormous fines, and the ſtewards, always more arbitrary and inſolent than their maſters, exacted yet more enormous fees for a renewal. To all theſe there were ſuperadded ſtated and occaſional taxes on beer and wine, and the neceſſaries of life, which fell hardeſt and heavieſt on the poor, and which were levied to ſupport the growing luxury, or the expenſive wars of their princes (3). This was the condition of the beſt part of Germany, a condition ſo deplorable, that as ſoon as a farmer was taken ill, his whole family were benumbed with fear, and ſuſpended their labours, for they all knew, that the moment the maſter's eyes were cloſed, the unfeeling ſtewards of the lord would enter the houſe, and, without paying any regard to the affliction of the widow, or the tears of the fatherleſs, inſtantly demand a year's rent, take an inventory of every chattel, live and dead, and if the rent were not produced on the ſpot, and their own exorbitant fees paid beſide, turn the family out of doors, and refuſe them the laſt of conſolations, that of bedewing the corpſe of their late benefactor with their tears (4).

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(8) In concione fanaticum Munceri ſpiritum invectus, ejuſdem ſpiritus dixit eſſe εικονομαχους et ſacramentarios. *Ibid.*

(9) JOHN PEDII TETHINGERI. *Wirtemb. Comment. lib. iii.* . . JOAN. SLEIDANI *Comment. lib. iv.*

(1) PETRI GNODALII *Ruſticor. Tumultus.* Ruſtici comitis a Lupphen nullam aliam prætenderint quam opera, quibus ſe nimium gravari querebantur, et quod Gulielmo a Furſtenberg nomine fæderis Suevici ad eos reprimendos miſſo, propalam ſignificarint, ſe nou eſſe evangelicos, nec evangelii cauſa confluxiſſe, &c. . . nec Campidunenſes aliam quam Abbatis ſeveritatem obtenderunt, &c.

(2) Varillas *Hiſtoire de l'hereſie, liv. vi.* . . GNODALII *ubi ſupra.* . . JOAN. SLEIDAN *Comment. lib. iv. v.*

Such oppreſſions in all countries have driven men to deſpair, and have excited a reſentment, which hath produced courage to reſiſt, and conduct to throw off the diſgraceful load. To ſuch cauſes the Swiſs, to ſuch the Dutch, to ſuch almoſt all free people in Europe owe their liberties, and though, for wiſe reaſons, to us unknown, providence ſees fit ſometimes to ſuffer theſe righteous efforts to fail of ſucceſs, yet they are always virtuous in their principles, and a great man periſhing in the attempt reſembles a grand fabrick deſtroyed in a tempeſt, the duſt and the ruins are venerable.

Of all the teachers of religion in Germany at this time, the Baptiſts beſt underſtood the doctrine of liberty, to them therefore the peaſants turned their eyes for counſel. Catholick prieſts were creatures of the pope, lutheran prieſts were creatures of Luther, the firſt preached blind ſubmiſſion to the prieſt, the laſt the ſame diſpoſition to the magiſtrate, with this proviſo, however, that the magiſtrate was a Lutheran, for they called other prieſts worſhippers of the beaſt. It is needleſs to adduce proofs, the parties have proved it againſt one another beyond all contradiction (5). The tyranny of both was equal

(3) Seckendorfius, *lib. ii..* Robertson's *Hiſt. of Charles V. vol. ii. an.* 1526.

(4) Varillas *Hiſt. liv. vi.*

(5) Davidis Parei *De autoritate S. S. diſputatio.* Vix ulla jam Aula.. quæ beſtiam romanam non adorat... Joannis Muhlhusini *notæ.* O beſtiam! Quæ ſint illæ aulæ? Nunquid catholicorum principum? ut Cæſaris? ut Hiſpaniarum regis catholici.. regis Galliarum... regis Poloniæ... Archiducum Auſtriæ... Bavariæ ducum.. ut cæterorum principum et Monarcharum Romanæ eccleſiæ? Cave illuſtriſſimus tuus optimuſque princeps inaudiat, ſe, Pareo judice,

equal in every thing except extent, the pope's dominions were the largeſt. Luther never pretended to diſſent from the church, he only profeſſed to diſown the pope, and this diſtinction our beſt church hiſtorians require us to make, as the beſt and the only clue to the hiſtory of reformation by Luther. Of the Baptiſts one of the moſt eminent was Thomas Muncer of Mulhauſen in Thuringia. He had been a prieſt, but he became a diſciple of Luther, and a great favourite with the reformed. His deportment was remarkably grave, his countenance was pale, his eyes rather ſunk as if he was abſorbed in thought, his viſage long, and he wore his beard. His talent lay in a plain and eaſy method of preaching to the country people, whom (it ſhould ſeem as an itinerant) he taught almoſt all through the electorate of Saxony. His air of mortification won him the hearts of the ruſticks: it was ſingular then for a preacher ſo much as to appear humble. When he had finiſhed his ſermon in any village, he uſed to retire either to avoid the crowd or to devote himſelf to meditation and prayer. This was a practice ſo very ſingular and uncommon, that the people uſed to throng about the door, peep through the crevices, and oblige him ſometimes to let them in, though he repeatedly aſſured them, that he was nothing, that all he had came from above, and that admiration and praiſe were due only to God. The more he fled from applauſe, the more it followed him, the people called him Luther's curate, and Luther named him his Abſalom, probably, becauſe HE STOLE THE HEARTS OF THE MEN OF ISRAEL (6).

Muncer's enemies ſay, all this was artifice. It is impoſſible to know that, the ſurvey of the heart belongs to God alone. This was not ſuſpected till he became a Baptiſt. They ſay, he was all this while plotting the ruſtick war: but there was no need to lay deep plots to create uneaſineſs, the grievances taught the peaſants to groan, and riſe, and fight before Muncer was born, and nobody ever taxed him with even knowing of the firſt inſurrections now. The truth is, while Luther was regaling himſelf with the princes, Muncer was preaching in the country, and ſurveying the condition of their tenants, and it is natural to ſuppoſe he heard and ſaw their miſerable bondage, and that on Luther's plan there was no probability of freedom flowing to the people. It was only intended to free the prieſts from obedience to the pope, and to enable them to tyrannize over the people in the name of the civil magiſtrate. Muncer ſaw this fallacy, and remonſtrated againſt it, and this was the crime which Luther puniſhed with an unpardonable rigour, and which the followers of Luther have never forgiven to this day. "Muncer, ſay they, was a man well ſkilled in the knowledge of ſcripture, before the devil inſpired him: but then he had the arrogance not only to preach againſt the pope, but

judice, Romanæ beſtiæ cultoris Archidapiferum proclamari, &c... HOSII *recantatio Fabiani*.. In Germania papæ tot ſunt, quot hæreſum magiſtri, qui ſe mutuo jam etiam ferre non poſſunt, *pag.* 735. *Oper.*

(6) VARILLAS... GNODALIUS... SLEIDAN, &c.

againſt maſter doctor Martin Luther himſelf (7)." As if Martin of Saxony had any better patent for infallibility than Leo of Rome!

Luther had influence enough to get Muncer baniſhed. Firſt he ſettled at Alſted, thence he was driven to Nurenberg, and when the peaſants roſe he was at Mulhauſen, where he had reſided ſome time, and where he had continued to teach doctrines highly acceptable to the lower orders of the people, who followed him, and heard him with the utmoſt avidity. Here he made no ſecret of his ſentiments. He told the people that the catholicks and the Lutherans were in two extremes of errour, both which good men ought to avoid. He obſerved that the catholicks ſubjugated mankind to laws of morality ſuperſtitious and too ſevere: that Luther had ſhaken off theſe, but had fallen into the oppoſite extreme, and had not provided for ſuch purity as the goſpel required: and that neither party had underſtood that kind of liberty, which Jeſus Chriſt had purchaſed with his blood: that on the one hand men ſhould avoid ſuperſtition, and on the other all kinds of vice, as well as practiſe every virtue of temperance, moderation of dreſs, diet, and ſo on (8). His meaning ſeems to be, that a chriſtian church ought to conſiſt of virtuous perſons, and herein his notion differed from that of Luther, who, by taking the church as the pope left it, included whole pariſhes and kingdoms, with all the inhabitants of every deſcription in the church. On the other hand, he underſtood virtue not to conſiſt in ceremonial performances, or in diſputes about points of doctrine, but in perſonal excellence.

On theſe principles he formed a church, and adviſed the members of it to make uſe of retirement, moderation and prayer: to conſider the ſeveral points of religion for themſelves: to examine the evidences of the being of a God, the doctrine of providence, the perſon of Chriſt, the nature of the chriſtian religion compared with that of the Turks, and in ſuch a courſe of life he promiſed them, as well he might, the preſence and bleſſing of Almighty God. This was a method of reforming new to thoſe who paſſed in the world for the reformers of it. This was going about the work properly, by ſetting men to reform themſelves: but a reformation effected by reaſon and ſcripture, without the aid of kings and prieſts, was not in the taſte of thoſe times. The peaſants were the only people who reliſhed Muncer's doctrine, and they repaired to Mulhauſen in vaſt numbers to be inſtructed and comforted by him. A dutch ſchoolmaſter very gravely informs us, that of all this rabble there was hardly one that knew his letters. This was the greateſt crime that a pedant could think of (9). Beſide, they ſay, Muncer was a great dreamer, and adviſed his people to dream. This is not very probable, however, if they did dream for wiſdom, it muſt be allowed they profited more in their ſleep than their perſecutors did with their eyes open (1). Luther, always ingenious, invented the beſt ſcheme. Mulhauſen was an imperial city, and not under the juriſdiction of the duke of Saxony. Luther had no more power here than what his credit gave him. He wrote to the magiſtrates of the city to adviſe them to require Muncer to give an account of his call, and if he could not prove that he acted under human authority, then to inſiſt on his proving his call from God by working a miracle. The magiſtrates fell into this ſnare, and ſo did the monks, for perſecution is both a catholick and a proteſtant doctrine, and they ſet about the work. The people reſented this refinement on cruelty, eſpecially as coming from a man, whom both the court of Rome and the diet of the empire had loaded with all the anathemas they could invent, for no other crime than that of which he accuſed his brother, and they carried the matter ſo far in the end, that they expelled the monks, to which the Lutherans had no objection, and then the magiſtrates, and elected new ſenators, of whom Muncer was one. To him as to their only friend, the peaſants all looked for relief.

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(7) GNODALIUS. Muncerus homo ſacrarum literarum ſcientia perpolitus . . a Sathana recta mente deturbatus, lib. iii. &c. SLEIDAN. Cœpit docere primum non ſolum adverſus pontificem Romanum, ſed *ipſum quoque Lutherum.*

(8) JOAN. SLEIDAN. *liber v.*

(9) LAMBERTI HORTENSII *Tumult. Anabaptiſtar.*

Muncer's doctrine all tended to liberty: but he had no immediate concern in the firſt inſurrections of the peaſants (2). It was many months after they were in arms before he joined them: but knowing their cauſe to be juſt, he drew up for them that memorial or manifeſto, which ſets forth their grievances, and which they preſented to their lords, and diſperſed all over Germany (3). This inſtrument is applauded by every writer who mentions it, as a maſter-piece of its kind. Mr. Voltaire ſays, A LYCURGUS WOULD HAVE SIGNED IT. It was the higheſt character he could have given it. Some by miſtake aſcribe it to Stapler (4).

This manifeſto conſiſts of twelve articles, in which are ſet forth the grievances of the peaſants, and the redreſs which they required, and on the grant of which they declared themſelves ready to return to their labours.

"I. The firſt ſets forth the benefit of publick religious inſtruction, and they pray, that they may be permitted to elect their own miniſters to teach them the word of God without the traditions of men: and that they may have power to diſmiſs them, if their conduct be reprehenſible.

II. The ſecond repreſents that the laws of tithing in the old teſtament ought not to be enforced under the preſent oeconomy: and praying that they may be allowed to pay the tithe of their corn, and excuſed from paying any other: and that this may be divided by a committee into three equal parts, the firſt to be applied to the ſupport of their teachers, the ſecond to the relief of poor folks, and the third to the payment of ſuch publick taxes and dues as had been exacted of people in mean circumſtances.

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(1) Sleidan. *paſſim.*

(2) L. Hortensii *De bello Germanico, lib. i.* Inter hos turbines *exortus fuit* Thomas Muncerus. . . Sleidan. *lib. v.* Cum jam per Sueviam atque Franconiam eſſent in armis homines plebei ac ruſticani ad xl millia, et magnam nobilitatis partem profligaſſent, complures etiam arces atque caſtella diripuiſſent ac incendiſſent *cæpit et ipſe* [Muncerus] manus admoliri. . . Gnodalius *ut ſup.* Ruſtici Almangavicis repreſſis, *poſtea* novos motus, &c. . . Ruſtici erant in armis antequam Muncerus prodiret in aciem.

(3) *Annals. Charles V.* 1525.

(4) *See* Gnodalius, p. 1036.

III. The third ſets forth, that their former ſtate of ſlavery was diſgraceful to humanity, and inconſiſtent with the condition of people freed by the blood of Chriſt, who extended the benefits of his redemption to the meaneſt as well as to the higheſt, excepting none: that they were determined to be free, not from the controul of magiſtrates, whoſe office they honoured as of divine appointment, and whoſe juſt laws they would obey: that they did not deſire to live a licentious life after their own ſinful paſſions: but they would be free, and not ſubmit to ſlavery any longer, unleſs ſlavery could be proved right from the holy ſcripture.

IV. The fourth ſhews, that they had hitherto been deprived of the liberty of fiſhing, fowling, hunting and taking animals wild by nature: which prohibition was incompatible with natural juſtice, the good of ſociety, and the language of holy ſcripture: that in many places they had not been ſuffered even to chaſe away the wild animals that devoured their herbage and their corn, which was a great injury to them, contrary to all principles of juſtice, and to that free grant of wild animals, which the creator of the world beſtowed on all mankind at the beginning: that they did not deſire to enter by force on any man's private property great or ſmall under any pretence of right to fiſh, but they prayed that pretended private privileges might yield to equal publick benefit.

V. The fifth ſets forth, that the foreſts were in the hands of a few great men, to the inexpreſſible damage of the miſerable poor, who had been obliged to pay double the value for what little wood they wanted for firing or repairs: they therefore prayed, that ſuch woods and foreſts as had not been purchaſed and become private property, either of individuals, or of corporate bodies, eccleſiaſtical or civil, might hereafter be reſerved for the publick uſe: that they might be allowed to cut wood for neceſſary building, repairs, and firing, without any expence, under the direction, however, of a board of woodwards duly elected for the purpoſe: that in caſe the foreſts could all be proved to be private property, then the matter ſhould be amicably adjuſted between themſelves and the proprietors.

VI. The ſixth ſets forth the various hardſhips of baſe and uncertain villenage, the innumerable and ill-timed ſervices, which the lords obliged their tenants to perform, which kept increaſing every year, and which had become abſolutely intolerable: they pray that theſe ſervices may be moderated by the princes, according to laws of equity, and the precepts of the goſpel, and that no other burdens might be impoſed on them than ſuch as were warranted by ancient cuſtom.

VII. The ſeventh complains of abuſes in regard to ſuch tenures of farms, lands, and tenements, as were called beneficiary, and originally held on certain terms fixed in the firſt grants, as then agreed on between the granters and the grantees, but which were now charged with a great many oppreſſive fines, fees, and payments detrimental to the tenants: they pray that theſe tenures may be held in future on the terms of the original grants.

VIII. The eighth article regards the rents of the farms, held from year to year: they complain that theſe annual rents far exceeded the worth of the lands, and they pray that honeſt and indifferent men may be employed to ſurvey the eſtates, and report the fair value, and that the princes, if the rents ſhould appear enormous, would remit a part, ſo that the huſbandmen might be allowed a certain livelihood, and not reduced as they had been to extreme indigence, as every workman was worthy of his meat.

IX. The ninth complains of the wanton exerciſe of the power of making and executing penal ſtatutes: they ſay, that new laws were daily publiſhed, creating new crimes, and inflicting new fines and penalties, not for the improvement of ſociety, but merely for pretences to extort money, and for the gratification of private reſentment, or partial attachment: they pray, therefore, that juſtice may not be left to the care of diſcretion or affection, but adminiſtered according to ancient written forms.

X. The tenth ſets forth, that formerly there was reſerved in every village in Germany, commons which had been granted to the inhabitants: that now they were monopolized and held as private property to the total excluſion of the poor: that the lords had ſeized them under pretence that they were only indulgences, which former lords in times of ſcarcity had granted for a little while to their tenants for paſturage only: that they were employed now only to maintain a great number of uſeleſs horſes for luxury or for needleſs wars: that they re-claimed theſe commons, and did not allow this late preſcription the value of a good title, and therefore they required the holders to reſtore them, unleſs they would rather chooſe to make a purchaſe of them, and in that caſe they engaged to ſettle the buſineſs on friendly and brotherly terms.

XI. The eleventh complains, that the demand of heriots is the moſt unjuſt and inhuman of all oppreſſions: that the affliction of the widow and children for the loſs of their father and friend, appointed by heaven to be their guardian, made no impreſſion on the officers: that inſtead of pitying the ſurvivors, and ſupplying the place of the deceaſed, they increaſed their wretchedneſs, by ſwallowing up all their property: they required therefore that the cuſtom of claiming heriots ſhould be utterly aboliſhed.

XII. The laſt article ſays, that this memorial contains their preſent grievances: that they are not ſo obſtinately attached to theſe articles as not to give up any one on receiving conviction that it was contrary to the word of God: that they were ready to admit any additions agreable to truth and ſcripture, tending to promote the glory of God, and the good of mankind:

and that, though this memorial contained a liſt of their preſent grievances, yet they did not mean by this to preclude the liberty of making ſuch future remonſtrances as might be found neceſſary (5)."

Theſe are the infernal tenets, the damnable anabaptiſtical errours (garbled and recorded by their enemies too) which the orthodox of all orders, from Luther to the preſent time, have thought fit to execrate under all the moſt monſtrous names that malice and rage for perſecution could invent. Two hundred and ſixty years hath this crime of the Baptiſts been viſited upon their deſcendants. It is time now to reſpire, and to make a few cool reflections on this event.

The celebrated Monſ. Voltaire, who certainly was no Anabaptiſt, hath ſtated the matter in a few words. "Luther," ſays he, "had been ſucceſsful in ſtirring up the princes, nobles, and magiſtrates of Germany againſt the pope and the biſhops. Muncer ſtirred up the peaſants againſt them. He and his companions went about addreſſing themſelves to the inhabitants of the country villages in Suabia, Miſnia, Thuringia, and Franconia. THEY LAID OPEN THAT DANGEROUS TRUTH, WHICH IS IMPLANTED IN EVERY BREAST, THAT ALL MEN ARE BORN EQUAL; ſaying, that if the popes had treated the princes like their ſubjects, the princes had treated the common people like beaſts. It muſt be acknowledged, that the manifeſto publiſhed by theſe ſavages in the name of THE MEN WHO TILL THE EARTH might have been ſigned by Lycurgus. They only claimed the rights common to mankind: but they ſupported the claim like ſavage beaſts (6)."

There are, then, only two queſtions: the one, whether the claims were juſt in themſelves, and the other whether the peaſants ſupported them properly. The firſt is readily granted now-a-days in free countries. It is clear, the manifeſto is not a compilation of ſcholaſtical ſpeculations about grace and free will, and baptiſm and the ſacrament, it contains the rights of mankind. In this inſtrument there is no heretick but a tyrant, nothing propoſed to be hated but the feudal ſyſtem, and liberty is the only orthodoxy. It is a ſyſtem of juſtice, virtue and happineſs, and ſo equally diſtributed that it is impoſſible to know any thing more of the religion of the authors than that they were chriſtians, who held themſelves bound to make the holy ſcriptures the rule of their actions. When this memorial is compared with the augſburg confeſſion, each article of which begins with DOCENT, and ends with DAMNANT, and many of them with DAMNANT ANABAPTISTAS, the reaſon and feelings of an examiner will reverence the mild juſtice of Muncer and his memorialiſts, and be fired with indignation at the folly of mankind, for ſuffering themſelves to be ſo long inſulted with ſuch bloody trifles, though under the ſacred names of confeſſions of faith.

The ſupport of theſe claims is a very different article: but, had Muncer ſucceeded, ten thouſand tongues would have celebrated his praiſe. Indefatigable writers would have ſifted every action to the bottom, tried the cauſe by rules of equity, examined the credibility of every witneſs, and would not have ſuffered improbable, contradictory, and even impoſſible tales, told by ignorant and intereſted men, to have ſeized the credit and honour, which are due to nothing but impartial truth. If the procuring of liberty for three hundred thouſand wretched ſlaves, and their poſterity, had been accompanied with ſome imperfections, and even ſome cenſurable actions, the latter would have been attributed to an unhappy fatality in human revolutions, and in compariſon with the benefits thrown into the great ſcale of human happineſs, they would have diminiſhed till they had totally diſappeared. The inveſtigations neceſſary to place this ſubject in its true light would fill a large volume, for they comprehend the events of the ten ſucceeding years: but our plan does not admit of ſuch a comprehenſive hiſtory. We ſhall therefore confine ourſelves to the events of this one year, and judge by that of the reſt.

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(5) GNODALIUS... SLEIDAN... VARILLAS.

(6) *Additions to Gen. Hiſt. vol.* 30.

It is ſaid, that the peaſants at the cloſe of the manifeſto appealed to Martin Luther: if ſo, they did him too much honour. Probably they thought he could not maintain the juſtice of his own rebellion againſt his maſter the pope, without eſpouſing that of the peaſants againſt their princes. They were very much miſtaken. He wrote four pieces on the ſubject. The firſt was an anſwer to the manifeſto, in which, though he told them that the princes were cruel oppreſſors, who had no excuſe for their injuſtice, and deſerved to be dethroned by God, yet it was ſeditious in the oppreſſed to reſiſt them. He informed them, that Satan had ſeduced them by ſome falſe teachers: that their ſecond propoſal about tithes was wicked in the extreme, and diſcovered a diſpoſition to annihilate magiſtracy, and to ſeize government into their own hands: that the third concerning ſervitude was fooliſh and abſurd, and tended to put all mankind on a level, that Abraham and other holy men had been in poſſeſſion of ſlaves, that S. Paul would inform them, their third article tended to reſiſtance and robbery, and was contrary to the goſpel, that a ſtate of ſervitude was not inconſiſtent with piety, that chriſtian liberty might be enjoyed by men in that condition as fully as people in a ſtate of captivity or ſickneſs, and that without a diverſity of conditions the affairs of a republick could not be properly adminiſtered. As to the foreſt and the game laws, and the other articles of complaint concerning taxes and fines, and fees and heriots, and ſuch other things, they were not within his ſacred office, and they ought to be left to lawyers to determine. He hoped they would be adviſed by him, and not report him to be a flatterer of government. His advice was, that they ſhould not reſiſt evil, but when they were ſmitten on the one cheek turn the other alſo: if any man took away their cloke they ſhould give him their coat alſo, yea they ſhould love and pray for the enemy who did all this. This was the doctrine of Chriſt, and ſuch doctors as taught otherwiſe were worſe than Turks, and inſpired by the devil. This fulſome libel, which interprets the manifeſto into errours about levelling conditions, depoſing magiſtrates, ſubverting government, making all things common, ſtirring up ſedition, and ſo on, this is the ſource of all the ſlander that has been ſince caſt upon the german Baptiſts. What would the world have thought of the peaſants, if they had tamely exchanged their manifeſto for ſuch a paper as this?

The ſecond piece was addreſſed to the princes, and in it he taxes them with having cauſed all the preſent ills by their exceſſive tyranny. He doth not, like Muncer, ſtate grievances, and propoſe modes of redreſs, but he accuſes them of tyranny, luxury, and ſlander, for ſaying that his doctrine had been the cauſe of all this diſturbance. He threatens them with the vengeance of heaven, if they perſiſted in their tyranny and cruelty, he tells them, that a ſword had long hung over their heads, that God often poured contempt on princes, and that if they could but extort money from the peaſants to ſupport their pride and luxury, they cared not how miſerable they rendered the people, and he aſſured them the peaſants muſt and would have their grievances redreſſed.

To theſe two he added a third, addreſſed to both princes and peaſants, ſetting forth the wickedneſs of tyrannical governours and the calamities of ſeditious inſurrections, and he adviſed both parties to ſettle their diſputes, and be at peace for the public good of Germany. Nothing can, ſurely, be more ridiculous in ſuch caſes as this, than vague declamations about tyranny and ſedition, accompanied with exhortations to peace. The princes had not allowed that they were tyrants: the peaſants had not charged themſelves with being ſeditious. Matters were taken for granted but not proved, and the grievances in diſpute were not touched. This is the theological way of brow-beating the people by texts of ſcripture into ſlavery and miſery. When Luther found nobody minded his papers, he drew up a fourth, addreſſed to the princes, in which he conjures them to unite all their force to ſuppreſs ſedition, to deſtroy theſe robbers and parricides, who had thrown of all regard for magiſtracy, and had, under pretence of religion, committed the flagitious crime of reſiſting government. He endeavoured to convince princes and private individuals that it was their duty to extinguiſh the fire of ſedition, and to kill and exterminate thoſe thieves and incendiaries, the peaſants, as they would mad dogs. Hiſtorians are all agreed here. All condemn this cruel cry of havock. His greateſt admirers blamed him at the time for his ſeverity, and all hiſtorians ſince reproach him for his undiſtinguiſhing cruelty, confounding the innocent with the guilty, if indeed there were any guilty. The catholicks conſider him little better than an aſſaſſin, and expoſe his inconſiſtency, for condemning what he had juſt before allowed to be juſt in its principles; and all his friends reply is, that he perſiſted to defend his conduct, though they ſay he was to blame to marry while this carnage of the poor peaſants was going forward. All this was ten years before the affair at Munſter, and nothing has been ſaid ſince that affair worſe than was ſaid now, before it begun. It was not therefore a quarrel about baptiſm, but about the feudal ſyſtem. It was not water, it was government, that was in queſtion, and the Baptiſts had the glory of firſt ſetting the reformed an example of getting rid of tyranny, tolerated only through cuſtom, and ſupported only by power againſt right.

CHAP. XV.

POLAND.

THE preſent Poles are deſcended from the ancient Sarmatians. Sarmatia in Europe formerly extended from the river Viſtula, now the Weiſſel, parting it from Germany, to the Euxine ſea, the Boſphorus Cimmerius, the Palus Mæotis, and the Tanais dividing it from Aſia and the Aſiatick Sarmatia. This vaſt tract of land comprehends Poland, Ruſſia, and great part of Tartary, and was inhabited by at leaſt ſixteen nations (7). Of this immenſe tract the kingdom of Poland, the archdutchy of Lithuania, and Samogitia were parts, and conſiſted of vaſt foreſts, plains, and marſhes, very little known in Europe till the fiſteenth century. They were inhabited by people of very different deſcriptions, ſome of whom knew not there was a God (8). In the middle of the ſixteenth century the boundaries of theſe territories could not be defined, though they were divided into eight provinces the inhabitants of which ſpoke eight different languages (9). The inhabitans of theſe deſerts found by rambling about ample ſupplies for themſelves, and innumerable articles of traffick. The foreſts yielded them apples, pears, nuts, figs, grapes, cheſnuts, and other fruits in abundance. Honey and wax they had in profuſion. Tame cattle they kept in droves, and the ſkins of wild animals caught in hunting they bartered with merchants, who ſold them to manufacturers for various uſes of dreſs and furniture. Beech maſt and acorns fed numerous herds of ſwine, and the waters yielded them fiſh in plenty and variety. Fowls of every kind ſurrounded their huts, and afforded them food for themſelves

(7) Universal History, *vol. vii. book iv. p.* 604.

(8) Æneas Sylvius *De Lithuania, &c.*

(9) Martini Cromeri *Epiſcopi Poloniæ deſcriptio.* Secundum delineationem amici mei Venceſlai Grodecii, incerti ſunt in illa ſolitudine Scythica fines ejus. Sylveſtris fuit ſuperioribus temporibus pleraque omnis Poloniæ, lib. i. Ottonis *beati vita.* Epiſcopus, et qui cum eo erant, in extremis Poloniæ finibus tranſeuntes, nemus horrendum et vaſtum quod Pomeraniam Poloniamque dividit, intraverunt. Nemus hoc nulli ante mortalium pervium erat niſi quod ſuperioribus annis dux latrocinandi cauſa, &c. apud Jac. Basnagii *monumenta eccleſiaſtica, tom. ii. p. ii. pag.* 58. *Amſtel.* 1725.

and feathers for traffick. One chief article of their trade was a kind of galloways, little briſk hardy horſes. Laſitius bought one of theſe at Vilna in Lithuania for four ſhillings and eight-pence ſterling, and drove him in a carriage with great ſpeed and equal ſafety from thence to Cracow, a hundred and twenty german miles (1). Some few ſettled and lived ten or twenty families together in tents or booths. The men cultivated the adjacent lands, the women carded wool, ſpun hemp and flax, and wove cloth within doors. The cities conſiſted of one caſtle with clay walls for the accommodation of the palatine, ſurrounded with wooden booths covered with boughs and reeds, and inhabited by ſuch as were under his protection. The inhabitants were Pagans, Jews, catholicks, members of the greek church, and chriſtians of different ſects: but there was no inſtance in thoſe times of any oppreſſions on account of religion. Jews often farmed the revenues of the palatine, and were alſo the factors and merchants of the manufacturers, though there were laws made very early againſt it in divers parts of Europe (2).

Cardinal Hoſius, who was a Pole, thought it a kind of miracle, that as Bohemia and Moravia were ſo near Poland, and the language the ſame, Poland ſhould continue uninfected with the hereſy of the Vaudois for one hundred and forty years (3). If records were ſilent appearances would be very much againſt ſuch a miracle: but records the moſt authentick aſſure us that this hereſy did infect Poland long before the days of John Huſs, and much more after his death. On the revival of literature in Europe in the ſixteenth century, Martin Cromer, a catholick biſhop of Poland, who had the beſt opportunity of examining records, and who was an avowed enemy of hereſy, expreſsly affirms, that in very early ages great numbers of chriſtians inhabited the woods, that ſome natives of Poland learned chriſtianity of the Bohemians, that others were about the king Miciſlaus, and that chriſtian merchants had free acceſs to him, and he tells a piece of advice given him by them, which he thought proper to take. He was a pagan and had ſeven wives, but no children, though he was very deſirous of having a family. They adviſed him to put away the ſeven, and take an eighth, and no more. He did ſo, and by this lady, who was a daughter of a chriſtian duke of Bohemia, he had a family, which ſo pleaſed him that he introduced chriſtianity, ſuch as it was, at court. The queen Dambrowka had the honour of converting the courtiers without uſing any force, for though Rome taught Poland in after ages to perſecute, yet nobody was ever injured for conſcience ſake, either while the ruling Poles were Pagans, or while they continued of the queen's religion, which was that of the greek church. All other hiſtorians agree with Cromer, and the condition of the country renders the teſtimony probable in the higheſt degree (4).

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(1) JOANNIS LASICII *Poloniæ deſcriptio. De diis Samogit.*

(2) IBID. *ut ſup.* Diſperſe per ſylvas campoſque degunt. Rara oppida, nec pagos nimium multos, arces autem munitas nullas habent, &c. ALEXANDRI GUAGNINI *Chorographia Poloniæ.* Oſwiecem civitas principalis ducatus lignea, arcem quoque ligneam argila circumlinitam habet... Kzyaz civitas lignea a Cracovia mil. 7 diſtat... Oſmiaria oppidum ligneum a Vilna 7 mil. &c. CHRISTIANI FUNCCI *Orbis Hiſt.* Ab eo tempore (Caſimiri II) Judæi omnia fere vectigalia regni Poloniæ gravi cum indigenarum oppreſſione poſſidere cœperunt... Judæi magnis hodie ibi privilegiis gaudent, ita ut vix in toto orbe melius ipſis ſit quam in una Polonia. Reg. Polonicum, 142. JAC. BASNAGII *Monumenta Eccleſiaſtica, tom. ii. pars ii. pag.* 366.

(3) STANISLAUS HOSIUS *de hæreſibus noſtri temporis in Po. Bohemiam lepra Waldenſis infecit, p.* 424.

When theſe kings became chriſtians, they uſed by the advice of the monks their court chaplains, to divide their territories into diſtricts, which the wily monks called biſhopricks, and over which they got themſelves appointed tutors and inſpectors. The kings often went with them to the remoteſt parts of their kingdoms, when the ſons of the foreſts had returned from hunting and fiſhing for the ſeaſon, and recommended chriſtianity to them, for a biſhoprick there reſembled a dioceſe on the banks of the Miſſiſſippi. There are many diverting ſtories of theſe converſions. From the two following a judgement may be formed of the reſt. Remigius, one day preaching to Clovis or Lewis the firſt chriſtian king of the Franks, and thoſe who had been baptized with him, was deſcribing in a pathetick manner the crucifixion of Chriſt. The king could not forbear interrupting him by exclaiming, IF I HAD BEEN THERE WITH MY FRANKS THAT SHOULD NOT HAVE HAPPENED (5). In the fourteenth century the Poles choſe for their king Ladiſlaus, a pagan duke of Lithuania. On this he was baptized. Being deſirous to engage his Lithuanians to follow his example of embracing chriſtianity, he took with him a monk, whom he had made biſhop of Minſki, and by giving them money, ſome blue cloth and red caps, allured them to be baptized by their new dioceſan. After the ceremony the biſhop preached a ſermon to them, the king ſitting by. As he was treating of the creation of the world and the firſt man, one of his new converts ſtarted up, and addreſſing himſelf to Ladiſlaus, ſaid, "King, this man tells lies. He is not very old. Many of us are more than a hundred: but we remember nothing of all this, there was the ſame motion of the heavens, the ſame ſucceſſion of ſeaſons, the ſame appearance of ſtars when we were boys as there are now." The preacher pauſed, and the king replied, "You ſpeak truth, and the prieſt ſaid nothing falſe. He was not ſpeaking of his own times, but of many years ago, when God created the world out of nothing (6)."

(4) MARTINI CROMERI *De origine Polonorum, lib. iii.* Erant jam tunc inter Polonos nonnulli qui peregre revertentes a Bohemis et Moravis, religionem chriſtianam domum referebant. Erant et externi partim in miniſterio et comitatu principis, partim mercaturam in Polonia exercentes, partim etiam in receſſibus ſylvarum et ſolitudinum quo liberius cultui divino vacarent, degentes. ANDREÆ REGENVOLSCII *Hiſt. Eccleſ. Sclavonic.* Nemo nunquam in Polonia Ethnica ob fidem Chriſti paſſus. DLUGOSSI. DAMELEWICZ. LASICII *Hiſt. apnd* REGENVOLSCIUM *et* CROMERUM.

(5) UNIVERSAL HISTORY, *vol. iii. book ii. p.* 570.

(6) JOAN. LASICII *De diis Samogitar. lib.*

In the twelfth century, as was obſerved in the hiſtory of Bohemia, ſome Vaudois ſettled at Satz and Laun, and there they found many of the greek church, who aſſociated with them, and whom, as they were well ſkilled in the ſcriptures, they improved in religious knowledge (7). In the fourteenth century the Vaudois of Bohemia and Poland ſent money collected among themſelves to their perſecuted brethren in Lombardy (8). In later times, on every guſt of perſecution, they ſtepped out of one kingdom into another, and ſo continued to do till the reformation. The vicinity of Poland to Moravia and Bohemia, the election of two of the reigning family of Jagellon in Poland to be kings of Bohemia, and other ſimilar events, rendered ſuch a migration perfectly eaſy.

Jerom of Prague was an itinerant preacher, and he taught at many places in Poland. Huſs in his letters returns thanks to the noblemen of Poland for their kind endeavours to ſave him from death at the council of Conſtance (9). Some of the nobility of Poland aſſiſted Ziſka with men and money in his war. Taborite teachers were harboured by Sbanſky, judge of the diſtrict of Poſnan, where they taught the common people. General Procopius and other Taborites diſputed againſt popery before the king of Poland at Cracow. Hereticks had free acceſs to his majeſty, and though Sbigneus the archbiſhop had influence enough to baniſh them from court, and to order them to quit the kingdom, yet they paid little regard to him, and inſtructed great numbers of the Poles. "Formerly," ſays biſhop Cromer, "the hereſy of Wickliff and Huſs infected Poland, and within my memory thoſe of Berengarius, Luther and Calvin, found their way into the country by means of merchants coming hither, and young gentlemen going into Germany for education, by which means the minds of many were infected, and now, after the example and under the patronage of ſome noblemen, we abound with Picards, Anabaptiſts, Arians, and hereticks of all ſorts, and, O what lamentable depravity! every one is maſter of his own religion, a law and a king to himſelf, and thus multitudes pretend liberty and become licentious (1)."

The Poles had always ſuch high notions of liberty, that though their princes and great men, through alliances with catholick families, profeſſed to belong to the church of Rome, yet they were never remarkable for filial obedience to their apoſtolical matron. When Poland was firſt erected into a kingdom, the pope offered to make Boleſlaus the elect a preſent of a crown of pure gold, on condition he might have the honour of crowning him: but the wary prince declined it. The Poles only obſerved lent when they had nothing elſe to do. Prieſts were allowed to have wives till the beginning of the thirteenth century. The kings kept in their own hands the nomination of biſhops, the chapters elected them, and the pope was only allowed to confirm their choice. When a cardinal legate endeavoured to perſuade Caſimire III. to allow his holineſs to diſpoſe of Poliſh biſhopricks, "No," ſaid the king ſternly, "I would rather ſee the kingdom periſh, than ſuffer you to diſpoſe of one biſhoprick without my conſent." The haughty prelate replied, "Better three kingdoms periſh than the pontiff loſe his authority." But he could not gain the leaſt ground (2).

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(7) Pauli Stranski *Republica Bohemia.* Vetuſtioris Græcæ diſciplinæ ſectatores cætus ſuos ſacros agitare libere poterant, atque agitabant... Petri Waldi diſcipuli in Boiemiam venirent (an. 1176, teſte Hageco) et delecto ad Zatecium domicilio permultos ex qualis qualis tum adhuc Græcæ obſervantiæ incolis, familiares ſibi facerent, cap. vi.

(8) Matthiæ Flacci Illyrici *Catalogus teſtium.* Habeo inquiſitionem in Bohemia et Polonia contra Valdenſes .. circa 1330 factam: ubi inter alia diſerte fit mentio Collectarum, quas fratribus et præceptoribns ſuis in Lombardiam ſoliti ſunt mittere, &c. lib. xv.

(9) Hussi *epiſtolæ.* Generoſis dominis Bohemis, Moraves et Polonis. Ep. xi.

(1) Mart. Cromerus *De origine Polonor.* Sibi quiſque religionis magiſter, atque adeo rex et lex incipit eſſe, &c. Matthiæ de Michovia *Reg. Polon. Chronic. In præfatione.*

Modern Poland is a fine country, about ſeven hundred miles in length, and about five hundred in breadth. On the north lie Muſcovy and the Baltick, on the ſouth Hungary and Tranſilvania, on the eaſt Little Tartary, and on the weſt Germany. It is in general a flat country, in ſome parts marſhy, in others woody, towards the north are delightful plains, and near Hungary the country is mountainous: but it is temperate and fertile, and produces vaſt quantities of corn, cattle, ſalt, honey, hemp, leather, and other articles, which are ſent down to Dantzick, where the dutch annually ſend fleets freighted with wines, cloths, hard ware, tapeſtry, jewels, ſugar, brandy, ſpices, and the ſtaple commodities of other countries, which they exchange with the factors of Dantzick for the productions of Poland. In plentiful years the Poles navigate down the river Weiſſel ſixteen hundred barges of fifty tons each, laden with wheat, rye, pipe ſtaves, pot aſh, planks, and naval ſtores, and thus an eaſy intercourſe is opened with the Hollanders, and through them with all the world.

In this kingdom the feodal ſyſtem retains all its vigour. The king is elective, and as foreigners are eligible as well as natives, neighbouring kingdoms have always formed intrigues, fomented diviſions, and involved the country in war. The nobility and gentry have ever been paſſionately fond of freedom for themſelves, and have therefore circumſcribed the power of their kings by laws, made in diets during vacancies of the throne, and have bound them by oath at their coronations to obſerve them. A few citizens are allowed to purchaſe lands: but the common people are in a ſtate of the moſt abject ſlavery, their lords having an abſolute power over them of life and death.

Strictly ſpeaking, there are but two ſorts of people in Poland, and the poliſh nobility are all equal in point of rank, and call one another brethren, however they differ widely in property, ſome having more others fewer poſſeſſions. Some of the nobility acquire dignity and authority by offices, which are held ſome for life, others during the pleaſure of the crown. Poland and Lithuania are divided into thirty-four diſtricts called palatinates. The palatines conſider themſelves as equal to dukes, and are a ſort of lord lieutenants of counties. They are generals of the forces of their palatinates in time of war, and in time of peace they aſſemble the nobility, preſide in courts of judicature, pronounce ſentence, ſettle the price of goods, inſpect weights and meaſures, and conſequently have the power of creating a great number of dependents, beſide all the ſlaves on their patrimonial eſtates, who are employed in agriculture or the ſalt mines, and who are abſolutely at their diſpoſal. Each palatinate is divided into two or more caſtellanies, and there are in all eighty-four caſtellans. There are a kind of lieutenants under the palatines. The knights are innumerable, and are all abſolute on their own manors. John Kiſka, the firſt patron of the Baptiſts, had on his hereditary eſtate ſeventy cities and towns, and four hundred villages, a diſtrict equal to one of our middle ſized counties. Dying without iſſue his eſtate fell to prince Radzivil, and conſequently his heir was more powerful than himſelf (3). There are ten great officers of the crown who ſit in the ſenate, and there are many more of inferiour rank, who have no ſeats in diets by virtue of office. There are two archbiſhopricks and fourteen biſhopricks. The archbiſhop of Gneſna is always a cardinal, lord primate, and regent of the kingdom during an interregnum. There were in the times which we are going to ſpeak of five hundred and ſeventy-ſix monaſteries, one hundred and ſeventeen nunneries, two hundred and forty-ſix ſeminaries, thirty-one abbies, and two thirds of the lands and revenues of the kingdom were ſequeſtered to what were called religious uſes. (4).

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(2) HOSIUS. De legitimis judicibus rerum eccleſ. Te pientiſſime rex appello. Cujus ullius arbitrio præterquam tuo, et a canonicis eliguntur, et a pontifice romano confirmantur epiſcopi, &c. p. 492. CROMER, *lib. xxv.*

The ſenate of Poland is a houſe of lords all choſen by the king, conſiſting of the archbiſhops and biſhops who are firſt in rank, then the palatines, caſtellans, and ten great officers of ſtate, in all one hundred and forty-four, who are council to the crown. The diet is a parliament ſummoned by writ from the crown, and conſiſts of two houſes, the ſenate juſt mentioned is the upper houſe, and the lower houſe is made up of repreſentatives elected by the gentry of each palatinate. Every gentleman poſſeſſing three acres of land has a vote. This, therefore, is a mixed ariſtocracy. The monarch and the nobles have both the legiſlative and executive power: but the people are non-entities (5). The diet is ſeldom held above once in three years, and never ſits more than ſix weeks. The lower houſe prepare all buſineſs for the upper, and an unanimity of votes is neceſſary to the paſſing of any law. They have been known to conſume the whole ſeſſion in diſputing who ſhould be ſpeaker, and ſometimes to go in drunk and quarrel with the king. The people, the wretched beings, who ſupport all theſe brethren by their induſtry, are claſſed with the cattle, and are a part of the ſtock and wealth of an eſtate. Should a lord kill one of theſe on a neighbour's eſtate, he would replace him with one as good from his own, and ſo the buſineſs would end. There are, however, exceptions to theſe general rules, but this rough draft is ſufficient for our purpoſe.

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(3) SANDII *Bibliotheca Antitrinitariorum, p.* 82. *Frieſtadt*, 1684.

(4) STANISLAI KRZISTANOWICZ, *Poloniæ deſcriptio.*

(5) *Ibid.* Ex nobilibus, baronibus, et reliquis aſſumuntur ad dignitates ſenatorias ſolius arbitrio regis . . omittam civitates, oppida villas arces demum et mercatores, artifices, et id genus plebem, p. 30.

During the long reign of Sigiſmund, who governed Poland forty-two years, the german reformers poured diſciples into Poland, and Lutherans, aſſiſted by bohemian brethren, taught with ſo much ſucceſs that popery was reduced to the loweſt ebb (6). Several noblemen became their patrons, and the ſenate itſelf was filled with friends to reformation. It was at the latter end of this reign that the party of which we are going to ſpeak was formed by a dutch Baptiſt.

There lived at this time at Cracow John Triceſſius, a nobleman well ſkilled in the learned languages, who had received his firſt rudiments of religion from Eraſmus, but who, not having devoted himſelf to any party, continued a wiſe and liberal inquiſitiveneſs after truth, and followed it wherever conviction led. For theſe purpoſes he collected a large library, and formed a ſociety of men of his own character, lovers and friends of truth (7). One of this company was Francis Liſmaninus, rector of a pariſh, and father confeſſor to the queen. Another was Andrew Fricz Modrevius, ſecretary to the king, a nobleman of firſt-rate abilities, and ſecond to none of the company in literature. A third was James Priluſius, a man of eminence in the law, who held an office under the crown. A fourth was Bernard Woiewodka, another diſciple of Eraſmus, and a citizen of great merit. Another was Uchanzki, then canon of the church of Cracow, and afterwards lord primate. This company were invited one day to dine with Triceſſius. There they found on a viſit a dutch gentleman, who was teacher of a baptiſt church, and was ſoon after excommunicated for arianiſm by the dutch Baptiſts, and who, probably to avoid perſecution, was called by different names, by ſome Rudolph Martin, by others Adam Paſtoris, and by this company Spiritus (8). There were ſeveral others preſent, who had been invited.

Arriving there a little before dinner they took a turn in the library. One took down one book, another amuſed himſelf with another. Spiritus laid hold of a little book of prayers, in which he ſaw one prayer addreſſed to God the father, another to God the ſon, and another to God the holy ghoſt. "How! gentlemen!" exclaimed he, "have you three Gods?" They replied,

(6) From 1505 to 1548.

(7) STANISLAI LUBIENICII *Hiſtoria reformationis Polonicæ, cap. v.*

(8) The above account of this dutchman appears to be the truth from putting together the whole ſaid about him. Suſpicor, ſays one the moſt likely to know, annon Adamus Paſtor ſub nomine Spiritus latuerit. ANDREÆ WISSOWATII *narratio compend. Apud* SANDII *Bibliot.* MELCHIOR ADAMI *Vitæ German. Theol. In vita* GERLACHII. GERARD BRANDT'S *Hiſtory of the Reformation, vol. i. b. iv.* 1555. BULLINGERIUS *contra Anabaptiſtas.*

"No, we have but one God in eſſence, but we think there are in this eſſence three perſons." A ſhort converſation on the ſubject followed, and though it was broke off by their being told dinner was ready, yet the reaſoning of Spiritus produced diſquiſitions which became more important as they went on, and which in the end formed the baptiſt church of Poland.

Soon after the old king died, and his ſon Sigiſmund Auguſtus was elected to ſucceed him. Great hopes were now entertained of a reformation of the national church by law. Father Liſmaninus was provincial of the franciſcan friars, and Triceſſius, Woiewodka, and others, ſupplied him with the books of Luther and Calvin, and other german divines, out of which he compiled homilies, which he had influence enough to engage the friars to preach. Some of the ſociety which met at the houſe of lord Triceſſius were preferred to biſhopricks, and Uchanzki, one of them, propoſed to put the church of Poland under the government of a patriarch of its own. Triceſſius continued to hold religious conferences at his houſe, and the company was increaſed by new members. Others of the nobility followed his example. Several noblemen of the higheſt rank patronized reformed miniſters, and ſome married, others adminiſtered the Lord's ſupper in both kinds, and introduced ſeveral innovations. The king converſed much with his ſecretary Fricz on the ſubject of reformation, the queen dowager made preſents of the books of the german reformers to her confeſſor Liſmaninus, and every thing ſeemed to be in a fine train to expel popery, when a troubleſome affair diſturbed the royal family, and diſſipated for the preſent all the fond hopes of theſe reformers.

Staniſlaus Gaſtold palatine of Troki died, and left a young widow Barbara Radzivil, daughter of the caſtellan of Vilna, a lady of exquiſite beauty: but not remarkable for the purity of her manners. Sigiſmund determined to marry this lady, though it was againſt the will of the queen dowager, and againſt the conſent of the ſenate, which by the contract at his coronation he had engaged not to do. The beſt men, as uſual, proved themſelves the worſt courtiers. They oppoſed this match becauſe it was contrary to law, and likely to make the court laſcivious, and exaſperated the king by doing ſo. They thought his majeſty had received ſome religious impreſſions, which this union would efface. The catholicks, who either knew mankind better, or had leſs ſcruples about the means of obtaining their ends, humoured the king, won his heart, and began to circumvent the reformers. The biſhop of Cracow, Andrew Zebridowſki, was their principal enemy. This prelate is ſaid to have been a man of a diſſolute life, and an infidel. Taking an airing one day in hay time in his carriage, he ſaid to his ſecretary, whom he had taken with him for company, "Andrew, that graſs is nobler than I am. It will grow after the ſcythe: but I, once cut down by death, ſhall never riſe again." The ſecretary often converſed with his lordſhip about his belief, to whom he often replied, "Believe in the goat if you will, as long as you pay your tithes (8)." It was neceſſary for ſuch a prelate to conceal his irreligion under a pretended zeal for the church. A few years before, he had been of the party at the houſe of Triceſſius: but now he ſaw that the coronation of the new queen, and not reformation, was the object at court, and probably his lordſhip was of the ſame mind as a tartarian prince, who ſaid to the Poles, "If you will elect me king, your pope ſhall be my pope, and your Luther my Luther (9)."

It happened very conveniently that the queen-mother was a lady of a very diſagreable temper. Her name was Bona, Good, but, ſaid one wittily, whoever gave her that name at her chriſtening impoſed on all the world (1). None but Liſmaninus her confeſſor could reconcile her to the new queen, and he was a friend to reformation. The king employed him, he ſucceeded. Barbara was crowned, and the king was ſo ſatisfied with father Liſmaninus that he promiſed him the firſt vacant biſhoprick.

Moſt ſocinian writers give the honour of founding the unitarian churches in Poland to Lælius, or Fauſtus Socinus: but, without detracting from the merit of theſe great men, to whom the churches owned themſelves extremely indebted, it muſt be ſaid the opinion is premature. Dr. Moſheim has treated of this ſubject ſo fully and ſo accurately, that it ſeems needleſs to enlarge upon it here. He obſerves, that Lewis Hetzer denied the divinity of Chriſt long before the time of Socinus, and had ſeveral followers among the Baptiſts, that it is doubtful whether Lælius Socinus was one of the famous ſociety at Vicenza near Venice, that it is certain ſome others, who are ſaid to be there, were not of the number, that the ſocinian ſyſtem was not ſettled there, that Lælius himſelf acquired no determinate plan, that ſocinianiſm was ſeveral years in perfecting, that the Unitarians in Poland were denominated Arians and Anabaptiſts before Socinus went thither, that they defended a kind of trinity for ſeveral years, that the firſt catechiſm they publiſhed was not ſocinian; and that this church originated in ſome Arians and Baptiſts, who fled from perſecution in their own countries into Poland. It is needleſs to tranſcribe his authorities for all this: but, omitting many more that might be added, it muſt be obſerved, that Lælius did not go into Poland till fifty-one, then, it ſhould ſeem he converſed with only Liſmaninus and his company, but they had been ſtudying arianiſm ever ſince forty-ſix (2).

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(8) Alexandri Guagnini *Chronic. Poloniæ.* Sigiſmundus . . . Barbarum duxit, invita matre regina Bona, proceribuſque Poloniæ repugnantibus, hocque matrimonium indigne ferentibus, et parum abſuit quin rebellio eorum cœpta in perniciosſam ſeditionem abiiſſet. *De Sigiſ. Auguſt.* Lubieniecii *Hiſt. Reform. Polon. lib. ii. cap.* 3.

(9) Christianii Funcii *Orbis.* Tuus papa meus papa. Tuus Lutherus, meus Lutherus. *De Polon. xxxi.*

(1) Lubieniecii *Hiſt. Reform. Pol.*

Qui tibi cunque Bonæ ſacris dum tingeris undis
Impoſuit nomen omnibus impoſuit. *Lib. i. cap. v.*

(2) Lubieniecii Oleſnicius , , eccleſiam purioris doctrinæ anno 1550 fundavit, et reliquis

omnibus

It was a very ſenſible and juſt obſervation which Smalcius, miniſter of one of the churches, made to the univerſity at Wittemberg, that the goſpel proceeded from them, and went into all Europe; for though Luther, and other divines of Wittemberg, neither taught arianiſm, nor believer's baptiſm, yet they did teach the firſt principles on which theſe reaſoners founded their ſyſtems, and ſo might be truly ſaid to lay the foundation of the very churches, which they afterwards perſecuted (3). The ſufficiency of ſcripture, the right of judging of its meaning, the ſin and danger of taking religion on truſt, the guilt of ignorance and implicit faith, and others of this kind, were at firſt their conſtant topicks. On theſe principles the Poles held conferences. They were men eminent for their learning, and more ſo for their liberal inveſtigation of truth. They had broke looſe from the ſhackles of the church of Rome, and they had not yet formed a publick faith, and therefore they were juſt in that ſtate in which the mind is moſt open to conviction. It would be endleſs to adduce proofs of their integrity and good faith. Whether they embraced a right of belief or not, certain it is they made uſe of rational means to inform themſelves, and followed their own convictions, and in ſo doing eſtabliſhed the virtue of their characters beyond all reaſonable contradiction.

One of theſe was prince Nicholas Radzivil, firſt couſin to the queen, palatine of Vilna, marſhal and chancellor of Lithuania, one of the moſt illuſtrious men of Europe. Loth to offend the clergy of Vilna, who refuſed to let proteſtants preach in their churches, he did them the honour to attend their ſermons in his own court yard. The pope's nuncio took the liberty to reprove him for apoſtacy, to whom he made a ſtern reply, but highly becoming the dignity of his character. Said he, "I would have you know that I have ſo earneſt a deſire to ſee and converſe with learned men, that if I knew it was in my power to induce them, or others ſo famous in Germany as Melancthon and Brentius, to acquieſce with my requeſt, I then ſhould look upon it as incumbent on me, not only to ſend a ſervant for that purpoſe, but likewiſe to ſpend my whole eſtate with theſe men; and as you through the moſt inveterate malice call them hereticks, you yourſelf are the greateſt heretick in the world for ſo doing (4)."

The converſion of prince Chriſtopher Radzivil, couſin to Nicholas, and brother to the queen, is ſo ſingular, ſo well atteſted, and ſo much to the

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omnibus veritatis ſtudioſis ac patronis palmam præripuit. ADRIANI REGENVOLSCII *Hiſt. Eccl. Polon.* An. 1539. Abraham Culva . . Lutheri Sectator . . in urbe Vilnenſi ſcholam aperuerat, in quæ 60 diſcipulos erudiit, lib. i. cap. 13. MOSHEIM's *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, vol. iv. chap.* 4.

(3) VALENTINI SMALCII *refutatio theſium D. Wolfgangi Frantz ii.* Dedicaveram vobis, viri magnifici, ante aliquot annos, nomine eccleſiarum noſtrarum catecheſin, quia æquum eſſe putabam, ut veritas evangelica, quæ in veſtra potiſſimum academia, ſeculo hoc elapſo, purgare cœpta eſt, et a vobis in univerſam Europam, et in Poloniam dimanavit, &c. *Dedicatione Illuſt. Acad. Wittebergenſi.*

(4) *See his Life in* BAYLE.

purpoſe, it would be improper to omit it. "This gentleman being extremely ſorry that a prince of his family embraced that religion, went to Rome and paid all imaginable honours to the pope. The roman pontiff being alſo deſirous of gratifying him in a peculiar manner, gave him at his departure a box filled with relicks. Being returned to his houſe, and the news of theſe relicks being ſpread abroad, certain friars ſome months after came and told this prince, that a man was poſſeſſed with the devil, who had been exorciſed to no purpoſe, they therefore beſought him, for the ſake of the unhappy wretch, to lend them the precious relicks which he had brought from Rome. The prince granted them very readily, upon which they were carried to church in ſolemn pomp, the monks all going in proceſſion on that occaſion. At laſt they were laid on the altar, and on the day appointed, a numberleſs multitude of people flocking to this ſhew, after the uſual exorciſms the relicks were applied. At that very inſtant the pretended evil ſpirit came out of the body of the man, with the uſual poſtures and grimaces. Every one cried out, A miracle! and the prince lifted up his hands and eyes to heaven, to return thanks for bringing home ſo holy a thing which performed ſuch miracles. But ſome days after, as he was in that admiration of tranſport and joy, and was beſtowing the higheſt eulogiums on the virtue of theſe relicks, he obſerved that a young gentleman of his houſhold, who had the keeping of that rich treaſure, began to ſmile, and make certain geſtures, which ſhewed he only laughed at his words. The prince flew in a paſſion, and would know the reaſon of his deriſion. A promiſe being made to the gentleman that no harm ſhould be done him, he declared ſecretly to the prince, "That in their return from Rome, he had loſt the box of relicks, which had been given him to keep, and that not daring to divulge this for fear of puniſhment, he had found means to get one like it, which he had filled with the little bones of beaſts, and ſuch trifles as reſembled the relicks he had loſt. That ſeeing ſo much honour was paid to that vile heap of filth, and that they even aſcribed to it the virtue of driving away devils, he had juſt cauſe to wonder at it." The prince believed this ſtory to be true, and nevertheleſs being deſirous of getting farther light into this impoſture, he ſent for the monks the very next day, and deſired them to inquire whether there were any more demoniacks who wanted the aſſiſtance of his relicks. A few days after they brought him another man poſſeſſed with an evil ſpirit, who acted the ſame part with him who had appeared before. The prince commanded him to be exorciſed in his preſence: but as all the exorciſms which are uſually employed on theſe occaſions proved ineffectual, he ordered that man to ſtay in his palace the next day, and bid the monks withdraw. After they were gone he put the demoniack among his tartarian grooms, who, purſuant to the orders which had been given them, firſt exhorted him to confeſs the cheat: but as he perſiſted obſtinately in it, ſtill making his furious and dreadful geſtures, ſix of them chaſtized him ſo ſeverely with rods and ſcourges, that he was obliged to implore the prince's mercy, who pardoned him the inſtant he had confeſſed the truth. The next morning the prince ſent for the friars, when the wretch in queſtion throwing himſelf at his feet, proteſted that he was not poſſeſſed, and had never been ſo, but that thoſe friars had forced him to act the part of one who was ſo. The monks, at firſt, beſought the prince not to believe this, ſaying that it was an artifice of the devil, who ſpoke through that man's mouth. But the prince anſwered, that if the Tartarians had been able to force the devil to tell truth, they would alſo be able to extort it from the mouth of thoſe friars. Now theſe monks, ſeeing themſelves put to it in this manner, confeſſed the impoſture, ſaying, that they had done all this with a good intention, and to check the progreſs of hereſy. But the prince offered up his hearty prayers to God, for having been ſo gracious as to diſcover ſuch an impoſture; and now entertaining a ſuſpicion of a religion, which was defended by ſuch diabolical practices, though they went by the name of pious frauds, ſaid, that he would no longer depend on any perſon for his ſalvation, and thereupon began to read the ſcriptures with unparallelled aſſiduity. In ſix months time, all which he ſpent in reading and prayer, he made a wonderful progreſs in piety, and in the knowledge of the myſtery of the goſpel. After which he himſelf, with his whole family profeſſed his religion in fifteen hundred and ſixty-four (5)."

Martin Zborowſky palatine of Poſnan, one of the firſt men in the kingdom, had a large family, and one of his ſons thought fit to return to the catholick church. Cardinal Hoſius, who was then at Vienna at the emperour's court, wrote the father a long letter to compliment him on what he called the finding of his loſt ſheep. He extols the abilities of the young gentleman, laments the diviſions made by new and ſtrange doctrines in Poland, accounts for theſe diſorders by obſerving that the late archbiſhop, though a very good man, had but very little learning, and hopes that as the preſent primate was eminently qualified to recover the clergy, ſo his lordſhip, Zborowſky, who was primate of all the nobility in Great Poland, would aſſiſt him to reclaim the laity. To this long artful letter the noble palatine wrote an anſwer of ſeven lines, in which he informs Hoſius that as every chriſtian had a right to follow the dictates of his own conſcience, he would not attempt to force his ſon or any other of his children to act contrary to their own convictions in matters of religion (6). The cardinal could not let this doctrine paſs, and he returned a very long anſwer to prove that a man ought not to truſt his own conſcience, but to believe what the church believed. "It is this following of your own conſciences," ſays he, "that makes one ſay the ſacrament is only a repreſentation of Chriſt, and another, the baptiſm of infants is an errour, I muſt be rebaptized, though the church hath decreed the contrary!" The palatine made no reply.

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(5) BAYLE's *General Dictionary*. Art. *Nicholas Radzivil.* Note E.

(6) MARTINUS ZBOROWSKY *Palatinus Poſnanien. Hoſio Cardinali.* Sane ex literis R. D. V. intellexi de perdita ove, quæ denuo reſtaurata eſt in fidem Sedis Romanæ Apoſtolicæ ſive Papalis, quod eſt liberum arbitrium, credere unicuiq; Chriſtiano prout in ejus conſcientia apparet. Ego filio meo nullo modo renuo, talem fidem tenere, nec etiam omnibus filiis meis, et hoc hanc ob cauſam, quod nemo poteſt ſapere, quo ſpiritu aliquis conſcientiam ſuam onerat. Si vero id volvitur ex Spiritu ſancto, et Filius Dei eum traxerit, fiat ſecundum voluntatem ejus. Datum Stobnica. *Inter Epiſtolas Hoſii. Num. xxv.*

There was an infinite difference between the noble palatine and the cardinal. Hoſius was a bloody man, and if Sigiſmund loſt only a caſtle, he endeavoured to perſuade him that God was angry, and his anger to be appeaſed with the blood of hereticks. He was always iſſuing from his cell letters to emperours and kings, and particularly to the king and grandees of Poland, full of maxims of perſecution, all tending to make mankind cruel as wild beaſts: but the reformed lords of Poland, when they placed proteſtant miniſters in churches of their patronage, never attempted to compel one ſlave to believe what they believed, but left them all in full poſſeſſion of religious liberty (7). Their bittereſt enemies, who were eye-witneſſes of their actions, ſay, "Theſe Anabaptiſts reſembled the ancient Donatiſts, their lives were blameleſs, but their doctrines were heretical; their ſimplicity, innocence, fidelity and induſtry are admirable, but their doctrine is damnable (8)."

Of this kind of men Nicholas Oleſnicki, lord of Pinckzow, was the firſt who reduced his notions to practice (9). The biſhop of Cracow had placed a learned italian, a native of Mantua, named Francis Stancarus, in the college of Cracow, to teach the hebrew tongue: but as ſoon as it was diſcovered that he taught the proteſtant doctrines, he was clapt into priſon. By ſome means he eſcaped, and lord Oleſnicki received and protected him. There was at Pinckzow a church, and a monaſtery adjoining, which had been founded and endowed by cardinal Sbigneus Oleſnicki, an anceſtor of the preſent lord, a prelate of high repute in the papal annals of Poland (1). Stancarus exhorted his patron to expel the monks and reform the church. Oleſnicki adviſed with ſome friends, who in the end concluded that it would be more prudent for the preſent to let Stancarus teach and adminiſter the Lord's ſupper in the caſtle. A little while he did ſo: but ſoon after the monks were expelled, relicks and images burnt, ſervice performed in the church, and the monaſtery converted into a ſeminary of learned men. The clergy complained to the king, but Oleſnicki, who was a man of bravery and merit, had the addreſs to pacify his majeſty. He aſſured him the monks were a ſet of fat unprofitable libertines. The king admitted the fact, and he came off with honour. Emboldened by this ſucceſs, the palatine Zborowſky preſented a proteſtant miniſter to the church at Stobnitz; the vice chamberlain Laſockſki, Jerom Philipowſki, and many more followed the example, and a great number of congregations by theſe means were inſtructed in the principles of the reformation (2).

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(7) See the letters of HOSIUS. Valeriano Epiſc. Vilnenſi. ubi laudat epiſcopum quod prohibuerit hæreticum in ſacro loco catholico ritu ſepeliri.. Ep. xi... Andreæ filio Zborowſky. Ep. xxxi. Hypolito Cardinali. Ep. xlv. Sigiſmundo regi Poloniæ. Ep. lix.... Sigiſmundo, ubi condolet de capta per Moſchos arce Polocenſi, et monet ut extirpatis hæreſibus iram Dei placet.. cum multis aliis. Ep. lxiv.

(8) SYLVESTRI CZECANOVII *dialogus de corruptis moribus.* Nunc in Anabaptiſtis videmus, falſa docent et bona operantur... quorum ſimplicitatem, innocentiam, fideleſque labores laudamus, doctrinam vero jure damnamus. pag. 14, 15.

(9) An. 1550.

(1) SIMONIS STAROVOLSCIJ. *Epitom. Concil.* in vita Innocent VIII.

About this time the queen died, and Liſmaninus availed himſelf of the ſolitary hours of the king to revive his ideas of reformation, and on wedneſdays and fridays read Calvin's inſtitutes to him at dinner time. His majeſty employed him ſoon after to negotiate a third match, which was completed to his ſatisfaction with Catharine the niece of Charles v. During the two years between the death of Barbara and the nuptials of Catharine, proteſtantiſm gathered great ſtrength in Poland by the diſquiſitions of the ſocieties held for conference, in which they were aſſiſted by Lælius Sozzini or Socinus. This gentleman was deſcended from one of the firſt families in Italy, allied to ſeveral princes and to three pontiffs of Rome, which was no ſmall recommendation of him to a people immoderately attached to family genealogies, though his perſonal merit rendered all extrinſick honour needleſs (3). He was born at Sienna in the year fifteen hundred twenty-five, and, after he had acquired the knowledge of the learned languages, and ſtudied the law awhile at home, he commenced the ſtudy of the holy ſcriptures, and travelled to increaſe his knowledge. Zanchy, who had a great friendſhip for him, admired his learning, and ſaid, his life was irreproachable: but as Socinus did not expound the firſt chapter of John as he did, he called him a booby for his pains. It ſeems he was not an obſtinate defender of a preconcerted ſyſtem, but a modeſt inquirer, for he only propoſed his doubts to Zanchy and others; his conſcience could do no leſs, his good breeding would not ſuffer him to do more (4). Calvin often adviſed him to beware of this itch of inquiry, otherwiſe it would bring him into great trouble (5). When he was little more than twenty years of age he had been one of a ſociety of forty, who met privately at Vicenza in the territories of Venice for the purpoſe of inveſtigating religious ſubjects. Being diſcovered, ſome were puniſhed for doubting, and others fled to teach half Europe to doubt. Socinus ſet out on his travels, and after he had ſpent four years in ſeeing England, France, Flanders and Germany, he went into Poland, where, though he did not ſtay long, he increaſed the doubts of Liſmaninus, and many other proteſtant inquirers concerning the popular doctrine of Almighty God.

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(2) ORICHOVII *Annal. iii. apud* LUBIENIECIUM. *lib. i. cap. v.* BAYLE's *Gen. Dict.* Article *Stancarus.*

(3) SANDII *Bibliot. Antitrin.* Plurimis Italiæ principibus ac magnatibus, ut et Pio II. et III. nec non Paulo v. ſanguine junctus. p. 64. ANDRÆ WISSOWATII *vita.* p. 223. PRZIPCOVII *vita Fauſti Socini.*

(4) ZANCHIUS *in præfat. libri de tribus Elohim.* apud SAND. *Bib.* Quum refutarem impiam interpretationem Lælii Socini in primum caput evangelii ſec. Johannem, ſubticui ejus nomen, et nebulonem tantum vocavi ... bene græce et hebraicæ doctus, vitæque extremæ exculpatæ, &c.... homo plenus diverſarum hæreſium, quas tamen mihi nunquam proponebat, niſi diſputandi cauſa, et ſemper interrogans, quaſi cuperet doceri. p. 19.

(5) PRZIPCOVII *vita Socin.* ut ſup. Habeo literas Calvini manu ſcriptas .. "Quod pridem teſtatus ſum, ſerio iterum moneo, niſi hunc quærendi pruritum mature corrigas, metuendum eſſe, ne tibi gravia tormenta accerſas, &c."

While Liſmaninus endeavoured to inform the king in theology, Fricz, his majeſty's ſecretary, converſed freely with him on civil polity. No man of his time underſtood civil government better, he was a cloſe connected reaſoner, and infinitely ſuperiour to vulgar errours. He digeſted his ideas by the king's command in his famous treatiſe, De emendanda republica, and put it to preſs at Cracow in fifty-one, though the publication was retarded for two years. Sigiſmund ordered Liſmaninus to travel into other countries at his expence, to converſe with learned men, to procure valuable books for the royal library, to find out and ſend into Poland able proteſtant miniſters, and to examine the various modes of church government in other places in order that Poland might adopt the beſt at his return. Geſner, Calvin, and Bullinger wrote letters to his majeſty, which he condeſcended to anſwer, and every thing ſeemed to predict a ſpeedy reformation by law. It was thought prudent by the king to conduct the whole covertly, for fear of the machinations of the catholicks, and Liſmaninus was ordered not to write to the king on the ſubject, but to make his report at his return (5).

In the country the reformation went on rapidly. Lutherans, Calviniſts, Bohemians of the unity, Moravians, and other foreigners arrived in Poland, every party ſtarted new queſtions, and every new queſtion met with partizans. All attacked the old catholick fort of implicit faith, and each contributed ſomething towards the releaſe of conſcience from the diſgraceful dungeons of ſacerdotal authority. Stancarus, who had firſt reformed the church at Pinckzow under the patronage of lord Oleſnicki, founded a noble ſchool in the old monaſtery, to which many learned men repaired. He, himſelf, went to Koningſberg in Pruſſia, where he was made profeſſor of Hebrew, and ſtaid there one year. There Oſiander was teaching that man is juſtified by God's eſſential juſtice, and that Jeſus Chriſt is our righteouſneſs according to his divine nature. His chief argument was, that if Chriſt be a mediator according to his divine nature, he is in that reſpect leſs than the Father, and conſequently not coeſſential with him, which was the opinion of the Arians, but which Stancarus did not believe. Calvin ſays, "When this ſilly, and moſt impudent brawler broached this dream in Poland, as he did at his return, ſome thought the ſhorteſt way to confute him was to anſwer, the Father alone is truly and properly God." The ſubject certainly cauſed warm debates, which were continued ſeveral years. Oſiander was a zealous man, and Stancarus treated him and all others, who objected to free inquiry, as he thought their imperiouſneſs deſerved. He returned to Poland and being aſſiſted by

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(5) Lubieniecii *Hiſt. Reform. Polon.* lib. ii. cap. ii.

Felix Cruciger and other pious men, reformed many churches on the eſtates of count Oſtorog, Oleſnicki, Philipowſki, Stradniſki, and many more ſuch patrons. The reformed miniſters of pariſhes were generally called GOSPEL-PRIESTS. In Vilna, the capital of Lithuania, the catholick party was powerful. It was a biſhop's ſee, and the univerſity and forty pariſh churches were in their hands: but prince Radzivil, palatine of Lithuania, built a church in a village near the city, and placed reformed miniſters there whoſe ſermons were eagerly attended by great numbers of citizens (6).

It was by ſlow and wary ſteps that the reformed approached Cracow, the metropolis of the whole kingdom, and the reſidence of the fierce biſhop Zebridowſky. They firſt procured two pariſh churches in villages near the city, and placed the pious and learned Gregory Pauli to preach there, and the citizens went in crowds to hear him. Soon after Laſocſki, Stradnizki, and other noblemen brought reformed miniſters to preach in their houſes, and the caſtellan Bonar, governour of the caſtle of Cracow, not only cauſed ſermons to be preached in his own houſe, but in a ſpacious area of his garden near the walls of the city. Here Pauli often preached and multitudes reſorted thither to hear him. The clergy revenged themſelves by refuſing to ſit down with them while they were alive or to bury them after they were dead. This did not much affect them, for the lord of Chelmſki gave them a piece of ground three miles from the city to bury in, that they might not be obliged to ſubmit to the papal ſervice on that occaſion. The catholicks called this DOG'S HILL, for they thought to be buried without the ceremonies of the church was to be buried like a dog: but the proteſtants perſevered in their practice (7).

The biſhops ſet themſelves againſt all this: but all ſorts of people were ſo weary of eccleſiaſtical authority, that both catholicks and proteſtants on principles of civil polity oppoſed them. Lord Oleſnicki being one day from home, Zebridowſky employed a monk to invite Crovicius, a reformed miniſter at Pinckzow, to dinner. At dinner time his lordſhip's official ſeized him, and having bound him, laid him in a cart, covered him with ſtraw, and ordered the carman, attended by ſixteen men, to convey him to priſon. The judge of a province by accident diſcovered the trick, and taking two or three ſervants with him purſued the cart, and releaſed the priſoner. Another time the biſhop ſummoned a nobleman to appear in his court, and anſwer to a charge of hereſy. On the day the gentleman went accompanied with the palatine Zborowſky, and a great number of nobility. The prelate at their approach ordered all the gates to be ſhut except a ſmall back door. The company halted at the great gates, and Zborowſky ſent the biſhop word, that he had not entered the ſenate at the back door as he had the biſhoprick, but had come in by the front gate called virtue, that it was beneath his dignity to creep in by a back way, and that he and his company only came to meet him as friends. Being admitted, the palatine ſpoke on the injuſtice of epiſcopal juriſdiction, and told him they were determined very ſhortly to put an end to it. This reſtrained his lordſhip a little, but he publiſhed an anathema. The next diet at Pinckzow all the nobility, catholick as well as proteſtant, refuſed to enter on any buſineſs till the excommunication was taken off. The ſubject was fully diſcuſſed in the diet. Governour Leſſinſki, who patronized ſeven or eight reformed miniſters on his eſtate, addreſſing himſelf to the king, ſaid, "Sir, they who ſit here in ſheep's clothing, but who are inwardly ravenous wolves, they are the men, who cover us with infamy, and threaten us with baniſhment, who condemn us, free men, as if we were traitors, and mark you out for deſtruction. We by a free ſuffrage elected you king, and we will maintain all your juſt regal rights: but the impotent dominion of theſe prelates muſt and ſhall be regulated by publick laws of civil polity. We will obey you: but nobody elſe." The palatine Zborowſky, who would not give a ſilent vote, only added, "If the biſhops be allowed to exerciſe ſuch authority over us, for my part, I will inſtantly order my baggage to be packed, and bid farewell to Poland in poſſeſſion of my life and my honour." This affair increaſed the number of noble converts to reformation (8). Some time after, when the diſcomfited Zebridowſky could do nothing elſe, he determined to try to affront the reformed. He heard lord Philipowſki was coming to Cracow, and he ordered the great bell to be tolled the three firſt days of his reſidence there, as a ſignal that ſome part of the city was on fire. This only ſerved to excite the citizens more eagerly to hear the miniſters, whom Philipowſki and other noblemen brought out of the country to preach in their own houſes.

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(6) IBID. *ut ſup. lib. ii. cap.* 3, 4.

(7) IBID. *ut ſup. lib. ii. cap.* 4.. JOHANNIS LÆTI *Compend. Hiſt. Univ.* p. 390.

While reformation was thus approaching the throne, and ſeemed juſt at the ſteps of the palace, news came to the king, that father Liſmaninus had fallen in love at Geneva, and by the advice of Calvin and Socinus had thrown off his monks cowl, and married; and that it was blazed abroad that Liſmaninus had travelled by order of his majeſty, and at his expence to find out the beſt method of reforming the church. The king was offended, and proſcribed Liſmaninus, and became averſe to reformation. The catholicks did not fail to improve this happy moment, and Zebridowſki, who was known to be a very laſcivious man, repreſented the monk Liſmaninus as an impure apoſtate, and all married prieſts, and conſequently all their abettors, as a diſorderly ſeditious ſet of hereticks, whoſe conſciences like their paſſions were under no controul. The proteſtants in this moment of diſmay held their firſt ſynod at Pinckzow in the old monaſtery belonging to lord Oleſnicki, to deliberate on the proper means of regulating their new churches. The biſhop of Cracow procured an order from the chancery, ſealed with the broad ſeal, to diſperſe the aſſembly, and ſent his chancellor attended by a numerous cavalcade with an expreſs command to ſeize and carry off ſuch of the clergy as he could apprehend, or, if he could not do that, to deliver the mandate to the noblemen preſent at the ſynod. Oleſnicki had notice of his deſign, and ordered the gates of the town to be ſhut. The chancellor demanded leave to enter with three officials to deliver a royal mandate in due form of law. He was allowed to do ſo, and Oleſnicki appointed the church yard adjoining to the monaſtery to meet him. Leaving the miniſters in the abbey, and having ordered proper officers to attend as witneſſes, his lordſhip accompanied with all the other noblemen at the ſynod went to the chancellor. When they had received and read the mandate, they returned for anſwer, that they knew their duty to the king as their maſter, and that he knew what orders he ought to iſſue, and what not; that the catholicks had injured them by miſrepreſenting and criminating their meeting, that this was done by men who often held private meetings dangerous to the liberties of ſociety, who had bound themſelves by oath to inform the pontiff at Rome of the moſt ſecret councils of the king, who had lately held a clandeſtine meeting at Lovicii, and that time would ſoon diſcover whether ſuch catholicks were not more inclined to ſedition than they. The chancellor apologized for himſelf, and with great modeſty begged their lordſhips to believe, that he had acted only as his lord had ordered him, and he would faithfully deliver their anſwer. The lords returned to their miniſters, and adjuſted the affairs before them, the chief of which was, the practicability of an union with all the reformed in Poland.

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(8) JOACHIM BIELSCII *Chron. Pol.* lib. v... JOHANNIS LÆTI *Compend. Hiſt. Univ.* Epiſcopi omnem nobilitatem, quæ dominatum execrabatur concitarunt. pag. 388.

There were then three large parties of proteſtants in Poland, beſide the Pinckzovians. One was thoroughly calviniſtical, another lutheran, and the third bohemian Brethren, all countenanced by partizans in other countries. The calviniſts had adopted the helvetick confeſſion, and valued themſelves on account of their deep inſight into the articles of faith. The lutherans had embraced the Augſburg confeſſion, and prized themſelves for the purity of their ſacraments. The brethren too had made up a body of church government, and eſteemed themſelves for the regularity of their diſcipline and the ſimplicity of their manners. The Pinckzovians thought highly of themſelves for a bold manly ſpirit of free inquiry, but they had no ſyſtem, and they do not ſeem to have determined any thing except to believe what ſhould appear true, and to do what they were convinced was right. In theſe ſentiments all met, except the Lutherans, in the latter end of the ſame year at Coſminiec, and held a ſynod for ten days (1). There were preſent at it a great number of nobility, a deputation from the duke of Pruſſia, and reformed miniſters of all ſorts, except Lutherans, from all parts of the kingdom. Creeds, confeſſions of faith, rules of diſcipline, catechiſms and hymn books were poured plentifully into the ſynod, and the two parties of Calviniſts and Brethren agreed in the end to a coalition, and ſhook hands and received the Lord's ſupper together as a token of union. Calvin and Muſculus wrote letters of compliments, the catholicks prepared inſtruments to perſecute, and the Pinckzovians ſuſpected of arianiſm returned home to pore over the new teſtament (9).

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(1) An. 1555, from Aug. 24, to Sept. 2.

Great intereſt was made to the king to give Liſmaninus leave to return and to cancel the proſcription. His majeſty condeſcended to grant both, and he returned to Pinckzow. The Pinckzovians held a ſynod at Secemini, in which for the firſt time arianiſm was publickly propoſed. A catholick prelate eminent for expoſing the diſſentions of proteſtants, and the leading principle of all their differences, ſays, "The Unitarians and the Socinians joined the Anabaptiſts, becauſe they all acted on one principle, which Luther had taught them, that was, that they were to reject every thing not found in the holy ſcriptures. The CONSTITUTION of the church of Rome does not allow of any ſuch doctrines or practices, becauſe it does not allow of any ſuch inveſtigations: but Luther by making ſcripture the ſole law, and every man a judge, has laid another foundation. "Hence," adds he, "theſe Poles thought the doctrines of all other ſects, even thoſe of their maſters Luther and Calvin, only the dawn of reformation, and they ſaid, anabaptiſm united with ſocinianiſm was broad noon day (1)."

Into this ſynod came Peter Goniadzki commonly called Goneſius. He was a native of Podlachia in Poland, but had been travelling for ſome years, and had viſited Germany, Switzerland, Savoy, and Moravia, where he had heard the moſt famous divines of the age: and he had become an Arian and a Baptiſt, and had learned of the moravian Baptiſts that it was not lawful for a chriſtian to execute magiſtratical offices, or to bear arms, and accordingly he travelled home with only a wooden ſword. He made a ſpeech in the ſynod to this effect. He congratulated himſelf on the happinſs of ſeeing his brethren aſſembled on ſuch an occaſion in his own country, and adored that kind benefactor who had preſerved them at home, and had guarded him in his journey. He related his motives for travelling, which were to obtain learning and improvement, and ſome obſervations he had made on the ſtate of religion abroad, particularly the doctrinal part of it. Indeed he thought it was not lawful for chriſtians to bear arms, or to execute offices of magiſtracy in the ſtate: but he had chiefly to obſerve now the ſtate of doctrinal religion. He had every where heard the purity, ſimplicity, and perfection of the ſcriptures extolled, but he had obſerved that the moſt celebrated divines acted inconſiſtently with their own principles, for they had retained in the church many doctrines, which had been introduced in latter ages, and which ought to be diſcarded. Particularly the doctrine of the nature of God, was extremely obſcured. Of this he brought many proofs and arguments, and concluded thus: "I therefore as an honeſt man, will not diſſemble. The Father, I think, as Chriſt his meſſenger hath taught us, is greater than the ſon, and is the God of Iſrael, the creator of all things. From him Chriſt received all things, and is the ſon, and alſo God. I believe, this logos, who was in the beginning, became fleſh, and ſo the word was made fleſh and was God . . . But a trinity of perſons, conſubſtantiality . . . and other ſuch doctrines of the ſchools are mere figments of the brain, and, I think, ought to be diſcarded, ſo that ſcripture may remain the only rule of faith. In a word, I abide by the apoſtle's creed, into the belief of which we were all baptized, and I admit that alone, ſo that I have no need of the nicene or athanaſian creeds. I ſubmit myſelf and all I have advanced to your examination, humbly and fervently beſeeching God, the Father of lights, the Father of mercy, and the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, to be preſent in this ſacred aſſembly, and to ſucceed all your pious undertakings." This diſcourſe made deep impreſſions on many in the ſynod, ſeveral thought differently, but Gregory Pauli was one of the firſt who openly adopted the opinion of Goneſius (2). Two years after the ſame Goneſius in a full ſynod at Brzeſk in Lithuania repeated what he had ſaid in this ſynod, and read a piece, which was afterward publiſhed, on believer's baptiſm by immerſion.

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(9) ADRIANI REGENVOLSCII *Hiſt. Eccles. Slavon. lib. i. cap.* 13. DAVID CRANTZ *Hiſtory of the Brethren. pag.* 50. JOAN LÆTI *Compend. Hiſt. Univ. pag.* 389.

(1) JACQUES BENIGNE BOSSUET, *Hiſtoire des variations des egliſes proteſtantes. liv. xv.*

While all parties were holding ſynods, and inveſtigating religious ſubjects, in which they differed as widely as can well be imagined, all ſeemed to agree in ſhaking off the yoke of popery, and in a deſire to form a general union of all parties in one national eſtabliſhment. Young gentlemen returned from foreign ſchools learned and trained up in the reformed religion. Foreigners correſponded with Poland, and ſome viſited the country and forwarded the work. Miniſters and ſchoolmaſters laboured inceſſantly to propagate the principles of the reformation. Noble families were every day renouncing popery. In the ſenate the biſhops were left almoſt alone. In Lithuania the epiſcopal bench was divided, and the majority were for reformation. The king condeſcended to hear ſome reformed miniſters. Zebridowſki gnaſhed his teeth, Hoſius wept and ſaid maſs and plotted, and the papal hierarchy looked as if it lay a dying (3).

In this deplorable ſtate of affairs the pope ſent cardinal Lippomanus into Poland to prevent if poſſible the progreſs of reformation. The cardinal held a conference with the biſhops at the palace of Zebridowſki on the preſent poſture of affairs. Here he was given to underſtand that there were two men, who were moſt of all to be dreaded, becauſe they had great influence over the king. The firſt was Liſmaninus, who was in the country, though he had not been at court. The other was old John a Laſco, who was abroad, but correſponded with his majeſty. John a Laſco was a native of Poland of a noble family, and might have been many years ago lord primate had he not been a proteſtant and therefore he could not take an oath of fidelity to the pope. He left his country for liberty of conſcience, and after travelling over great part of Germany was allowed to ſettle in London as paſtor of a proteſtant congregation, and the church of the auguſtine friars was given them for a place of worſhip. On the acceſſion of queen Mary he was obliged to depart. From hence he went with the greateſt part of his congregation to Copenhagen: but was ſoon baniſhed for teaching contrary to the Augſburg confeſſion. Next he ſettled at Francfort; but here alſo the ſame complaint was brought againſt him and other foreigners, who reſided and taught in the city. At their requeſt he drew up a defence, which they ſigned and preſented to their ſuperiours. In this well-written little piece, he ſays, "that they had not attacked the Augſburg confeſſion of faith, that if they had, they ſhould not think they had committed any crime, that the ſcripture and not that confeſſion or any other was their rule of faith and practice, and that to regulate the eccleſiaſtical and political rights of mankind by the augſburg confeſſion was to exerciſe papal tyranny though under the ſpecious name of reformation (4). The prelates trembled at the thought of this man's return to Poland, and they reſolved to try to prevail with the king to forbid it. His majeſty would not hear of it, and ordered them to be ſilent.

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(2) LUBIENIECII *Hiſt. Reform. Polon.* lib. ii. cap. 6. SANDII *Bibliot. Antitrin.* p. 40. JOANNIS STOINII. *Epit. Hiſt. Unitar.* p. 185.

(3) ADRIANI REGENVOLSCII *Hiſt. Eccl. Slavon.* lib. I. cap. 13. LUBIENIECII *Hiſt. Ref. Polon.* lib. ii. cap. 4. HOSII *Epiſt.* xiii. xiv. xv. PIASECII *Chron. Polon.* p. 48. JOSIÆ SIMLERI *vitâ Conradi Geſneri.* p, 16.

As therefore they could gain no ground by ſeverity, they aſſumed many ſhapes, and at laſt propoſed to hold a conference at the diet of Warſaw to accommodate matters. The upper houſe, in which the prelates had moſt influence, ſent down to the lower houſe their terms, of which the two following were the chief. " The nobility and gentry ſhall be allowed to keep in their houſes ſuch reformed clergymen as are confirmed by the biſhops, on condition they maintain them at their own expence, and leave the antient pariſh churches and the tithes untouched." " The biſhops will confirm ſuch miniſters as will engage to interpret ſcripture according to the four fathers of the church of Rome, Auguſtine, Jerom, Chryſoſtom and Ambroſe." Theſe terms produced a warm debate in the lower houſe. Some thought they were conceſſions worth accepting, and ſaid it was better to accept them than to hazard every thing by demanding more. Laſockſki ſaid, he was not of this opinion, he was afraid of conceſſions from men, whoſe principles were always the ſame, and whoſe compliances therefore were only convenient manœuvres;

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(4) JOANNIS a LASCO. *Purgatio miniſtrorum in eccleſiis peregrin. Francofurti.* Neque ad confeſſionis auguſtanæ, neque ad ullius alterius ejus generis ſcripti regulam aſtringi ita volumus, ut non libere ab illo nos diſſentire, &c. Papiſticam tyrannidem . . . ſub evangelii titulo potius mutatam habeamus, &c. Subſcripſimus Joannes a Laſco. Valerandus Polanus. Gulielmus Houbraque. Robertus Hornus. Petrus Dathenas. Oct. 21, 1556.

METUO DANAOS ET DONA FERENTES, ſaid he, Recollect, though they are a powful party, yet they can do nothing conſtitutionally without our conſent. Nicholas Rey, a prudent and eloquent man, propoſed, that a meſſage ſhould be ſent the biſhops to require a more explicit declaration of their meaning, whether the ſenſe of theſe four famous fathers was to be determined by ſcripture, or by the church of Rome, for it was a queſtion whether theſe fathers held the doctrine of the reformers, or that of Rome, and it was of great importance to determine beforehand who was to judge of this. The houſe unanimouſly approved of this, and Rey was ſent with the meſſage. He brought back for anſwer, that the reformed muſt allow the church of Rome to determine the ſenſe. The houſe inſtantly returned their final anſwer in one word, NOLUMUS, we will not. Thus ended coalition: but the lower houſe was reſolved not to let the matter paſs off thus. Even the catholick party united with the proteſtants; for, ſaid they very prudently, this prelatical dominion may hereafter affect us, or our poſterity, if we or they ſhould ever chooſe to embrace the proteſtant religion: beſides, it is not fair, the proteſtants employ no force in religion, and if the catholicks be allowed to compel by ſecular power, it may degenerate into cruelty. At length the whole houſe determined to demand an audience of the upper houſe to inform the king and the ſenate of their reſolutions. An audience was granted, and they told them, that they had come to a reſolution, that they would not ſubmit to prelatical tyranny, and they adviſed the prelates to take care, if they valued their own ſafety, not to diſturb, or ſlander, or any way injure the reformed miniſters, but on the contrary to eſteem them as brethren in Jeſus Chriſt. The king and the ſenate were ſatisfied, and it was reſolved, that the catholicks as they valued their own ſafety, ſhould let the reformed enjoy equal and inviolable liberty. Thus ended a debate of a fortnight, and the reformation went on (5).

Pinckzow became now the reſidence of many famous men, on which account it was called the Athens of Sarmatia. John a Laſco returned home, and was often preſent at their conferences and ſynods, as was alſo Liſmaninus. Socinus came hither in fifty eight. Andrew Vitrellinus was paſtor of the church, and was ſucceeded by the famous George Schoman. Orſacius was rector of the ſchool, and was ſucceeded by Peter Statorius, a frenchman, who had been a diſciple of Beza. Here was alſo Bernard Ochin, an italian, who had been a monk, and confeſſor to the pope. He offended his holineſs by preaching too freely before him againſt his pride. He did this ingeniouſly, by obſerving that the hereticks compared the court of Rome with the apoſtles, and the pope with Jeſus Chriſt, and thence drew objections againſt the catholick religion. The time being elapſed he finiſhed his ſermon, and left thoſe objections without anſwering them: but one of the cardinals whiſpered him afterwards that it would not do, and he fled for ſafety. Proteſtants careſſed him while he was an advocate for their ſentiments: but when he publiſhed a book, in which he ſaid, there were four ſtrong objections againſt the doctrine of neceſſity, and four as ſtrong againſt the doctrine of liberty, and therefore God did not require us to take either ſide of a queſtion, which we could not determine, they ſuſpected his orthodoxy. When he afterwards doubted of the perſonality of the holy ghoſt, and ſome other articles, they baniſhed him for a heretick, and when he became an Unitarian and a Baptiſt, he could find reſt no where but at Pinckzow, and in Moravia. Whether he were, as is natural to ſuppoſe by his office, in poſſeſſion of any dangerous ſecrets of the pope, or whatever might be the cauſe, certain it is the pontiff was exceedingly exaſperated, and he was ſingled out for perſecution all his days (6). Dr. Blandrata was another reſident at Pinckzow. He was a phyſician, a native of Saluſſes, a man of eminent talents, and moſt inſinuating addreſs. He fled from Italy to avoid the inquiſition. At Geneva he profeſſed himſelf a proteſtant, and joined the italian church. He incurred the diſpleaſure of the miniſter by propoſing to him ſome doubts concerning the divinity of Jeſus Chriſt, and he reſented the affront ſo highly, that he would not accept his gratuitous attendance on his family in their illneſs. He propoſed his queſtions to Calvin: but he was not ſatisfied with his anſwers, and though Calvin pretended no harm ſhould come to him, yet he durſt not truſt the man who had burnt Servetus. Seeing one of the ſyndicks enter the divinity ſchool, where he was hearing a lecture of Calvin's, he made as if his noſe bled, and got out, and fled into Poland, and was hoſpitably received at Pinckzow (7). A great many of this ſort of men retired hither, and Lord Oleſnicki had the honour of patronizing them all. Here, too, Orſacius, Zacius, Triceſſius, Lublinſki, and Statorius employed themſelves in tranſlating the ſcriptures into the poliſh tongue.

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(5) LUBIENIECII *Hiſt. ut ſup. lib. ii. cap.* 4.

The three ſucceeding years were ſpent in teaching various pariſhes, in conducting the ſtudies of the youth in the ſchools, in holding conferences and ſynods to debate and determine articles of faith and diſcipline, and in the end the miniſters and their patrons conſented to meet ſome other reformed deputies to try if it were poſſible to form an union. It might have been foreſeen, it ſhould ſeem, from the character and ſpirit of the parties, that a coalition was impoſſible. This party acted on a principle not admitted by the other, which principle, however, is the only ground of union. I cannot expreſs it ſo well as they do themſelves. Secretary Fricz ſaid, "Our churches are divided becauſe nobody will make any conceſſions. For my part, I will not hide my talent, how inconſiderable ſoever it may be: but let every man be free, let none imagine my ſentiments are oracles proceeding from the pythian Apollo, they are only to be conſidered as the opinions of Andrew Fricz, that is, of one man among many (8)." The Pinckzovians acted on this principle at laſt, though their enemies laughed heartily at them for the numerous and eager contentions by which they obtained the knowledge of it. Good heavens! ſay they, what a racket was there at Pinckzow! The queſtion was put, was Poland to be reformed by rules taken from the fathers, or from Saxony, or from Geneva, or from the ſimple ſcripture. One pulled out his creed, and another his liſt: but the vote was carried for reforming by the ſimple word of God. Then, the table being cleared, forth came the bible, and that was to be the ſtandard. Then a duſt was ſtirred up about what the bible had to ſay. One cried, It ſays there are three Gods. No ſuch thing, replied another, it ſays there is but one God. Then down they went to the very foundations, and free-will and juſtification, and faith and works and ſacraments, and every article of the church was overhauled. This comes of caſting off the ſovereign pontiff. Good heavens! What a duſt was there at Pinckzow (9).

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(6) **Bayle's** *Gen. Dict.* Art. *George Blandrata, and the numerous authors there quoted.*

(7) **Ibid.** *ut ſup.*

In this rapturous ſpirit of free inquiry the Pinckzovians went to the ſynod at Xians, having determined nothing among themſelves (1). This ſynod was held for the purpoſe of framing a cloſer union between the Calviniſts and the bohemian Brethren, and the church of Pinckzow was invited. It was very deſirable to form a union if it could have been, for all theſe reformed churches were in infancy, the lives of their patrons were precarious, the Lutherans were numerous and ſuſpicious, and the catholicks were yet very powerful. They met, and the Calviniſts agreed to the Brethren's form of diſcipline, and the Brethren accepted the Calviniſts confeſſion of faith: but all the writers of the Brethren ſay worldly wiſdom preſided in the affair, and in the end the union ruined the party. They had their wiſh, their number was increaſed, but their diſcipline became ineffectual by being applied to a people no way fitted to it, and their looſe materials being blended with a regular eccleſiaſtical conſtitution were gradually attracted by it, and at laſt utterly abſorbed in it (2).

The Pinckzovians could not accede to the terms. They did not chooſe to ſubſcribe the calviniſt confeſſion of faith, for they did not believe it. They had not approved of a human ſtandard of any kind. Nor could they accede to the brethren's body of diſcipline, for that they thought ſavoured of popery. Their plan was freedom, and they contended, that the ſcripture was a more perfect rule of faith and practice than any creeds, or confeſſions, or hymn books. The Brethren replied, that their diſcipline was a perfect pattern of the primitive order, that it had received the approbation of the moſt eminent modern divines, that it was not compiled in a hurry, but ſtood commended by a long trial of even forty years, and therefore that they would not give up any part of it. The Pinckzovians objected that the terms of communion were too narrow. The Brethren replied, that they could not act with too much caution in a caſe of ſuch prodigious conſequence, that all profeſſors of faith and repentance were not ſaints, that Cyril had obſerved, Chriſt did not commit himſelf to ſome who profeſſed faith in him, and that S. Chryſoſtom had called ſuch people ſpurious chriſtians.

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(8) ANDREÆ FRICII MODREVII, *De Mediatore. lib. iii.* Eccleſiæ ruptæ ſunt. Surrexerunt partes, quarum neutra vult alteri concedere quicquam... judicium unicuique liberum eſto. Non enim hæc videri volo tanquam Pythii Apollinis oracula: ſed ut Fricii, hoc eſt hominis unius e multis arbitria. *Præfat.*

(9) SYLVESTRI CZECANOVII, *De corruptis moribus dialogus.* Biblia in medio poſita ſint. O Deum immortalem! mi Felix, quanta confeſtim inter theologos diſſentio ſuborta eſt... hinc jurgia, et maledicta. &c.

(1) JOANNIS A LASCO. *Epiſt. ad Comenii ratio. diſciplin.* Nil adhuc (an. 1558) inter nos certi conſtitutum habemus, N. 98.

(2) JOANNES AMOS COMENIUS, *In ratio. diſciplin. N.* 99. *&c.* DAVID CRANTZ *Hiſtory of the Brethren. pag.* 54.

The nobility added another reaſon againſt this diſcipline. They objected to the Brethren's biſhop. They were anſwered that he was only a ſuperintendent, or an elder. The lords deſired to know his office, as well as his name. They were informed, it extended over doctrine, the ſacraments, and the power of the keys. The noblemen inquired who were to elect theſe ſuperintendents. They were told the miniſters. No, ſaid the noble patrons, we will not agree to this diſcipline for two reaſons. Firſt, Each miniſter has enough to do to teach his own congregation. And, ſecondly, ſuch an office ſcents ſtrongly of popery, and to allow it would be to return to what we have juſt departed from, and to conſtitute a proteſtant hierarchy, which in time would have every thing of popery except the name (3). The Pinckzovians returned home, where they continued to diſpute, and where they determined, that of all the hereſies, which are under the ſun, there is none equal to that of perſecuting men for articles of faith, a hereſy into which the orthodox are very apt to fall. Theſe are their own words.

Proſperity, about this time, ſeemed to crown all their efforts with ſucceſs. The tranſlation of the bible being finiſhed, their generous patron prince Radzivil cauſed it to be printed at Breſt, a royal city in Lithuania, of which he was governour, and where he had ſet up a printing preſs. This was done at the expence of ten thouſand florins, which his highneſs paid. It was printed by Bernard Woiewodka of Cracow, whom the prince ſent for on purpoſe. The pſalms of David in poliſh metre, a hymn book, and ſeveral other ſuch pieces were publiſhed at the ſame place, and contributed very much to the edification of the people (4). General Cicovius, patron of trinity church at Cracow, placed Gregory Pauli there, and the citizens crowded to hear his ſermons. He was preaching in this church on trinity ſunday, againſt the doctrine of the trinity, when about noon a violent thunderclap threw down a globe, which had ornamented the ſpire. Some ſaid the blow was intended to intimidate the preacher; but others thought it was intended to embolden him. The wiſer part ſaid nothing.

(3) JOANNIS AMOS COMENII *Ratio diſciplinæ. ſect.* 99, 100, 101.
(4) LUBIENIECII *Hiſt. Ref. Pol. pag.* 33. 170.

Goniadſki,

Goniadzki, we obſerved before, had introduced his doctrine of the pre-eminence of the Father at a ſynod held at Coſminiec in fifteen hundred and fifty-ſix. Two years after he appeared in the ſynod of Breſt in Lithuania, and after he had repeated his former ſpeech in favour of arianiſm, he took out and read a piece, which he had drawn up againſt infant-baptiſm, which he ſaid was contrary to reaſon, and ſcripture, and the practice of the primitive church. His eminent abilities and exemplary life obtained him a ſtill and fervent attention: but after he had finiſhed great outcries were made againſt what he had advanced. Jerom Pieſcarſki attempted to ſecond him, but for a while he could not be heard, and at length was commanded to keep ſilence on pain of excommunication. However he obtained audience. He began by obſerving that they all allowed, the chriſtian world had long been in a deep ſleep during a dark night of errour, in which the light of primitive truth had gradually retired, and at length quite diſappeared. He then deſcribed the miſerable ſtate of what had been called religion during the dark ages of the apoſtacy. Then he proceeded to obſerve what the reformation had done, and the abſolute neceſſity of carrying on the work to a perfection, which it had not then obtained. He very briefly recapitulated what Goniadzki had ſaid concerning the unity of God. He then came to baptiſm, and affirmed that infant-baptiſm had no place in ſcripture, that in the two firſt centuries it was not mentioned, that it roſe in Africa in the third century, and was oppoſed by Tertullian, that the firſt canons to enjoin it were made at a council at Mela in Africa in the year four hundred and eighteen, that infant communion came in at the ſame time; that before this people were put into the ſtate of catechumens, and inſtructed in the chriſtian faith, that then they were examined concerning their faith, and on confeſſing it were baptized by immerſion; that in the fourth and fifth centuries, while the papal power continued feeble though increaſing, the children of believers, even thoſe of biſhops were not baptized till they were adults, and ſome, as Ambroſe, not till they had been elected, and were going to accept the office of biſhops, and that ſome deferred it till they were juſt ready to die. He concluded by ſaying, "Why then, brethren, do you riſe up againſt me for rejecting this relick of popery? Why do you impoſe ſilence on me under ſuch ſevere injunctions in regard to a ſubject, which deſerves a fair and full hearing? Is this the forbearance, the love, the liberty of chriſtians? Shall I, whom conſcience compels to teach the truth, be ſilent? Rather let me ſeriouſly exhort and beſeech you to caſt out every thing that popery hath brought into the church, and to cleanſe the houſe of God from all fragments of papal rubbiſh. For my part, I moſt ſincerely pray, that the God and Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt may inſtruct, repleniſh and eſtabliſh you by his holy ſpirit (5)."

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(5) The book (Stan. Lubieniecii *Hiſt. Reform. Polon.*) from which this account is taken, is extremely ſcarce, and ſo full of typographical errours, that no dependence ought to be placed on

Theſe declarations produced a great deal of reading, converſing, and diſputing, both in publick and private, and a great number of converts of all ranks to believers' baptiſm. It is difficult to ſay, and not very material, who of theſe Polanders firſt adminiſtered baptiſm by immerſion. Some ſay, Matthias Albinus miniſter at Ivanowitz, who was a trinitarian, and continued ſo till his death. Others ſay, Staniſlaus Pacleſius, who was paſtor of an arian church at Lublin under the patronage of the palatine Tenckzynſki, where he died in ſixty-five. In the province of Cujavia Martin Czechovicius was a warm advocate for it, and publiſhed, firſt in poliſh, and afterward in latin, an admirable treatiſe, concerning the origin of the ERROURS of the Pœdobaptiſts, and not cerning the ORIGIN of the Pœdobaptiſts, as Sandius hath it. This book is dedicated to his patron, lord John Kiſka of Ciechanowicz, governour of Samogitia, and other places, and was intended to prepare him for baptiſm juſt before he was baptized (6). After many debates, which continued for ſeven years, a ſynod was held at Wengrovia, at which were preſent forty-ſeven noblemen and miniſters, and fourteen common people elected by the churches to attend as their deputies. Lord Jerom Philipowſki was unanimouſly choſen preſident. Letters from ſeveral churches, from a ſynod lately held at a diſtant part of the kingdom, from the lady palatine Kiſciana, mother of John Kiſka, from the princeſs Ann Radzivil, and from many private perſons were delivered and read. The ſubſtance of all was the ſame. The writers beſought the ſynod to manage the buſineſs with moderation and prudence, ſo that there might be no breach, but to admit nothing traditional, and only what was clearly authorized by ſcripture. The ſubject having been thoroughly diſcuſſed,

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on the dates, which are all figures. If Pieſcarſki ſaid the council of Mela was held in 418, he was miſtaken, it was held in 416. This council was convened on account of the pelagian hereſy. Auguſtine was preſent, and he with four other biſhops ſent a long letter to their *moſt honoured and bleſſed lord pope Innocent i.* in which they inform him that though they hoped Pelagius was ſilenced, yet his adherents were very numerous, and they ſaid infants were not born in ſin, and therefore had no need of baptiſm to waſh it way. This order to baptize infants, therefore, was intended to involve the people in the profeſſion of a doctrine taught by Auguſtine, by engaging them in a practice from which the biſhops intended to argue for the doctrine. This was artful enough. The canon runs thus. Canon ii. Item placuit, ut quicunque parvulos recentes abu teris matrum baptizandos negat, aut dicit in remiſſionem quidem peccatorum eos baptizari, ſed nihil ex Adam trahere originalis peccati quod regenerationis lavacro expietur, unde ſit conſequens ut in eis forma baptiſmatis in remiſſionem peccatorum non vere ſed falſo intelligitur, anathema ſit. LABBEI *Concilia. tom. ii. p.* 1537. CABBASUTII *Notitia eccleſiaſt. pag.* 198. Moſt of the diſciples of Auguſtine entered thoroughly into his views, and at the reformation, when Herman archbiſhop and elector of Cologne attempted to reform his church, and publiſhed a directory for the purpoſe, he ordered the officiating prieſt when he adminiſtered baptiſm to pray to Almighy God by baptiſmal water to drown the filth, which the infant had taken of Adam, as he had drowned Pharaoh in the red ſea. . . . See a curious little piece entitled, *A ſimple and religious conſultation of us Herman by the grace of God archbiſhop of Cologn, and prince elector. &c.* Printed 1548, by Jhon Daye.

(6) Quia baptizari cupis, et Deum aſſidue invocas, ut te per baptiſmum Chriſto conſepeliatur . . . neceſſe eſt te, quem maximis periculis et tentationibus eo magis exponendum video, . . undique armari, &c. *Prefatione.*

An. 1565.

Staniſlaus Lutomirſki drew up a letter expreſſive of the determination of the ſynod. Lutomirſki had been in prieſts orders in the church of Rome, and ſecretary to his majeſty, who intended to have preferred him to be lord primate, but his conſcience ſpoiled him for a cardinal archbiſhop, and converted him into a teacher of a baptiſt church. It muſt be ſaid, the letter is a maſter-piece in its kind. He makes a fair report of the whole buſineſs, informs the churches that the ſynod for the reaſons alledged in the letter had judged infant-baptiſm an errour, and had reſolved to renounce it, and to reſtore the baptiſm of catechumens by immerſion, which he adviſed them all to do. He told them that ſeveral were not convinced by the arguments uſed in the ſynod, but continued to approve of infant-baptiſm, and that, as in a chriſtian church no one is allowed to domineer over the conſcience of another, or to try to compel belief by force, they had agreed that ſuch ſhould enjoy their liberty, the rather as they were aſſured they would not fail to follow the dictates of their own conſciences, if they ſhould hereafter be convinced of the propriety of believers' baptiſm. He added, that though ſome one had mentioned the affair at Munſter, yet believers' baptiſm had nothing to do with it, and that as they had always obeyed magiſtrates, ſo they had reſolved to do in future for conſcience ſake. He beſought ſuch as ſhould not approve of the practice to ſuſpend cenſure, for they would always be ready to render a reaſon from the holy ſcriptures. He cloſes with exhortations to brotherly kindneſs, and with adoring God, who had brought them out of the babyloniſh captivity of the papal church (7). The church at Vilna did not immediately accede to this: but afterward they did. It is ſomewhat remarkable, that Nicholas of Wengrovia, a miniſter who raiſed the chief diſturbance about this affair, recanted when he was dying. He was in extreme diſtreſs. Being aſked the cauſe, he ſaid he had been a hypocrite. He was aſked in what. He anſwered, "God has turned my glory into ſhame, for I, who called myſelf a miniſter of the Lord, ſought the praiſe of men more than the honour that comes from God."

This fine ſeaſon of proſperity, like the treacherous morning of ſome tempeſtuous day, was ſucceeded by events, over which, if impartial truth would allow it, it would be a relief to draw a vail. The truth is, as Dr. Moſheim ſays, "That there were ſome ſects and doctors, againſt whom the zeal, vigilance and ſeverity of Catholicks, Lutherans, and Calviniſts were united, and in oppoſing whoſe ſettlement and progreſs, theſe three communions, forgetting their diſſentions, joined their moſt vigorous counſels and endeavours. The objects of their common averſion were the Anabaptiſts, and thoſe who denied the divinity of Chriſt, and a trinity of perſons in the godhead (8)." This is ſtrictly true, and the Pinckzovians being compounded of all theſe ſorts, ſome denying the divinity of Chriſt, others the perſonality of the ſpirit, and all renouncing infant-baptiſm, moſt ſeverely felt the cruel reſentment of all parties (9).

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(7) Lubieniecii *Hiſt. Ref. Pol. lib. iii. cap.* 3. . . Sandii *Bibliot. Antitrin.* p. 42. . . Joh. Stoinii *Epiſt. Hiſt. Unitariornm. p.* 187.

(8) *Eccleſ. Hiſt.* vol. iv. cent. xvi. ſ. iii. p. 2.

The pretence for perſecuting them was their heterodoxy, and the violent diſputes occaſioned by it. A ſpirit of inquiry in a chriſtian reſembles the genius of a mariner burning with zeal to explore the whole terraqueous globe. The diſcoveries of both are uſeful to ſociety, but the bold adventurers often inveſtigate at the peril of their lives, and thus courage not tempered with circumſpection and coolneſs beguiles the boldeſt enterprizers into conditions the moſt enviable and the moſt to be pitied in the world. That ſome people, who do not chooſe to be diſcovered, ſhould puniſh ſuch diſquiſitors is not wonderful: but that others who led the way, and who pretend to be engaged in the ſame undertaking, ſhould attack them, is unjuſt and indefenſible. It is very true, Stancarus and his friends, though they held the doctrine of the trinity, yet contended that Chriſt was a mediator only in his human nature. Goniadzki and his adherents embraced the arian ſyſtem, and affirmed that Chriſt had been produced out of nothing by the Father before the creation of the world. They mixed with theſe ſpeculations ſeveral articles of practice, as believers' baptiſm, and ſome few of them a renunciation of offices, oaths, and arms. Their diſputes with one another were always eager, and often acrimonious: but no one inſtance appears of an injury done to any perſon, the utmoſt heat produced nothing but an argument uttered with vivacity and ſpirit in the ſynod, exactly as the nobility and the prelates delivered their ſentiments in the diets of the kingdom. Who ever heard of a tame timid oratour in Poland? Out of THE ABUNDANCE OF THE HEART all nations ſpeak. Oratours under arbitrary governments are ſoft, ſubmiſſive, and ſupple, full of quotations from reputable authorities, for they durſt not affirm there is a God unleſs ſome great man had ventured to ſay ſo before: but in all governments like that of Poland, ancient and modern, originality, invention, fire and force, freedom of thought and rapidity of ſpeech are the characters of publick orations. Hence it is, that the beſt judges of eloquence obſerve, liberty is the parent of magnanimity, and a noble way of thinking produces a ſublime habit of ſpeaking (1).

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(9) SANDII *Bibliot. Antitrin.* Baptiſmum adultorum, idque per immerſionem, prout et cæteri unitarii, Farneſius inter ſuos inſtituit. pag. 52.... VINDICIÆ UNITARIORUM. Unitarii appellantur Anabaptiſtæ, cum tamen baptiſmus catechumenorum, id eſt in fide Chriſtiana inſtitutorum et ſymbolum Apoſtolicum profitentium idque per totius corporis in aquam merſationem, prout nos facimus, auctoritate ſacræ ſcripturæ et veteris eccleſiæ praxi confirmetur: & in Unitarii fratres in infantia baptizatos ad iterandum baptiſmum non cogant. pag. 268. Apud *Sand.*... LUBIENIECII *Hiſt. Refor. Pol.* Non tantum pontificii, ſed et Calviniani non minus pro baptiſmate infantium quam pro Deo triuno acriter depugnarint purioris veritatis ſtudioſis, e contrario fortiter bonam cauſam tutantibus. lib. iii. c. 3. *De Pædobaptiſmo oppugnato, expugnato, ejecto.*

Beza, who ſaid, that the doctrine of the poliſh arian Anabaptiſts was the very bottom lie of the devil's heart, and was one of their chief perſecutors, aſked two queſtions on the ſubject, which deſerve an anſwer. "Some will aſk," ſays he, "what buſineſs I have to interfere in the affairs of foreign churches (2)?" Certainly they will, and you will be able to make no reply, which the court of Rome might not make with a thouſand times better grace. "What," adds he, "will good cardinal Hoſius and his catholicks ſay to our diviſions? Will they not laugh heartily at us (3)?" Hoſius and the jeſuits did laugh, and Boſſuet and other catholicks continue to do ſo to this day. The cardinal ridiculed the calviniſt nobility of Poland for diſgracing their rank by aſking counſel of the boors of Switzerland, as if, ſays he, there was no God in Iſrael. He girded Beza for preſuming to act the part of a patron of Poland. He ſneered at his ill-timed joke, for he had ſaid it was no wonder the poliſh Unitarians did not acknowledge Chriſt as God in the euchariſt, for they did not allow there was a God in heaven, and Hoſius obſerves if theſe were connected Beza was an atheiſt as well as they. He expoſed them all for renouncing popery only with a view to invade the office of the pope, and inſtead of one pontiff at Rome ſetting up popes every where. Pope Calvin, pope Melancthon, pope Beza, and ſo on (4). The jeſuit Poſſevin laughed at theſe divines for quoting the fathers againſt the Poles, after they had rejected their authority againſt themſelves. "Thus," ſays he, "hereticks are forced to plough with our heifer, and have no other arguments againſt the Anabaptiſts than thoſe which we have againſt them (5)." The calviniſts would not be inſtructed on this article, but they formed intrigues, ſtirred up ſtrife, magnified and multiplied diſputes, alarmed the nobility and the king with groundleſs fears of ſedition, and procured penal edicts to baniſh and deſtroy the Baptiſts. To one ſearching after Servetus, Gentilis, Blandrata, and others in the writings of theſe demagogues, and for this purpoſe turning over immenſe folios of inſtitutes, and expoſitions, and comments, this thought muſt continually occur, "Where is Abel thy brother?

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(1) DION. LONGINI *de ſublimitate com.* Eadem libertas in eorum ſcriptis, quæ in factis effulget cum iſtiuſmodi oratores liberi ſunt, ſuique juris, animus eorum huic in ſe imperio aſſuetus, nihil profert quod non indicia quædam habet illius libertatis, qua ſemper moventur, et ad quam omnia eorum facta diriguntur. *Not. ſect. xliv. Edit. Pearce.*

(2) VALENTINI GENTILIS *teterrimi hæritici impietatum ac triplicis perfidiæ et perjurii brevis explicatio.* ſed quorum hæc ad te? Dicet aliquis: et quæ tibi in alienas eccleſias auctoritas? Nulla, profecto, fratres, et ſi forte aliter cogitarem omnium hominum maxime inſanirem. SED quicunque ſunt Chriſtiani, &c. *In præfatione.*

(3) Quid interea bonus ille Hoſius cardinalis cum ſuis catholicis? nempe ridere ſuaviter. *Ibid.*

(4) STAN. HOSII *Judicium de judicio et cenſura miniſtrorum et Tigurinorum et Heidelbergenſium de dogmate . . . in Polonia nuper ſparſo. p.* 697.

(5) ANTONII POSSEVINI *Bibliot. de ratione ſtudiorum. De Atheiſm. Hæreſi. lib. viii. cap.* 3.

What haſt thou done? The voice of thy brother's blood crieth unto me from the ground." For this reaſon, it would be a relief to draw a vail over this part of the hiſtory of the poliſh Baptiſts.

Calvin and other foreign divines had many tools in Poland, but two of the moſt eminent were Staniſlaus Sarnicki, and Laurence Praſnicius. The latter was one of the king's chaplains till the catholicks procured his diſmiſſion on account of hereſy. The reformed by a pun upon his name called him Laurence Diſcord, and if ever punning were pardonable it was ſo in this caſe, for this man dealt in nothing but miſchief. The eſtabliſhment of orthodoxy was all his aim, and liberality he never thought of (5). Sarnicki, as his own party deſcribe him, was one of the moſt artful and dangerous men in Poland. He had a learned education, and had travelled. He became a violent orthodox clergyman, and publiſhed, among other treatiſes, a book on the ſtratagems of war, which he well underſtood, and which he introduced into the church. The ground of his diſlike of the arian Baptiſts was the preferment of Gregory Pauli to the great church at Cracow, which he thought was an honour due to his merit. The patron thought otherwiſe, and Sarnicki became a perſecutor and endeavoured to glut envy under the name of zeal of orthodoxy (6). With this man, and through him with the nobility, gentry, and clergy, Calvin and Beza correſponded, and through them Simler, a miniſter at Zurich, Hyperius a doctor of divinity at Marpurg in the landgravate of Heſſe, Aleſius a divine of Leipſick, Aretius a teacher at Bern, Geſner a phyſician at Zurich, and even the ſynod of Geneva ſent letters and tracts into Poland in defence of the trinity and infant baptiſm, filled with perſonal abuſe the moſt vulgar, and invectives the moſt bitter that can be imagined, all juſtifying the murder of Gentilis, and Servetus, and the neceſſity of employing ſecular power to rid the world of ſuch monſters as denied the trinity, and infant-baptiſm (7). The advice given by the conſiſtory of Geneva to prince Radzivil is a moſt ignorant and impious attack on the liberties and lives of innocent men. They beg his highneſs as the firſt in piety and dignity, to uſe his influence with the nobility of Poland to engage them to treat the Antitrinitarians as they would Tartars and Muſcovites. They tell him, God always revenged the affronts offered him by Arians by involving ſuch as tolerated them in the moſt ſhocking calamities of war; they aſſure his highneſs that the devil and the Turks would certainly invade Poland if theſe people were not expelled, and they think the king, like the godly jewiſh princes of old, ſhould puniſh theſe horrible blaſphemers. What advice to give a poliſh free-born family! When the pontiff at Rome, a ſovereign prince, inhabiting the firſt palace in the world, and ſurrounded with every thing that nature and art can furniſh of the ſplendid, iſſues his monitions to foreigners, he acts a little in character: but when a beggarly ſwiſs pedant like Simler, or an indigent conſiſtory at Geneva, whoſe only merit lies in their own opinion of their own orthodoxy on points unknown by name to the reſt of the world, when ſuch as they preſume to act the part of univerſal biſhops, and to give foreigners leſſons of cruelty for not thinking as they do, who can help being hurt at the ſight? It was this that provoked that haughty Pole, cardinal Hoſius, though he was a perſecutor himſelf. They wrote on his ſide, and he diſdained their aſſiſtance, and expoſed their inconſiſtency.

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(5) ADRIAN. REGENVOLSCII *Hiſt. Ecc. Slav.* lib. ii. cap. 3. STAN. LUBIENIECII *Hiſt. Ref. Pol.* lib. 3. cap. 2.

(6) LUBIENIEC. *ut ſup.* SIMONIS STAROVOLSCII *Polonorum ſcriptorum vitæ.*

Sarnicius mores externos vidit et urbes,
Lechiaco regno jam procul eſto timor.
Mille nocendi artes hoſtis cognovit et aſtus,
Hos evitandi tradidit ille modum.
Tradidit et raram campiductoribus artem,
Prælia qua tuti fauſta ciere queant.
Ergo Sarnicio multum reſpublica debet,
Sarmati hoſtiles præcavet ille dolos. JOAN. JASCROVISITIUS.

(7) BEZÆ *præfatio ad refutationes Val. Gentilis.* Te Laſicii, te Sarnici (quos ego in tanto doctorum

The doctrine of the Pinckzovians was ſpreading far and wide, and a great number of people of all ranks declared for it. Magiſtrates, noblemen, knights, governours, palatines, officers of the crown, miniſters, rectors of ſchools of great and little Poland, Lithuania, Ruſſia, Podolia, Volhinia, Pruſſia, Sileſia, and Tranſilvania openly profeſſed their belief of it. With the catholicks it was unconſtitutional to dogmatize at all, and the Calviniſts had made it a crime to aſſert any thing about the trinity and infant-baptiſm contrary to their confeſſions and creeds. In both theſe communities, I believe as the church believes was the teſt of orthodoxy and conſequently of piety and virtue.

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doctorum et piorum numero, ut mihi de nomine notos compello) . . . obſecro et obteſtor in Domino, vel iſtos nunc perditos rurſum Domino lucrifaciatis, vel ſaltem ab illorum luporum incurſibus tutos veſtros greges præſtetis. &c. CALVINI *Brevis admonitio ad fratres Polonos. &c. . . . Epiſt. Generoſis et nobilibus Dominis proceribus minoris Poloniæ, &c.* Sunt apud vos impuri nebulones Blandrata, Gentilis, Alciatus et ſimiles . . . Chriſtum eſſe unicum Deum . . vobis eripere conantur ſacrilegi iſti errones. Quare non aliter vobis certandum, quam ſi ad Deum fictitium, vos abducerent, &c. JOSIÆ SIMLERI *Magnificis, generoſis nobilibus dominis . . in Polonia et Ruſſia. Epiſt.* Magnifici Domini, patroni eccleſiarum, ne faciatis eccleſias veſtras aſylum ambitioſorum et contentioſorum hominum, qui religionis titulo non tantum optime *inſtitutas* eccleſias, verum etiam Chriſti gloriam, quam *nos* defendimus impugnant, nolite quæſo pati ut illi diutius vobis illudant, et ita turpiter veſtra bonitate et libertate abutantur. ANDREÆ HYPERII *Theſes de trinitate.* ALEXANDRI ALESII *Aſſertio doctrinæ eccleſiæ catholicæ de S. Trinitate.* BENEDICTI ARETII *Valentini Gentilis juſto capitis ſupplicio Bernæ affecti brevis hiſtoria.* MINISTRORUM GENEVENSUM *Epiſtola illuſtriſſimo principi Nicholao Radzivillo. &c.* . . JOSIÆ SIMLERI *Vita* CONRADI GESNERI. Sæpe ſententiam ſuam Poloniæ eccleſiis ſcriptam dedit, i. e. Geſnerus . . et Antitrinitariorum errores damnavit. p. 16. ANDRÆ DUDICII *Epiſtolæ in op.* SOCINI.

Sarnicki, now become the champion of calviniſm, read ſome of the foreign letters in the ſynods, and inflamed the members by denominating the Pinckzovians hereticks, Arians, Anabaptiſts, and blaſphemers. Thus he formed a party, and headed cabals. Prince Radzivil, who had firſt introduced the Pinckzovians into Lithuania, and whoſe character was therefore at ſtake, propoſed a conference to allay theſe heats, and coolly to ſettle the differences. Several other patrons did the ſame, and the parties met: but nothing would do unleſs the Arians would renounce the two offenſive articles, and that they could not do. After a long time ſpent in theſe unprofitable conventions, a period was put to them at the ſynod of Petrikow. The king was deſirous to ſee his ſubjects live in harmony, and he had ordered his ſecretary Fricz to collect all the various opinions about the trinity, and to try to reconcile differences. On this account Fricz compoſed his SYLVÆ. His majeſty therefore readily acceded to the propoſal made by Philipowſki to call a ſynod at Petrikow, where both ſides ſhould be heard by judges indifferently choſen from both parties, and peace finally adjuſted(8). Both ſides approved of this, for though each party diſliked the other, yet both dreaded diſunion, for they knew the catholick faction, their common enemy, in ſuch a caſe would ſoon ſilence them all. Hoſius and the prelates ſtrained every nerve to prevent the convention, but the king had paſſed his word, and he would not recall it.

On the appointed day the delegates from both parties met. On the ſide of the Pinckzovians, Nicholas Sieniſki, preſident of the lower houſe of the diet, uſually called the Demoſthenes of Poland; the caſtellan John Lutomirſki, a member of the upper houſe; Philipowſki the receiver general of the diſtrict of Cracow; and John Niemoiovius member for Inovoladiſlaus. This laſt gentleman had been of the long robe, and judge of that diſtrict which he now repreſented in the diet. When he became a diſſenter, he embraced the arian doctrine, was baptized by Czechovicius, and as he thought it was not right for a chriſtian to take or exact oaths, he reſigned his office. He publiſhed many books in favour of his ſentiments, and one with this ſingular title. "A demonſtration that the papal church is neither apoſtolical nor holy, nor one, nor catholick." The miniſters on the ſame ſide were Pauli, Schoman, Lutomirſki, and Pacleſius. On the calviniſt ſide the miniſters were Sarnicki, Sylvius, Rokyta, one of the bohemian miniſters, and Trecius rector of a ſchool at Cracow. The nobility on the ſame ſide were marſhal palatine Firley, a zealous calviniſt, the caſtellan Tornicius, and count Oſtrorog, a nobleman who a few years before, being then caſtellan of Poſnania, had gone to a meeting of the bohemian Brethren intending to drive his lady out with a whip, but happened luckily to be converted on the ſpot, and joined the church in the very hour. To theſe was added Myſkowſki caſtellan of Sendomir one of a family who had hoped to ingroſs the large fortune of a brother's widow, and had been diſappointed by Philipowſki, who had married the lady. The noblemen were preſidents by turns. The ſynod ſat fourteen days. Firley, being preſident the firſt day, opened the ſeſſion with a ſhort ſpeech, in which he adviſed the parties to be at peace, and cloſed by ſaying, Let us begin the debate in the name of God and the holy trinity. Pauli exclaimed, We are not acquainted with the trinity, we will not therefore ſay, amen. Begin then, ſaid the preſident. Pauli made a ſpeech on the ſubject: but Sarnicki propoſed, before they proceeded any further, to lay down a general rule to be agreed to by both ſides, which was, that both ſhould admit the authority of the councils and primitive fathers, and by them ſettle the difference. The Pinckzovians replied, that Luther, Zuinglius, and Calvin had rejected traditions in general, and councils and fathers, and eſtabliſhed churches in particular, that they had taken ſcripture without any gloſs or comment for the ground of reformation, and that their opponents being proteſtants, had in effect renounced all rules of faith and practice except the ſcripture, and conſequently unleſs they abode by that rule in the preſent caſe the catholicks would obtain great advantages over them. The Calviniſts could not anſwer this, and after they had made uſe of many invectives in the ſynod, they caballed out of it, and told the calviniſt judges that it was a ſhame ſuch blaſphemy ſhould be uttered, that the biſhops would blame them for ſuffering it, that Hoſius and all the church of Rome had allowed the trinity and infant baptiſm could not be proved by ſcripture, that they could not do impoſſibilities, and that the Pinckzovians would certainly publiſh the conference and give the common people a great occaſion of triumph. It was neceſſary therefore to get rid of the affair as well as they could, and it was done artfully enough. They deſired a copy of what Pauli had delivered, as it ſhould ſeem with an intention to anſwer it on a future day: but, ſays the impartial Fleury, the Calviniſts, who had abundance of proofs taken from councils and fathers and traditions, durſt not make uſe of them, and as they could urge nothing from ſcripture, which the oppoſite party could not anſwer, they ſet up chanting in full ſynod with all their might Gloria Patri, glory be to God the Father, glory be to God the Son, glory be to God the Holy Ghoſt, and ſo on. This procedure, adds the ſame writer, which ought to have been taken for a proof of their ignorance, and the loſs of their cauſe, was conſidered by the Pinckzovians an inſult on the majeſty of Almighty God, and they withdrew extremely offended. After their departure, the remainder obtained a promiſe of the marſhal, who was preſident that day, that he would make a favourable report to the king, and they agreed to hold no more conferences with the Pinckzovians, whom they denominated Arians, and to oblige all their own churches to adhere to the doctrine of one God in three coequal, coeſſential perſons. The Arians proteſted againſt the injuſtice of all this, but it did not ſignify, the die was caſt (9).

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(8) An. 1565.

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(9) LUBIENIECII *Hiſt. Ref. Pol. lib. iii. cap.* 5. REGENVOLSCII *Hiſt. Eccleſ. Sclavon. lib. i. cap.* 13. FLUERY *Hiſt. Eccleſ. tom. xxxiv.* 1565. ANT. POSSEVINI *Bibliot. lib. viii. cap.* 13.

The next year the diet was held at Lublin, and the Arians ſent Philipowſki, general Cicovius, Schoman, and others, to obtain, if it were poſſible, protection for their churches: but now the Calviniſts had united with the catholicks to ſuppreſs them, and they were ordered to quit the city. The king was obliged to yield to the torrent, and he iſſued, at the requeſt of the catholick lords, and the calviniſt miniſters, who were then holding a ſynod with the Lutherans at Lublin, an edict to baniſh all foreign Arians and Anabaptiſts, and to ſuppreſs domeſtic hereſy and blaſphemy on pain of death. Foreigners quitted the kingdom: but ſuch was the conſtitution of Poland, ſo little do the great lords in ſuch an ariſtocracy regard laws, and ſo powerful were the patrons of the Arians, that though they retired as if they paid ſome reſpect to authority, yet they met, held ſynods among themſelves, and having been driven from all other parties formed their firſt churches in theſe troublous times. It was about this time they began to read and ſtudy the writings of the late Lælius Socinus, who had died at Zurich in fifteen hundred and ſixty-two, in the thirty ſeventh year of his age, and had left ſome of his papers in Poland. Pauli retired from Cracow, ſome patrons expelled their miniſters, others reſigned, and ſeveral kept cloſe at home, for they feared the ſate of Servetus (1). Albinus the trinitarian baptiſt miniſter ſheltered many, and Oleſnicki and Philipowſki more. Buudzin his ſecretary comforted them with hopes that the ſtorm would blow over, and the magiſtrates admitted of ſlight excuſes, and would not ſuffer them to take any harm. A prieſt ſummoned three poor men before a magiſtrate, and ſet forth that they were Anabaptiſts and Arians. The magiſtrate called upon them to make their defence. They informed him, that they were not ANA-baptiſts, and as to arianiſm they abhorred new doctrines, and held the primitive catholick and apoſtolick faith. The magiſtrate ordered them to return to their houſes and continue to believe the catholick and apoſtolical faith. Lord Nicholas Sieninſki beſought his majeſty not to ſuffer his ſubjects to be vexed on account of religion, and the king was ſo complaiſant that he not only ordered no violence ſhould be offered to the Anti-trinitarians, but declared that he would honour them with his protection. They however went no more to calviniſt ſynods, or only in very ſmall numbers, and endeavoured to keep out of the way of the Calviniſts, who after all had the law on their ſides, and were very eager to execute it.

Such a government as this differs very little from anarchy. Law is nothing: favour is but for a moment: faction is all in all. There were ſome who envied the reputation of Philipowſki, and coveted the employments which he held under the crown. They therefore attacked him by accuſing him of anabaptiſm and arianiſm, and mal-practices in his office. The latter was eaſily diſproved: but the former could not be denied, and the virtuous old man was condemned to loſe his head. As he was in the council juſtifying himſelf, perceiving that they paid but little regard to what he ſaid, he exclaimed, "Now you condemn me unjuſtly, but a time is at hand when another king will do me juſtice!" A good catholick named Zamoſki, who had begun the whole affair, ſtarted up, and affected to underſtand him as ſpeaking of John prince of Hungary, and pretending to threaten them with a revolution. Zamoſki's father, who had the higheſt eſteem for Philipowſki, proteſted he would diſinherit and kill his ſon if he perſiſted in ſuch abſurd ſlander of a man ſo upright, and whoſe character for integrity had always till now ſtood unimpeached. The ſon aſhamed of his conduct, and afraid of his father's reſentment, got rid of the affair by a wilful informality in the proceſs, and the buſineſs was dropped. Philipowſki waited on the king, and his majeſty, who had a great affection for him, could not help ſhedding tears, and reflecting on the cruelty of thoſe proteſtants, who had obtained the bloody edict, "Philipowſki, ſaid he, "thine own nation delivered thee unto me." As the Calviniſts could not kill, they tried to ſlander, and when Buudzin ſome time after waited on the biſhop of Cracow to collect the tax for his maſter, his lordſhip ſaid, "Buudzin, they are not my catholicks, but your own dear proteſtants, that ſay ill things of you."

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(1) LUBIENIECII *Hiſt. Ref. Pol. lib. iii cap.* 4. 5. SCHOMANNI *teſtamentum.* 1566, Sed id fere tempus, ex rhapſodiis D. Lælii Socini quidam fratres didicerunt, Dei filium non eſſe ſecundam trinitatis perſonam, patri coeſſentialem et coæqualem, ſed hominem Jeſum Chriſtum, ex ſpiritu ſancto conceptum, ex Virgine Maria natum, crucifixum et reſuſcitatum: a quibus nos commoniti ſacras literas perſcrutari perſuaſi ſumus.

The Baptiſts were now in diſtreſſing circumſtances, they were not under the protection of the laws, but expoſed to a penal ſtatute, which vigilant and exaſperated zealots were ready to execute, and from which they had no hope of eſcaping except by the precarious method of making powerful intereſt to divert the courſe of law. Even the king could not help the operation of a law, when a faction determined to execute it. It was therefore very deſirable, after all, to get themſelves included in the law which protected other proteſtants. In order to effect this, they ventured to hold two ſynods, the moſt conſiderable of which met at Scrynia (2). There were preſent one hundred and ten perſons diſtinguiſhed by their rank and employments, a great number of miniſters, and many common people of both ſexes auditors. Philipowſki was choſen preſident, an office which he executed with wiſdom, moderation, and dignity. He laid down proper rules for conducting the buſineſs, and a little while enforced them: but he ſoon perceived to his great mortification that theſe people were in leſs danger from their enemies than from themſelves. Some of them had adopted the ideas of the late Socinus, as far as they underſtood them, and declared, that in their opinion Jeſus Chriſt had no exiſtence before the virgin Mary, and ought not to be worſhipped. The chief of this party was Simon Budnæus, a miniſter, and from him they were called Budnæans. The other claſs continued to defend the arian ſyſtem of Goniadzki, and theſe were called Farneſians, or Farnovians, from Staniſlaus Farnovius, a miniſter under the protection of lord Meſyk. The diſputants were fiery, but moſt of the nobility were mild. The prudent preſident, when he came to ſum up the matter, inſtead of attempting to ſail in the unnavigable ocean of ſpeculation, laid down virtue and not faith as a ground of union. He drew up an agreement, which every body ſigned, and then forgot. "In matters of faith, they were to believe the trinity or not, as their own underſtandings directed them. They were to reaſon and argue from ſcripture as often and as long as they pleaſed, in publick or private, ſo that they injured no other perſons by aſperſing and ſlandering their characters. They might be baptized by immerſion or not, as their conſciences directed them. All except vicious characters were to be borne with, and no one to domineer over the faith of another. They were to love one another, to pray for one another, to do all kind offices for one another, and to expect that day, when the Lord Jeſus would ſend angels who were wiſer than miniſters to gather the tares out of his wheat. Chriſt would not allow his apoſtles to do this, and much leſs will he allow us to attempt it." The ſynod all admired this theory, but it took ſome years to cool their paſſions, heated and ſoured with perpetual contradictions, and to make them reduce it to practice. Both catholick and orthodox proteſtant writers cenſure the preſident, and denominate the ſcheme a complaiſant ſcepticiſm, for, ſay they, it allowed a people to divide into two and thirty ſects, all agreed in no one point, except that of the unity of Almighty God. On the contrary, others think it was a plan of concord full of wiſdom matured by long obſervation, connecting pious people together not only by the one article of the unity of God, but by many more which are implied, as the ſufficiency of ſcripture, the right of private judgment, the innocence of mere mental errour, the uncertainty of ſpeculative religion, and the indiſpenſible obligations of virtue. Almoſt all parties complain bitterly of the heats, diſputes, diviſions and ſchiſms of theſe people, but Philipowſki in a very large ſynod of Lutherans and Calviniſts held in the caſtle of Cracow the year after this, defied malice itſelf to ſay, that all their ſynods (and he had been preſent at every one) had not been conducted with moderation even though they had met with ſome provocations to act otherwiſe (2).

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(2) An. 1567, Jun. 24.

The indefatigable Philipowſki attended the great ſynod at Cracow, which was held by the Lutherans and Calviniſts preparatory to an union which they intended to form for the purpoſe of ſtrengthening themſelves againſt the tyranny of Rome, and the hereſy of the Anabaptiſts (3). He went not to make conceſſions, nor to diſturb their peace, but if poſſible to obtain ſuch an union of love and kind offices as he had formed at Scrynia: but they did not enter into his views, and could not condeſcend to have any thing to do with Anabaptiſts and Arians. Inflexible as death and the grave, though they

(2) LUBIENIECII *Hiſt. Ref. Pol. lib. iii. cap.* 8. Ipſa vel invita nos in omnibus ſacris conventibus in hac ipſa regni metropoli, anno 1561. Xianſiæ, Pinczoviæ, Rogoviæ, anno 1562. Mordi, anno 1563. tum Petricoviæ 1565. tum Lancuti denique Scriniæ anno ſuperiori habitis omnem ſervaſſe modeſtiam, etiam cum acerbius appetiti non ex æquo tractaremur. cap. 9. FLEURY *Hiſt. Eccles. tom. xxxiv.* Anno 1567. cum multis aliis.

(3) JOANNIS HOORNBEEK *Summa Controverſiarum.* Conſenſus Sendomirienſis adverſus Ebionitas et Anabaptiſtas. lib. ix. *De Lutheranis.*

admired his eloquent oration, applauded the integrity of his manners, and even wept at the ſight of his pleaſant countenance adorned with the venerable furrows of hoary age, yet they could not love him. However, he made one convert there, who cut to the heart at the ſight of their intolerance, a while concealed his opinion, but afterwards publiſhed it on the houſe top. This was the celebrated Andrew Dudith, than whom no nation ever produced a greater, that is, an honeſter man.

Andrew Dudith Sbardellati was the ſon of Jerome Dudith a privy counſellor of Ladiſlaus king of Hungary, and a noble venetian lady of the family of Sbardellati. He was born at a family caſtle near Buda in Hungary, in February thirty three (ſome ſay thirty ſeven). His father dying while he was very young, his uncle, who was archbiſhop of Strigonia, perceiving he had all the talents neceſſary to make a great man, took care of his education. He was ſent to Breſlaw, then to Padua, and from thence to Paris, whence he returned home highly accompliſhed in literary and polite acquirements, and celebrated for his eloquence and virtue. He came into England along with cardinal Pole, whoſe life written in italian by Beccatelli, he publiſhed a few years after in elegant latin with emendations and additions, and a well written preface. His youth and modeſty induced him to ſubmit it to Binardus before it went to preſs. Next he went into Italy, and publiſhed ſome claſſical criticiſms, which were greatly eſteemed by the learned. Soon after he went to France, and the duke of Florence having given him recommendatory letters to Catharine of Medicis, he complimented her ſo politely in the italian tongue, that ſhe could not help ſaying ſhe thought it impoſſible for a Hungarian to ſpeak italian with ſo much elegance and eaſe. Every where admired and applauded he went to the emperour's court at Vienna, and in ſixty one Ferdinand nominated him biſhop of Tinia in Croatia, and ſent him ambaſſadour to Sigiſmund king of Poland. By the emperour and the clergy of Hungary he was appointed their delegate to the council of Trent, where he made an oration in favour of the marriage of the clergy, and another for the cup in the Lord's ſupper to be adminiſtered to the laity. He ſpoke with ſo much eloquence, that the legates wrote to cardinal Borromei, that though the oratour had taken up time devoted to other buſineſs, yet the council was ſo charmed with him, that they did not perceive it, and had never heard any thing like it. The pope, afraid of his powers, got the emperour to recall him. Ferdinand did ſo, but having heard Dudith's account of what paſſed in the council, he approved of his conduct and rewarded him with the biſhoprick of Chonat, and ſoon after with that of Quinque Eccleſiæ, or five churches. Hence he returned into Poland, and continued ambaſſadour from the emperour. During his reſidence here, offended with the immorality of courts, and the fopperies and ſuperſtitions of the church, he condeſcended to read the writings of Blandrata and Davidis, two noted anti-trinitarian Baptiſts, and from them he received his ideas of religion, and became a heretick, though he never ſaw them. He reſigned all his preferments, married lady Sophia Straſſi, and after her death a ſecond lady of the family of Zborowſky, and ſettled at Cracow among the Calviniſts. The pope excommunicated him, but he treated his anathema with contempt, for the emperour for political reaſons continued to protect him. He was well acquainted with ſeveral branches of philoſophy and the mathematicks, with the ſciences of phyſick, hiſtory, theology, and the civil law. He copied Cicero three times over with his own hand. He had ſomething majeſtick in his face, and in the air of his countenance, though he was ſingularly modeſt and baſhful as a lady. His life was regular and virtuous, his manners elegant and eaſy, and his benevolence warm and extenſive. This character is almoſt all taken from thoſe, who conſidered him as a heretick (4). In what terms would thoſe who knew him beſt deſcribe him!

The liberal ſentiments of Philipowſki met the hearty approbation of Dudith, for he had laid it down as a maxim that there was no ſin in a mere miſconception of the mind, and hence he inferred, that men might think differently without injury to their virtue, that conſcience ought to be left uncontrolled, and that no puniſhment ſhould be inflicted on pretended hereticks. It was this principle, ſays the continuator of Fleury, that led him among the Unitarians, for there, adds he, he might ſay what he would on every ſubject (5). On this affair he wrote to Wolff, a divine at Zurich, to Beza and others ſoon after this interview with Philipowſki (6). In his letters he deſires the ſwiſs divines in their future epiſtles to him to omit the pompous prelatical titles, which he had laid aſide with popery, but which they were ſo unacquainted with the world as to continue to give him in their addreſſes. He laments the condition of the reformed in Poland, which, ſays he, reſembles the chaos of the poets, heat and cold, wet and dry, contending for maſtery, and which he attributes in great meaſure to their inflammatory letters. He endeavours to convince his correſpondents that there is no ſuch thing in any of their churches as uniformity of faith, and that it is not in the power of man to produce it. He laughs at their creeds, and ſays, they deſerve to be called not confeſſions but confuſions. He ſhews the folly of appealing to fathers and councils, and the abſurdity as well as the injuſtice of employing capital puniſhments. Tell me, ſays he to Wolff, my learned friend, now that the Calviniſts have burnt Servetus, and beheaded Gentilis, and murdered many others, having baniſhed Bernard Ochin with his wife and children from your city in the depth of a ſharp winter; now that the Lutherans have expelled Laſco with the congregation of foreigners that came out of England with him, in an extremely rigorous ſeaſon of the year: having done a great many ſuch exploits, all contrary to the genius of chriſtianity, how, I aſk, how ſhall we meet the papiſts? with what face can we tax them with cruelty? How dare we ſay, OUR WEAPONS ARE NOT CARNAL? How can we any longer urge, LET BOTH GROW TOGETHER TILL THE HARVEST? Let us ceaſe to boaſt, that faith cannot be compelled, and that conſcience ought to be free (7).

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(4) FLEURY *Hiſt. Eccles. tom. xxxii. An.* 1562. *xxxvi. an.* 1589. MOSHEIM *Eccles. Hiſt. vol. iv. cent. xvi. ſect. iii. p.* 2. *note.* LABBEI *Concil. tom. xiv. an.* 1562. SCHELHORNII *Amænitat. Hiſt. Eccles. Hiſtoria operis a Reginaldo Polo adverſus Henric. viii.* THUANI *Hiſt. &c. &c.* SANDII *Bibliot. p.* 61. LUBIENIECII *Hiſt. Ref. Pol. p.* 222. *Vita* REGINALDI POLI Binardus. . . apud Polum quoad vixit permanſit. Ille, non paucis additis nonnullis etiam demptis. . . fecit. *In præfatione* DUDICII.

(5) FLEURY *ut ſupra. tom. xxxvi. p.* 296.

(6) An. 1569.

Never was a finer pen than that of Dudith. With all the penetration of a man, who thoroughly underſtood the artifices of eccleſiaſtical politicians, with all the powers of wit, argument, learning, and liberality of ſentiment, he addreſſed, I wiſh we could add, and diſarmed the godly proſecutors at Zurich and Geneva. "You contend, ſays he to Beza, that ſcripture is a perfect rule of faith and practice. But you are all divided about the ſenſe of ſcripture, and you have not ſettled who ſhall be judge. You ſay one thing, Stancarus another. You quote ſcripture, he quotes ſcripture. You reaſon, he reaſons. You require me to believe you. I reſpect you: but why ſhould I truſt you rather than Stancarus? You ſay, he is a heretick: but the papiſts ſay, you are both hereticks. Shall I believe them? They quote hiſtorians and fathers: ſo do you. To whom do you all addreſs yourſelves? Where is the judge? You ſay, the ſpirits of the prophets are ſubject to the prophets: but you ſay I am no prophet, and I ſay, you are not one. Who is to be judge? I love liberty as well as you. You have broken off your yoke, allow me to break mine. Having freed yourſelves from the tyranny of popiſh prelates, why do you turn eccleſiaſtical tyrants yourſelves, and treat others with barbarity and cruelty for only doing what you ſet them an example to do? You contend, that your lay-hearers, the magiſtrates, and not you are to be blamed, for it is they who baniſh and burn for hereſy. I know you make this excuſe: but tell me, have not you inſtilled ſuch principles into their ears? Have they done any thing more than put in practice the doctrine, that you taught them? Have you not told them how glorious it was to defend the faith? Have you not been the conſtant panegyriſts of ſuch princes as have depopulated whole diſtricts for hereſy? Do you not daily teach, that they who appeal from your confeſſions to ſcripture ought to be puniſhed by the ſecular power? It is impoſſible for you to deny this. Does not all the world know, that you are a ſet of demagogues, or (to ſpeak more mildly) a ſort of tribunes, and that the magiſtrates do nothing but exhibit in publick what you teach in private? You try to juſtify the the baniſhment of Ochin, and the execution of others, and you ſeem to wiſh Poland would follow your example. God forbid! When you talk of your Augſburg confeſſion and your helvetick creed, and your unanimity, and your fundamental truths, I keep thinking of the ſixth commandment, THOU SHALT NOT KILL. Farewell, moſt learned and reſpected Beza. Take what I have ſaid in good part, and continue your friendſhip for me." This is only a ſketch of a letter, but theſe hints may ſerve to ſhew the temper and the turn of the man. The genevan and ſwiſs divines did not reaſon thus, they called the pernicious practices which Dudith condemns, healing the wounds of the church.

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(7) SOCINI *Opera tom. i.* ANDREÆ DUDICII. JOAN. WOLFIO. THEOD. BEZA. &c. *Epiſtolæ.*

Philipowſki, being determined to leave no mean untried, turned his eye to one door of hope, that was the moravian Baptiſts. There was a gentleman of Vilna, named Mundius, of ſenatorial rank, and of eminent piety, who had lately ſpent a few weeks in Moravia, and who at his return ſpoke in very high terms of the Baptiſts there. He ſaid, they were men of ſingular piety, modeſty, charity, and purity of manners, they differed in his opinion from the Baptiſts of Poland in nothing except the one article of holding all things common. A deputation was ſent to converſe with the Moravians. Philipowſki was one, the miniſter Schoman was another, and Simon Ronemberg a druggiſt of Cracow a third, a man remarked for his eminent ability in prayer; a few more accompanied them. When they arrived they converſed with theſe brethren, and were extremely pleaſed with the regularity of their lives, and the ſimple diſcipline of their churches: but when they came to ſpeak of the doctrine of the nature of God, and affirm that they did not believe the ſupreme being exiſted in three perſons, the Moravians conſidered them as little better than atheiſts, and contended ſo ſharply for a triune God as to convince the Poles, that they could not admit Arians into their communion. Back they went ſolitary and ſad, and their report was ſo affecting to the reſt, that, adding to it the diſmal ſtate of affairs at home, they thought of throwing all up and reſigning to a fate which ſeemed to forbid them to ſtrive any longer for peace, againſt a world gone mad with errour and vice and intolerance. For a few weeks moſt left off preaching, only Czechovicius and Schoman perſevered.

The good apothecary, Ronemberg, whoſe profeſſion had led him to underſtand that no caſe is deſperate till the patient is dead, and that great events are often produced by little cauſes, determined like another Ezra to try to renew the face of the church. He ſaw that all their misfortunes proceeded from ſomething wrong at bottom. He carried his eye down the conſtitution, the baſe on which they had all along been building, and obſerved that they had not diſtinguiſhed reformation from renovation: but had begun to purify religion by the ſame means by which the catholicks had corrupted it. Jeſus had not touched property, but had taught a doctrine, which his hearers firſt believed as individuals, and then aſſociated themſelves in companies called churches to preſerve and perpetuate by inſtruction and example. The catholicks on the contrary had ſat down at a table, deſcribed a country in a map, divided by a pen into diſtricts called pariſhes, and by ſpiritualizing the feudal ſyſtem had given the patronage of conſciences to the lords of the ſoil. The Poles had no written law till the fourteenth century, but as it was natural for men in their condition to do, the lord erected an edifice for the uſe of his tenants and ſlaves and appointed a prieſt to inſtruct them: but as he was given to underſtand that religion was a profound ſcience, which none but eccleſiaſticks could comprehend, he was eaſily perſuaded to nominate none but ſuch as had been examined and approved by their ſuperiours, and had received a licenſe to officiate (7). For the ſupport of this official the lord generally ſet apart ſome lands called glebe, and obliged his tenants to contribute ſomething more in kind or in caſh called tithes. Thus patronage was property and deſcended from father to ſon, and the eſtabliſhed clergy obtained a preſcriptive right to be preſented to theſe livings (8). When the poliſh nobility began to think for themſelves they diſcovered the cheat, but they did not find out at once the true relief. They firſt required the incumbents to teach a purer doctrine, which they could not, becauſe ſome of them did not underſtand it, and others did not like it. Then they procured ſuch teachers as they did approve, and availed themſelves of a right guarantied by expreſs law, that is, of keeping domeſtick chaplains. This was expenſive and often inconvenient, for the ſame law that allowed them to keep domeſtick chaplains, and to have divine ſervice performed in their caſtles, and if they thought proper to erect family chapels and to found new churches, forbad them to touch the glebe and the tithes and the dues, which their anceſtors had appropriated to the pariſh prieſt (9). When a catholick prieſt vacated a living, and the lord preſented his reformed chaplain, the biſhop often refuſed to inveſt him, and objected that he did not anſwer the deſcription of ſuch as he was bound by a canonical oath to induct. This produced contention, and the patron made his chaplain preach abroad, and appeal to the people for the goodneſs of his doctrine. Hence aroſe the queſtion, who is to judge. The anſwer was, ſcripture. Thus far the Pinckzovians went along with all the reformed: but when it was found that the reformed themſelves entertained very different ideas of the ſenſe of ſcripture, the queſtion came up again, who is to determine. Some of their miniſters had been put into livings by patrons, ſome complaiſant biſhops had ordained them, and they had written in favour of hereſy and practiſed anabaptiſm on their PRÆDIA, which in their church latin ſignifies the glebe with the parſonage: but it was unnatural, and their religion was impracticable there in ſome of its eſſential parts (1). According to the conſtitution of the church theſe incumbents though they held the benefits annexed to the livings of lay patrons yet owed canonical obedience to the prelates.

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(7) MARTINI CROMERI *De Republica Polonorum.* Nullæ extant leges antiquiores iis quas Cazimirus magnus rex condidit. Priſcis temporibus viva lex erat rex vel princeps.

(8) IBID. In parœciis... uſitatum et legitimum eſt, ut jus edendi ſit penes eos unde profecta eſt dotatio... tamen penes epiſcopum approbatio et reprobatio.

(9) OTTONIS *Annales.* An. 233. S. 8. JAC. BASNAGII *Theſaur. tom. iv.* *Concil. Vien.* cum multis aliis.

(1) RICHARDI COSINI *Eccles. Anglic. Politeia.*

Inſtead of yielding ſuch obedience, they held ſynods of their own, and thus ſet up an hierarchy within an hierarchy, which was intolerable to the one, and ineffectual to the other. Happy for theſe people, all parties, the great and the little hierarchy agreed to deteſt and expel them, for then they formed a new church without a maſter, and agreed that each ſhould be lord of his own conſcience. Many of the nobility received them into their towns, and built chapels and ſchools for them, but though they continued abſolute lords of the ſoil, and the dead materials, yet they ceaſed to be patrons of the aſſemblies that made uſe of them. Whether Ronemberg found this out on his journey to Moravia by converſing with the Baptiſts there, as it ſhould ſeem, or whether by a letter of Blandrata written to Philipowſki, or whether he obtained the knowledge of it by reading the new teſtament and by reaſoning on it, is not certain: but he was the man who taught the Baptiſts of Poland to ſeparate civil patronage from religion, and to enjoy religious freedom in a country where the people had neither civil liberty nor property. A foreign writter ſays, an Anabaptiſt is an illiterate Socinian: and a Socinian is nothing but a learned Anabaptiſt. If he means, that all the Baptiſts, though ſome of them do not know it, act on the principles of perſonal liberty, which learned Socinians have demonſtrated, he ſays the truth (2).

By Ronemberg's advice and perſuaſion a few profeſſed their faith and repentance, were baptized by immerſion, and formed themſelves into a regular independent church (3). The trial ſucceeded, the ſcattered flock repaired to fold, they increaſed every day, and multiplied ſo amazingly in a few years that all parties found they muſt be allowed the rights of citizens, and put under the protection of clear explicit law. Their great men were innumerable, they had power, and they would be heard. They formed flouriſhing congregations at Cracow, Lublin, Pinckzow, Lucclaw, Smigla, Racow, and other places, where they lived in as much peace as they could wiſh. While theſe infant communities are growing, we will juſt glance at two events, the ſynod of Sendomir, and the election of a new king.

The ſynod of Sendomir was held for the purpoſe of uniting the three parties of Lutherans, Calviniſts, and bohemian Brethren, not by the philipovian bond of mutual toleration, but by the old papal tie of a publick faith, a creed ſo profound as to contain the ſpeculations of the moſt rigid, and ſo ſuperficial as to ſit ſoft on the conſciences of the moſt lax. The three bodies, after ſeveral previous meetings to adjuſt offenſive words, aſſembled by their delegates. On the part of the Lutherans was Eraſmus

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(2) HOORNBEEK *Summa Controv.* Anabaptiſta indoctus Socinianus: Socinianus autem doctus Anabaptiſta. *De Anabaptiſmo.*

(3) SCHOMANNI *teſtamentum.* Deus miſertus noſtri, per optimum virum D. Simonem Pharmacopæum, ut per Eſdram, res noſtras collapſas reſtituit, et miniſterium cum baptiſmo adultorum ibidem in illis tumultibus erexit. p. 195.

Gliczner ſuperintendent of the lutheran churches in Great Poland: on the part of the Calviniſts Paul Gilovius, ſuperintendent of the churches of the helvetick confeſſion in Little Poland: and on the part of the bohemian Brethren John Laurence ſuperintendent of the churches of the unity in Great Poland: each with ſeveral aſſiſtants. Many noblemen delegates from the churches were preſent. In this famous convention, all the buſineſs of which had been done beforehand, the three creeds were thrown together, and a fourth was formed to ſuit all parties. This was ſigned by two palatines, by ſeveral miniſters in the names of other palatines and caſtellans who had empowered them, by the three ſuperintendents in their own names and in thoſe of their brethren, and by ſeveral aſſiſtants, in all twenty-five. This ſingular agreement begins by acknowledging the goodneſs of God in ridding their orthodox churches of ſectaries, Tritheiſts, Ebionites, and Anabaptiſts, it goes on to acknowledge the trinity, the preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament after a certain ſort, it proceeds with a declaration that they will take one another for orthodox brethren, bury all controverſies in oblivion, and preach in one another's churches, each conforming to the rites of the church he ſhall happen to preach in, and it concludes with thanking God for bringing them out of the darkneſs of popery into the pure light of the goſpel, and they beſeech him to bleſs their union (4).

A learned writer on this ſubject ſays, "At the union of Sendomir the Arians wept, and the devil mourned." We can ſay nothing of ſatan, but the Arians did weep to ſee mankind led back to popery by the artifice of a reformed prieſthood. Before this ſynod met, the parties had held many fruitleſs conferences, becauſe each inſiſted that their creed ſhould be received as the beſt, and laid as the ground of the union, ſetting the others aſide. This could not be granted. Then it was propoſed to compile a fourth out of all the three, but neither ſide would agree to this till it was ſettled that they ſhould all three keep their own creeds for private uſe. The lutheran divines would not accede to this till the nobility with tears in their eyes beſought them not to perſiſt in preventing an union, which would ſo much recommend them to the king and to foreign churches. At laſt the Lutherans got the fourteenth article of the ſaxon creed inſerted, and the two other parties agreed to teach the doctrine of the real preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament. After it was ſigned, they diſpatched deputies to Heidelberg with a copy to inquire whether any thing more was neceſſary, and though they were informed, that the agreement would do, yet they were obliged by a great many ſubſequent agreements to explain, amend, and dilate this, till their canons ran in the ſtyle of thoſe made in old popiſh councils, and only power was wanting to produce all the former effects. In the ſynod of Petrikow, held in fifteen hundred and ſeventy-eight, they grant ſome people leave to ſtand at the Lord's table, but forbid any to ſit, becauſe it was imitating the perfidious apoſtate Arians. In another they forbid ſitting becauſe it was not the cuſtom of their churches, and becauſe nobody did ſo, except the infidel Arians, who affected to be equal with God. In a ſynod held in fifteen hundred and ninety-five they lay a tax on all their people, and for authority to do ſo they quote a canon of their own made in another ſynod held in fifteen hundred and eighty-three (5). Indeed they ſung Te Deum at Sendomir, and cried for joy, but, it is true enough, the Baptiſts wept firſt at their folly for imagining this was religion, next their duplicity to prevaricate in a matter ſo ſacred, then their meanneſs for ſending into Germany to know what they themſelves in Poland might profeſs to believe, after that their worldly-mindedneſs in courting ſecular honour and power by ſuch a ſhadow of uniformity, which had no foundation in fact, and laſtly for their malice and injuſtice for writing libels on their neighbours and recording them under the names of moſt holy ſynodical canons. If character be property, this may be an orthodox, but it is not an honourable way of depriving men of it. There is a canon of very ancient date, and of the higheſt authority, which ſays, THOU SHALT NOT BEAR FALSE WITNESS AGAINST THY NEIGHBOUR.

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(4) Conſenſus in fide et religione primo Sendomiriæ, deinceps in aliis, ac demum Ulodiſlavienſi, &c. Heidelbergæ, 1605.

In the year fifteen hundred and ſeventy-two, two years after the ſynod at Sendomir, Sigiſmund Auguſtus king of Poland, one of the beſt of princes, paid the debt of nature. He was the laſt ſon of the favourite family of Jagellon, and left no iſſue, though he had been married three times. Only a ſingle ſiſter ſurvived him. His majeſty had about a month's illneſs, and, when his life was deſpaired of, he was removed into Lithuania to die, leſt his laſt moments ſhould be diſturbed with cabals about a ſucceſſor. After the deceaſe of the king, the nobility of Poland held a diet to deliberate on what laws they ſhould give a ſucceſſor, and began by making one for themſelves of which this is the ſubſtance. "We, ſenators of the kingdom ſpiritual and ſecular, the whole equeſtrian order, and other ſtates of the united republick of Poland .... make known to all and ſingular perſons for a perpetual memorial, that, being aſſembled in diet at Warſaw in this critical juncture without a king ... after the example of our anceſtors we have taken all poſſible care to procure and preſerve the internal peace, juſtice, and good order, as well as the external defence of the republick, and for this purpoſe with ſincere and unanimous conſent, we all pledge ourſelves to each other, and promiſe in the name of the whole republick, and bind ourſelves by honour, faith, and a good conſcience to the following articles . . . " We will not conſent to the coronation of any king, who will not ſecure to us by a ſolemn oath all the rights and privileges, which we ſhall offer him after his election . . . In the firſt place, he ſhall make oath to preſerve and defend univerſal peace among diſſidents in religion . . . . and whereas there are in this republick many different opinions of the chriſtian religion, and being cautious leſt any dangerous ſedition ſhould be occaſioned by ſuch difference among the inhabitants of this country, as hath been the caſe in ſome other kingdoms, we pledge ourſelves for ourſelves and our ſucceſſors for ever under the ſolemn obligations of our oath, faith, honour, and conſcience, that we who differ in religion will maintain peace among ourſelves, and on account of difference in faith and rules of worſhip will ſhed no blood, inflict no penalties, either confiſcation of goods, or diſhonour, or impriſonment, or baniſhment: nor will we aid or aſſiſt any official or any ſupreme court to carry on ſuch a proceſs: moreover, we bind ourſelves to reſiſt every one, who under any pretence of law or judicial proceſs ſhall diſturb ſociety on this account . . . all theſe we mutually bind ourſelves and our ſucceſſors conſtantly to obſerve, in good faith, honour, and conſcience. If any one ſhall oppoſe this contract, and diſturb the peace and publick order of ſociety, we will riſe up and deſtroy him (6)."

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(5) Ceremonias libertati chriſtianæ donamus ac permittimus, ut ſtantes vel genua flectentes pii ſacramentum corporis et ſanguinis Chriſti ſumant. Seſſionis vero ad menſam Domini, quia præter ritus in omnibus per Europam evangelicis eccleſiis vulgo conſuetos illi inter nos primi authores extiterunt, qui omuia temere in eccleſia immutantes, et ſine ſcientia chriſtum quaſi imitantes a nobis ad Arrianiſmum perfidi transfugæ facti ſunt.... admodum ſcandaloſam ceremoniam rejicimus. *Petricov. Syn.* can. 10. Hæc ceremonia cœtibus evangelicis non eſt uſitata, tantumque infidelibus Arianis cum Domino pari ſolio ſeſe collocantibus propria. Ulodiſlavienſis Synodus. can. vi. ... Collecta ad fovendas ſcholas ſecundum Petricov. Syn. can. viii. Item Uladis. Syn. can. 10. ab omnibus patronis ex propria ipſorum arca, pro conſcientia cujuſque conferatur: ut dent a ſingulis ruſticis agrum excolentibus ſingulos florenos, &c. Toruniens. Synodus. can. xii.

The ſucceſsful candidate for the crown was Henry of France, brother of Charles IX. and the reference in the above contract to other kingdoms, which ſuffered by perſecution, was made with a view to the bloody maſſacre of the proteſtants of France five months before, which had filled all Europe with horrour. The ambaſſadours of Henry received and confirmed theſe articles in the name of the king elect as a part of the PACTA CONVENTA of the kingdom. When Henry came into Poland and was given to underſtand the doctrine of contracts, which the monarchs of France are very apt to forget, he diſcovered ſome reluctance to ſign this contract upon oath, as the Poles required, till the ſtern palatine Zborowſki ſhrewdly ſaid, IF YOU REFUSE THE OATH, YOU SHALL NOT WEAR THE CROWN. Some ſay Henry was in the great church, the nobility all in waiting to crown him, the crown and the compact lying before him, that he diſcovered a reluctance to ſign the articles which related to liberty of conſcience, and tried to evade them, and that the palatine of Cracow ſeizing the crown, as belonging to the republick, and not to him, and uttering this exclamation, was going away with it out of the church. However it were Henry complied, and ſaid, " I Henry . . . ſolemnly promiſe and ſwear by Almighty God... that all laws, liberties, immunities, privileges publick and private... allowed by former kings my predeceſſors... or made by all the orders of the kingdom in diet during interregnums, and now offered to me, I will maintain and obſerve... peace and tranquillity among diſſidents in religion I will maintain and defend, nor will I injure or oppreſs or permit to be oppreſſed in any manner, or by any perſon, or under any pretence whatever any one on account of religion. So help me God! (7)."

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(6) JURA ET LIBERTATES DISSIDENTIUM . . . *in Polonia, et M. D. Lithuaniæ. Ex legibus regni. Anno* 1573, *Jan.* 28, *Berolini.*

Before this liberty was obtained, and three years before Sigiſmund Auguſtus died, the Baptiſts formed themſelves into churches. It is generally underſtood that George Schoman was the founder of that at Cracrow: but this could not be, for he ſays that God, in the year fifteen hundred and ſixty-nine, by means of that excellent chriſtian the druggiſt, reſtored their affairs, and ſet up the miniſtry with the baptiſm of adults: but Schoman was not baptized himſelf till three years after, when, ſays he, "on the laſt day of Auguſt in the year fifteen hundred and ſeventy-two, I being forty-two years of age, was baptized at Chmielnicia in the name of Chriſt. The next year my wife was baptized in the garden of the caſtellan of Cracow, and the year after my wife's mother was baptized at Chmielnicia (8)." It is not likely that Schoman baptized others before he was baptized himſelf, and it is more probable, that Czechovicius, or ſome others, who had been long before baptizing adults by immerſion in the provinces, officiated on this occaſion. This is not a matter of any conſequence: but to omit accuracy where it can be obtained would argue negligence. The church at Cracow ſeems to have been formed in fifteen hundred and ſixty-nine by Gregory Pauli and Ronemberg, but it was conſtituted as it is called in England, ſtrict, that is no perſons were admitted to communion except ſuch as had been previouſly baptized, and it continued ſo ſome years (9). Pauli was paſtor, Ronemberg was one of the elders, and in fifteen hundred and ſeventy-three Schoman went thither to aſſiſt Pauli (1). The church was at firſt ſmall, and like moſt of the baptiſt churches in their beginnings, not remarkable for any thing except a ſincere attachment to truth as far as they knew it, a ſerious ſober moral deportment, and a ſpirit of warm devotion towards God. There were many other churches formed about the ſame time in all parts of the kingdom: but before we examine their peaceable ſettlement under the protection of the law, we will juſt account for the diſappearance of ſeveral, who had been principals in the former ſtruggles.

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(7) IBID. *Vindiciæ Unitariorum.* Compellante Joanne Zborovio, ſi non jurabis non regnabis. p. 271.... REGENVOLSCII *Hiſt. Eccles. Slav. lib. i. cap.* 13.

(8) SCHOMANNI *Teſtamentum,* 1572. Ultimo Auguſti ego ætatis 42. baptizatus ſum, &c. p. 195.

(9) SOCINI *opera. tom. i.* Initio cum evangelicis reformatis eandem frequentabant eccleſiam ... ſed poſtquam quidam ex evangelicis ... eos pro hæreticis habitos tolerare noluerunt. Itaque Cracoviæ, duce potiſſimum Gregorio Pauli concionatore cœtus ſeparatos habere cæperunt. *Præfatiuncula*.... LUBIENIECII *Hiſt. Ref. Pol.* Schomanus memoriæ ſcriptum reliquit.... Deum opera...., Simonis *Pharmocopæi* (non dubito quin illum *Ronembergium*.. intelligat) collegiſſe in unum; et miniſterium cum baptiſmo adultorum.. erexiſſe. *lib. iii. cap.* 12... SIMONIS RONEMBERGII *F. Socino Epiſt. F. S. Reſponſio.* Si aquæ baptiſmus quem admodum ego aſſerebam, res indifferens eſſet, quam gravis eſſet error eccleſiæ veſtræ, quæ onus hoc aqua baptizandi fratribus impoſuiſſet, adeo ut neminem pro vero fratre agnoſcere, et ad cænam Domini admittere velit, qui rite aqua baptizatus non fuerit. *Opera Socini. tom. i. p.* 429.

(1) SCHOMANI *Teſt.* an. 1573. Miſſus ſum Cracoviam ad miniſterium minoris eccleſiæ, p. 195.

The great prince Nicholas Radzivil died in fifteen hundred and ſixty-ſeven, and was carried to the grave on the ſhoulders of his four ſons, Nicholas, George, Albert, and Staniſlaus, who firſt heard his funeral ſermon in a flood of tears, and then performed the filial office of carrying him to the ground. John a Laſco died in fifteen hundred and fifty-nine. Liſmaninus had retired to Koningſburg in Pruſſia, and died there in fifteen hundred and ſixty-three. He had the misfortune to be united to a wife unfaithful to her marriage vow, and as he had been always ſubject to fits, either by accident or by contrivance he fell in one of them into a well, and was drowned. Stancarus died about fifteen hundred and ſeventy-three at the houſe of Peter Zborowſky, ſon of Andrew. Dr. Blandrata had removed into Tranſilvania in fifteen hundred and ſixty-three, partly to avoid the perſecution, which Calvin by letters excited againſt him, and partly to enjoy the eaſe and emoluments offered him by the prince. Zebridowſky was dead, Hoſius grew old, and was now turned of ſeventy. Calvin died in fifteen hundred and ſixty-four, and Geſner the year after, and paſſion, which at firſt had come in like a tide on both ſides, had ſpent its force and retreated. Philipowſki and Dudith had begun to ſhed the mild influences of their advice and examples, and the baptiſt churches like the ſwelling buds of a backward ſpring waited only for this ſunſhine of liberty to break out, and diſplay themſelves.

The firſt thing, that employed their attention was a reviſal and republication of the bible, which had been publiſhed by the Pinckzovians a few years before (2). Two years after they ſent into the world a ſummary of their doctrine, drawn up, it ſhould ſeem at firſt by Schoman for the private uſe of his family, and then publiſhed under the title of a catechiſm of the Unitarians. Dr. Moſheim had ſeen one copy, and gives a very curious and ſatisfactory account of it. He ſays, "the ſyſtem of religion that is contained in this catechiſm, is remarkable for its ſimplicity, and is neither loaded with ſcholaſtick terms nor ſubtle diſcuſſions; but it, neverthelеſs, breathes, in ſeveral places, the ſpirit of ſocinianiſm, and that even in thoſe parts of it which its authours look upon as moſt important and fundamental. Nor will this appear ſurprizing to thoſe who conſider that the papers of Lælius Socinus, which he undoubtedly left behind him in Poland, were in the hands of many; and that by the peruſal of them, the Arians, who had formerly the upper hand in the community of the Unitarians, were engaged to change their ſentiments concerning the nature and mediation of Chriſt. It is true, indeed, that the denomination of Socinian was not as yet known. Thoſe, who were afterward diſtinguiſhed by this title, paſſed in Poland, at the time of which we now ſpeak, under the name of Anabaptiſts, becauſe they admitted to baptiſm adult perſons only, and alſo rebaptized thoſe that joined them from other chriſtian churches. This little piece was printed at Cracow, and as the preface ſays, is addreſſed "by the little and afflicted flock in Poland, which was baptized in the name of Jeſus of Nazareth, to all thoſe, who thirſt after eternal ſalvation." Dr. Moſheim infers from this title, that the congregation at Cracow was now extremely ſmall: but, though this is not an improbable conjecture, yet it is far from a demonſtration, and two things are worthy of notice. The baptiſt church at Cracow was always called the LITTLE church to diſtinguiſh it from another of the reformed, which was called the GREAT church. It is likely, too, that the pious Schoman had not then got rid of cant phraſes, and therefore without much diſcernment, in alluſion to two paſſages of ſcripture (Zephaniah iii. 12.... Luke xii. 32.) and without much regard to their numbers and circumſtances made uſe of the terms LITTLE AFFLICTED FLOCK. The preface ſays, "the principal reaſon of this publication was to wipe off the aſperſions that were caſt on the Anabaptiſts." By the way there was more ſhew of reaſon in Poland for calling theſe people Anabaptiſts, than in any other country. In other countries chriſtians were uſually diſtinguiſhed by the names of roman catholicks, evangelicks or lutherans, reformed or calviniſts, united brethren, and ſo on: but in Poland catholicks and lutherans both choſe to call themſelves BAPTISTS, or the baptized, and therefore they denominated theſe people the REBAPTIZED. The people themſelves did not account ſprinkling baptiſm, and they did not own the name, but choſe to be called CHRISTIANS (2). It ſhould ſeem the term anabaptiſt was the invention of ſome ſwiſs pedant, who could not have died eaſy unleſs the world had known he underſtood greek. The doctrine contained in this catechiſm is reduced to ſix points: the nature of God, and his ſon Jeſus Chriſt.. juſtification ... diſcipline ... prayer ... baptiſm ... the Lord's ſupper. The ſubjects are ſaid to be treated of ſuperficially and ſo as to ſhew that the teachers were at this time in this church in a ſtate of infancy in regard to religious knowledge (3).

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(2) An. 1572.

No ſooner had theſe new churches begun to ſettle than freſh troubles diſturbed them. King Henry in leſs than two years after his election having received intelligence that his brother Charles was dead, abdicated the throne of Poland by ſetting off ſuddenly and ſecretly for France, where he ſucceeded to the crown. An interregnum followed, the candidates were powerful, and it was a work of ſome time to ſecure the election of Stephen, a prince of the houſe of Battori in Tranſilvania. It was happily effected, and he was crowned in fifteen hundred and ſeventy-ſix, after he had taken the uſual oaths, and fully agreed to ſecure liberty to diſſenters. He did ſo without any reluctance, for he was an allowed friend of freedom. One of the competitors for the crown was Erneſt, a prince of the houſe of Auſtria, and Dudith whom the emperour yet continued as his ambaſſadour at the court of Poland uſed all his intereſt for him, but the Poles were afraid of making the houſe of Auſtria, already very formidable, too powerful, and therefore they preferred a prince more likely to ſerve their purpoſe. During theſe litigations in the ſtate, which by agitating the nobles affected all ranks of men, the baptiſt churches were engaged in warm diſputes concerning the perſon of Chriſt, and the honour due to him, by letters from the churches in Tranſilvania, where Davidis was teaching that Jeſus Chriſt was a mere prophet born in the ordinary way, and that no religious adoration ought to be paid him. In the midſt of theſe diſputes Fauſtus Socinus came into Poland. It is difficult to determine preciſely the time, when he firſt began to give the Poles his advice. Schomans ſays they converſed with him in fifteen hundred and ſeventy-ſeven: but all other hiſtorians affirm, that he did not go into Poland till fifteen hundred and ſeventy-nine, when he removed thither for the recovery of his health, and ſettled at Cracow. He went among the Baptiſts, and would have been admitted to communion with them: but their diſcipline would not ſuffer it, for they received none without baptiſm, and though he approved of their being baptized, yet he did not think it neceſſary for himſelf (4). Socinus rejected infant-baptiſm as a manifeſt errour, which had no countenance either from reaſon or ſcripture, and which produced many bad effects, and was aſſociated with many great errours. He thought nothing was clearer than that faith and repentance ought to precede baptiſm. At the ſame time he did not think baptiſm a perpetual ordinance: but if it were to be adminiſtered at all, it was to thoſe who were converted from other religions to the chriſtian. He blamed the church at Cracow for making baptiſm a term of communion. However he attended their publick aſſemblies, publiſhed books in defence of them, and by the ſuperiority of his genius and addreſs became the oracle of the poliſh Baptiſts, and in time brought the greateſt part of them into his doctrinal ſentiments. This was ſo evident, that they acquired from him the new name of Socinians, and moſt of their writings expreſs the higheſt admiration of his abilities and virtue.

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(2) ANDREÆ WISSOWATTI *vita.* Ipſi, Chriſtum Dominum pro uno magiſtro agnoſcentes, ſimpliciter *Chriſtiani* cognominari voluere. Cæteri namque in eodem regno, tam romano catholici quam Evangelici, *Chrzeſciani*, a *Chrzeſt* quod baptiſmum denotat, nuncupari amant... Novo baptizantium, ſive novo baptizatorum, quo Polonico idiomate *nowo Chrzczency*, titulum nacti ſunt, &c. pag. 225.

(3) MOSHEIM'S *Eccles. Hiſt. cent. xvi. ſect. iii. part* 2.

The ſentiments of this great man are, or may eaſily be, ſo fully known that it ſhould ſeem needleſs to repeat them. At the bottom of ſocinianiſm lies this article, the foundation of the whole ſyſtem: the nature and uſe of reaſon in the chriſtian religion. Other chriſtians think, that revelation addreſſes a ſet of facts to our faith, and propoſes evidences of the truth of the facts to our reaſon; but the Socinians think the facts themſelves are addreſſed to our reaſon, and hence they infer that every thing incomprehenſible in religion is incredible. On this principle they deny the divinity of Chriſt, though they allow, not very conſiſtently, that he was formed of a virgin by an extraordinary act of divine power, of which they have no idea. On this principle, though they believe all our knowledge of divine things is ſolely derived from ſcripture, yet they try ſcripture by ſo many of what they call reaſonable canons of interpretation, that they take more liberties with the ſacred text to reduce it to what they apprehend the reaſon and fitneſs of things require than any other party of chriſtians. On this principle though they publiſh confeſſions and creeds, yet they impoſe none, becauſe what appears clear to a man of ſuperiour talents muſt neceſſarily ſeem abſtruſe, not to ſay incredible, to a man of inferiour abilities, and both are bound to follow their own ideas, which are their own reaſon. On this principle they reject the doctrines of predeſtination and original ſin, and grace or the influence of the ſpirit, and affirm, that the term ſpirit ſignifies the power of God, that this power tranſlated Jeſus to heaven, where he was fully inſtructed in the knowledge and the will of God, that then he was ſent back into this world to inform mankind of a new rule of life, which he enforced by his example, and confirmed by his death, that they who obey his voice ſhall at the reſurrection be perfectly happy in a future ſtate, that ſuch as diſobey ſhall then be ſeverely puniſhed according to their deſerts, which puniſhment ſhall end in their annihilation, and that it is intirely in the power of every man to avoid this miſery, and to obtain that felicity. Their moral doctrine is like that of all other chriſtians, and excels that of moſt chriſtians in benevolence. It is remarkable, that ſocinianiſm has never been in faſhion with the illiterate: for in regard to the poliſh churches the miniſters, and the far greater part of the members were either noblemen, or eminent ſcholars, or both. Such citizens as were members of their churches, and the knowledge of whom is come to us, appear to have been men of acuteneſs, and ſome literature. The lower ſort of people make ſo little appearance in the hiſtory of Poland, that it is impoſſible to ſay whether they comprehended that preciſe part of the theology of thoſe churches, which we call ſocinianiſm. It is highly probable that they underſtood only the general outlines of the ſcheme, ſuch as the unity of God in general, the doctrine of providence, the neceſſity of repentance, and of believing Jeſus Chriſt, the importance of a holy life, the ſufficiency of ſcripture, the doctrine of future rewards and puniſhments, and ſo on: all which are accompaniments of ſocinianiſm, but ſocinianiſm itſelf conſiſts of refined reaſonings beyond all theſe, and which, it ſhould ſeem, lay far beyond both the abilities and the acquirements of the great numbers of ſlaves in Poland who joined theſe churches. The chief recommendations of ſocinianiſm are three, ſimplicity oppoſed to myſtery, benevolence oppoſed to narrow-mindedneſs, and reaſonableneſs oppoſed to enthuſiaſm. It is a ſtrong objection to the firſt that it requires an acuteneſs and accuracy of thinking, and has never been popular. It is an objection to the ſecond that curious inveſtigations of abſtract ſubjects have a natural tendency to contract the mind, and confine it to a few rather than to expand it to all mankind: and it is an objection to the laſt, that if reaſon be ſufficient to reform revelation, revelation is inferiour to reaſon, and will take as many forms as there are capacities to judge of it.

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(4) GEO. SCHOMANI *Teſtament.* anno 1577. Colloquium cum Domino Fauſto Socino de baptiſmo habuimus, quem in nobis probabat, in ſe hoc minus neceſſarium dicebat, quia non a nobis religionem didiciſſet, pag. 196,

Socinus was not learned, and was inferiour to his uncle in ſeveral reſpects: but he was a man of fine underſtanding, and great firmneſs. He wrote ciceronian latin, and by the purity of his morals, the elegance and eaſe of his manners, and the eloquence with which he clothed his arguments, he attracted the notice of the nobility and acquired univerſal eſteem. He took off the diſgrace of anabaptiſm, infuſed a liberal diſcipline into their churches, gave the unitarian ſyſtem, which had been frittered before, an air of regularity and beauty, and under his foſtering hand the Baptiſts grew into a multitude diſtinguiſhed ſome by their birth and rank, others by their opulence and munificence, many by their learning, and all by a proſperity, which crowned their utmoſt wiſhes with ſucceſs.

The moſt eminent church at firſt was that at Cracow (4). Pauli and Schoman were the teachers. Ronemberg was one of the elders and Andrew Lubienietzki a deacon. This young gentleman was of a noble family, and was at court in high favour with his majeſty, who intended to have given him the firſt offices under the crown: but he, following his own convictions, inſtead of becoming lord high chancellor, or general of the forces, as before he had reaſon to expect, forſook the court and promotion, and joined himſelf to the church. He was publickly baptized by immerſion at a village three miles from the city, and, probably in reſpect to the admiring courtiers, in a ſplendid dreſs (5). Being a man of ample fortune he ſpent his life in freely ſerving the churches, either as a deacon or a teacher. He had two brothers, who quitted the court, and imitated his example, and from them deſcended a large family, who all copied their parents. This church was honoured for ſome years with the preſence of he imperial ambaſſadour Dudith, that incomparable Dudith, who took for his creed the ode ſung by the angels at the birth of Jeſus, " Glory to God in the higheſt, and on earth peace and good will among men." While he was in the church of Rome he laboured to obtain reformation: but his candid heart and gentle manners produced nothing there but admiration and friendſhip for his perſon (6). When he firſt quitted the catholick church he tried the Lutherans, and then taſted the ſpirit of the Calviniſts, always reaſoning for the ſufficiency of ſcripture, and the abſolute freedom of conſcience (7). They at firſt, fired with the glory of having ſuch a convert, babbled about the fathers to him, and he, generous ſoul, condeſcended to try to ſet them right, and to put them in poſſeſſion of that liberty wherewith Chriſt had made his followers free. One thing rendered him ſuſpected, he never allowed himſelf to call Arians and Anabaptiſts hereticks, and he reproved them for doing ſo. At length they abuſed him, and told them his writings were filled with arianiſm, ſabellianiſm, and all the other iſms that conſtituted antichriſt. This was taking too much liberty with a man of his rank, and he wrote in anſwer to a ſophiſt of this kind a ſhort note in the ſpirit of Hannibal, when he gave his opinion of an old pedant at Epheſus, who had the arrogance in a publick harangue to addreſs military rules, which he had picked up in books, to the firſt general in the world (8). Wearied out with the perſecuting ſpirit of theſe men, he quitted them, and aſſociated himſelf with the Baptiſts, whom he continued to honour with his preſence till his death. Another ornament of this ſociety was ſecretary Fricz of Modrew, an intimate friend of Dudith. This gentleman received his firſt religions impreſſions when he was in imminent danger of his life. When he was very young ſome affairs called him to Cracow. A young gentleman of his acquaintance accompanied him. They lodged one night at an inn on the road, where the family was all in health, but where they heard the plague was at Cracow. They were obliged to go forward, and having procured all the guardians of health that the medical art afforded, they proceeded on their journey, and though they found the city much worſe than they had apprehended, yet they diſpatched their buſineſs, and returned in perfect health, and with a high opinion of the medical precaution which had preſerved them. Journeying on they arrived late at night at the inn, where they had lodged before. It was cold, they ordered a large fire, ſupper, and beds. After they had enjoyed themſelves two hours, they underſtood that the miſtreſs of the inn and two maid ſervants had died ſuddenly of the plague. They were thunderſtruck, and thought themſelves dead men: but while they were chiding the maſter for not informing them, and deliberating what to do, a fine child of three months old in perfect health ſet out a crying in the cradle. THIS CHILD, ſaid one of the ſervants, LAY SUCKING AT THE BREAST OF MY MISTRESS WHEN SHE EXPIRED. This information was life from the dead to the travellers, they took heart, admired providence, which had preſerved a babe in ſuch imminent danger, and hoped they ſhould eſcape unhurt. They did ſo, but they converſed all the way back on providence, and from thence by a natural tranſition they proceeded to talk of predeſtination, and thirty years after Modrewſki publiſhed a treatiſe on theſe ſubjects in the preface to which addreſſed to his companion he relates this ſtory, and the deep impreſſions the affair had made on them both (9). Of this ſort of men and of pious citizens of every rank was this aſſembly compoſed. Socinus, who was one, taught them to hold open communion, and though they practiſed believer's baptiſm, yet to tolerate infant-baptiſm, not by performing it in their church but by admitting ſuch members as were ſatiſfied with their own baptiſm in infancy, or ſuch as held it unneceſſary to any except firſt converts to chriſtianity (1).

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(4) Anno. 1580.

(5) STAN. LUBIENIECII *Hiſt. Ref. Pol.* Andreas Lubieniecius. . . relicta aula Cracoviæ Veliciam. . . ſe conferens genuino ritu baptiſmi ſplendide veſtitus ſuſcepto eccleſiæ magna cum aulæ admiratione ſe adjunxit. lib. iii. cap. 4.

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(6) Petri Fontidonii *Præfat. ad orationes Dudicii.* Cum in Reverendiſſimi Epiſcopi Tinienſis Andreæ Duditii. . . familiaritatem. . ejus incredibili bonitate veniſſem, cujus ego dulciſſima conſuetudine, ob ſingulare illius ingenium candidiſſimum animum, ſuaviſſimos mores, eloquentiam ſummam, et reliqua, quæ in eo maxime elucent virtutis et literarum ornamenta, et utor frequentiſſime. et mirifice delector. &c.

(7) Fleury *Hiſt. Eccl. tom. xxxvi. an.* 1589. Tantot Lutherien ou Calviniſte, tantot indifferent, unitaire, deiſte et libertin. . . Son penchant le plus marqué fut pour le ſect des unitaires, afin de dire et faire plus librement ce qu'il voudroit. &c.

(8) Opera Fratrum Polon. *tom. i. Dudicii Epiſt. Melio. &c.* Tribus fuſtibus, ut more patrio loquar, quam reſponſo ullo dignior es, impudentiſſime et arrogantiſſime ſcurra. &c. pag. 522.

Lublin in the palatinate of the ſame name is a conſiderable city about five miles from the confines of Red Ruſſia. The chief tribunal for Little Poland is held here, beſide the provincial diet, and the chief court of judicature. It is frequented by a great multitude of german, greek, ruſſian, muſcovite, and other foreign merchants, on account of three great marts which are annually held here. The Jews have a ſynagogue in the ſuburbs, and chriſtians of various ſects reſide in the city. Pacleſius, one of the firſt Baptiſts here, a man of eminent learning and piety, and celebrated for his natural and popular eloquence, ſurvived the expulſion at Petrikow, and taught in his own houſe, where he formed a little church. After his deceaſe they met in a houſe not far off belonging to a lady of the ancient and illuſtrious family of Suchodolſki, the wife of Oſtrovius, a man of eminent piety and high office in the city, and the brother of Peter a gentleman of rank in the army, a man of ſingular addreſs and politeneſs, and a friend to religion and virtue. They alternately met at the houſes of ſeveral noblemen, and at laſt they were furniſhed with a houſe and a library belonging to Staniſlaus Orichowſki and his lady, who was of noble birth, immenſely rich and very generous, and at her death ſhe ſettled it in truſt for the uſe of the congregation. Orichowſki was an odd character. He was of an equeſtrian family, and was firſt educated at Wittemberg, and finiſhed his ſtudies in Italy. At his return he went into orders, and was preferred in Poland. The poliſh writers ſay, he had the genius of Demoſthenes, the tongue of Cicero, and the prevalence of Pericles. He reſigned all his preferments, married a noble heireſs, and with an immenſe fortune and a princely generoſity became a proteſtant. Some time after he returned to the catholick church, and in order to efface the remembrance of his having joined himſelf to a herd of ſaxon ſwine, he became an author, and a publick diſputant, endeavoured to prove ſecretary Fricz a heretick, and publiſhed againſt his old maſter Luther. The ſecretary ſays, his fame as an author, though he did not merit it, was the hereſy that excited the reſentment of Orichowſki. He was a complaiſant catholick, and ſupported at Lublin what he perſecuted at Cracow (2). After the death of Paclesius, Czechovicius was miniſter of this church, and ſeveral others occaſionally taught with him. He publiſhed a new tranſlation of the greek teſtament with notes, and ſeveral other pieces. This church was ſome time before it was brought over to ſocinianiſm: but after a few years it was effected. It would be endleſs to enumerate the noble families that joined this church. The grave judge Niemoiovius, the family of Lubienietzki, Caſimire, and many more were of the number, and moſt of them held, as their miniſter did, and as Niemoiovius had ſet them an example, that it was unlawful for chriſtians to bear arms, or to take oaths, or to execute civil offices, or to judge in capital cauſes. A great many of them were men of eminent learning, and publiſhed many books in various branches of literature, theological, political, hiſtorical and poetical. Eraſmus Otvinovius, one of their noble members, was a poet of the firſt reputation for wit and for a wiſe application of it. One little piece of his poetry cauſed a deal of mirth. It was entitled a diſpute between a painter and a baker, which of them could make the beſt god. This gird upon tranſubſtantiation and the worſhipping of a crucifix runs all in favour of the painter, whoſe god had at leaſt a little longer duration than that of the baker (3). This church at Lublin was very large, a great number of citizens and many from the neighbouring villages of all ranks attended. There was alſo a noble ſchool, founded by Nicholas Caſimire brother of the biſhop of Kiow in Red Ruſſia. Albert Caliſſius was firſt rector, and he did it honour by his great learning and abilities. The poliſh Baptiſts call Lublin SATAN'S SEAT, and perhaps this idea kept them watchful and blameleſs in their lives and converſations.

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(9) REGENVOLSCII *Hiſt. Eccl. Slavon. In appendice*... SIMON. STAROVOLSCII *vitæ Polonor*... ANDREÆ FRICZ MODREVII. *De Providentia, &c. Liber. Ad Staniſlaum Poticanum inſcript.* 1562.

(1) LUBIENIECII *ubi ſup.* Pœdobaptiſmus toleraretur .. libertas relinqueretur verum baptiſmum in ætate adulta ſuſcipiendi, vel omittendi, ne cujuſquam conſcientia gravaretur. pag. 190.

The famous John Kiſka, Caſtellan of Vilna, lord of a large populous diſtrict in Lithuania and Podlachia, had on his eſtate near twenty baptized churches. This eminent man was educated at Baſil by the greateſt ſcholar of his age Sebaſtian Caſtalio, and contributed largely, if not wholly to the erection of a

(2) SIMONIS STAROVOLSCII *Vitæ Pol. ſcriptor.* . . . LUBIENIECII *Hiſt. Ref. Pol. lib. iii. cap.* 13. . . . ANDREÆ FRICII MODREVII *ſimplex rei novæ expoſtulatio . . cam Staniſlao Orichovio.*

(3) SAND. . . LUBIEN. . . STAROVOLS. *&c. ut ſupra.*

monument for him. Caſtalio was one of thoſe ſuperiour geniuſſes, who could not pace in vulgar trammels, and whom they that can always perſecute. It is ſaid he was firſt a turner or a carpenter: but it is on all hands allowed he was an incomparable ſcholar. Scaliger ſays, he was tainted with the doctrines of the Anabaptiſts. He does the Anabaptiſts honour, for though Calvin and Beza, Jeſuits and Lutherans all agreed to ſtarve and perſecute this poor man through life, and to inſult his aſhes after his death, yet poſterity have done him ample juſtice, by placing him far above moſt of his contemporaries. Spon ſays, "Caſtalio, regent of the college at Geneva, who ſometimes preached, propoſed and agitated certain queſtions of divinity. He thought Solomon's ſong immodeſt and profane, and he did not approve of the manner in which our divines explained the deſcent of Jeſus Chriſt into hell. When he was reproved in the conſiſtory, he accuſed the miniſters of pride, impatience and other vices, which the council diſapproved of and depoſed him. Thence he went to Baſil." Of this great man Kiſka learned to think for himſelf, and it is highly probable Caſtalio taught him believers' baptiſm, for he was very young when he patronized the Baptiſts, and was joined to the church, as Czechovicius who baptized him, aſſures us, when nobody elſe of his rank did any thing elſe but laugh at it (4). On this gentleman's eſtate, there was one church and a ſchool at Vilna, another at Bielſci, one at Novogrod, another at Wegrow, and a great many more all ſupplied with miniſters of diſtinguiſhed abilities, ſupported by families of rank, and filled with members of all deſcriptions. The church at Loſki differed from the reſt in regard to the perſon of Chriſt, whom they thought a mere man, the firſt of prophets, and the moſt perfect example of piety, but no more. The other church called them Semijudaizers, by which they meant that they incorporated ſome jewiſh ceremonies into their religious exerciſes; probably they obſerved the ſeventh-day ſabbath, and abſtained from eating blood and things ſtrangled, and laid on hands when they admitted members, and anointed the ſick with oil: ceremonies which many other Baptiſts have practiſed, though they have not held the ſame doctrinal ſentiments. The other churches would not commune with them for ſeveral years: but at length this church was brought to adopt the doctrine and practices of the reſt, and became ſocinian. The paſtor of this church was Budnæus, and the people were named from him. He was a very learned man, and publiſhed a tranſlation of the bible into the poliſh tongue, and ſeveral other books. He wrote one againſt Czechovicius to prove that it was lawful for a chriſtian to execute public offices. One of the moſt eminent members of this church was Staniſlaus Buudzin, who had been, firſt, ſecretary to John a Laſco, then to Liſmaninus, and afterward held an office in collecting the revenue under Philipowſki. He was a man of allowed fidelity and merit. He had the beſt opportunities of knowing the hiſtory of theſe churches, he kept a faithful and impartial regiſter of all he knew, and his papers, all manuſcripts, were ſome of the chief materials of their hiſtorians.

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(4) BAYLE. CASTALIO. SANDII *Bibliot. Antitrin. pag.* 82. . . . ANDREÆ WISSOWATII *Narratio Compend. pag.* 214. . . . JACOB SPON *Hiſtoire de Geneve. an.* 1544. . . . MARTINI CZECHOVICII *De Pædobaptiſtarum errorum origine, &c. in præfatione.*

There were ſeveral churches on the eſtate of Staniſlaus Taſzucki of Luclaw. This nobleman had been in the court of the emperour Charles v. and was an avowed friend of liberty. He once waited on the king to obtain the releaſe of a printer, who under pretence of religion was in priſon. In anſwer to his oration, his majeſty ſaid, "I appeal to God, I earneſtly wiſh, and I would ſpill my blood to obtain it, that the roman catholick religion alone might prevail: but in theſe unhappy times it ſeems impoſſible to effect this without ſome extraordinary interpoſition of providence. I think religion ought never to be propagated by perſecution and ſhedding of blood. Were I not bound by an oath, reaſon itſelf, the conſtitution of this republick, and the example of France would fully direct me how to act. You need not therefore entertain any ſuſpicions of being oppreſſed. We have well conſidered what you ſaid. Conſcience can never be forced." His majeſty followed this declaration by an order to ſet the priſoner free. This gentleman was a member of the church at Luclaw, where Staniſlaus Wiſnowſki was teacher, and the congregation continued Arians for ſeveral years in connection with Farnovius at Sandecz, and others of the ſame ſentiments, and utterly averſe to ſocinianiſm. This connection had many very reſpectable members and miniſters, who publiſhed learned works in defence of their principles: but Taſzucki embraced ſocinianiſm, and withdrew his communion to Racow, and after the death of Farnovius and Wiſnowſki, and the reſt of the arian teachers, they all became Socinians. The noble patron built a chapel, founded an academy, and adorned it with many learned men, ſuch as Statorius, Staniſlaus Lubienietzki the elder, Stoinſki, and others. The vicinity of this ſchool to Tranſilvania induced many families there to ſend their ſons to Luclaw to be educated, and it flouriſhed exceedingly for many years. There were many ſmall churches in the diſtrict beſide (5).

In the provinces of Volhyn and Kiow, THE WORD RAN AND WAS GLORIFIED. Governor Gabriel Hoyſki, and his ſon Romanus Hoyſki caſtellan of Kiow, founded two churches, the one at Horin, the other at Slucki. By the influence of the former, who was in the court of prince Oſtrog palatine of Kiow, his highneſs who was of the greek church, and continued ſo till his death, patronized the Baptiſts in all his diſtricts, and not only allowed them to ſettle congregations at Oſtrog, Lubartow, and Oſtropolis, but alſo built a place of worſhip for them at Conſtantow. Chriſtopher Sieniuta, who had a princely fortune, and was a nobleman of true piety and unbounded

(5) SANDII *Bibliot. Antitrin. p.* 47. 52. 82... STAN. LUBIENIECII *Hiſt. Ref. Pol. lib. ut ſup.*

benevolence, built one chapel at Lackow, another in the town were he reſided, and expended a very great part of his income in propagating and ſupporting religion. The two Czaplicii, ſons of the judge of the diſtrict, became converts, and founded two churches, and their uncle's ſon Adam, founded two more, one at Spanow, and the other at Miloſtow. Lady Niemieriſki, wife of one of the judges, began to erect a chapel for a congregation at Czernichow, and her ſon completed it. To moſt, if not all theſe churches ſchools were annexed, which is very natural, and perfectly conſiſtent with the principles of all Baptiſts, who never conſider their churches as any thing more than ſchools of inſtruction. All churches founded on papal principles of dominion produce courts of juriſdiction, and are always ſurrounded with them as with a ſort of buttreſſes to ſupport the buildings: but baptiſt churches being independent of every thing except conviction of truth in the minds of their members are naturally productive of ſchools, becauſe they are ſupported by argument or not at all. There were ſeveral celebrated ſchools in theſe provinces, under the direction of Duroſs, Holliaſſen, Stegman and others, but learning and fame at this diſtance from Britain like rains falling on the oppoſite ſide of a mountain change their courſe, take another direction, and though they run in a thouſand meanders in the ruſſian and turkiſh empires are undeſcribed and unapplauded by us (6).

To return nearer home. Dudith, who was lord of Smila, founded a noble church and ſchool there. The firſt miniſters were Andrew Lubienietzki and Chriſtopher Oſtorod, both authors, and the latter, who was a native of Saxony, ſon of a lutheran miniſter, and a miniſter himſelf, depoſed there for hereſy, publiſhed, after he ſettled at Smila, a great number of books both in german and latin. He wrote one againſt the moravian Baptiſts, to diſprove their notion of holding all things common. The firſt rectors of the ſchool were the very learned John Volkelius, who was alſo paſtor of this church, as he had been before of another belonging to Philipowſki: and Valentine Smalcius. He wrote a vaſt number of pieces, but as he afterwards ſettled at Racow, we ſhall ſpeak of him there more particularly. Sandius ſays, Dudith the noble patron joined himſelf to the church, Fleury ſays he was paſtor, and other hiſtorians ſpeak their own language, and convey very different ideas for want of knowing the diſcipline of the baptiſt churches. Moſt of them have one or more regular paſtors, who are appointed to teach and to adminiſter ordinances: but any member who is able to teach may teach with the conſent of the congregation. Nobody ever ſuſpected the ability of Dudith, and nobody can doubt whether the people deſired ſuch a member to teach, or whether a man ſo dead to the world, and ſo intent on doing good, would condeſcend to edify them: but it is not likely that he took the charge of a congregation, or was what is uſually called paſtor of a church: but it is highly probable that he ſometimes interpreted ſcripture and prayed in their aſſemblies, and ſpoke on points under debate at their church meetings and in their ſynods (7).

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(6) Stan. Lubien. *lib. iii. cap.* 16.

No article has thrown greater confuſion into the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of Poland than that of ſynods, and circumſpection is required to diſentangle them. There are eight ſorts of ſynods in this hiſtory. The firſt are thoſe provincial ſynods of the catholicks, which Starovolſki has publiſhed in one thin folio. The ſecond are lutheran ſynods. The third are thoſe of the Calviniſts. The fourth ſuch as were held by the bohemian Brethren. The fifth thoſe of the Brethren and Calviniſts united. The ſixth thoſe of the two laſt parties in union with the Lutherans. The ſeventh thoſe of the Pinckzovians before their ſeparation from the reſt at Petrikow. And the laſt, which are the only ſynods that concern us now, are ſuch as the ſame people held after they became an independent community. All theſe muſt be ſubdivided into conferences, provincial ſynods, general ſynods, and ſo on. If theſe diſtinctions be not very carefully made, the government of one party will go to confuſe our ideas of the management of another extremely different. Theſe ſynods were held annually, and were conſtituted of delegates ſent by the ſeveral churches. Two ſorts of ſubjects were laid before them, the firſt queſtions of mere religion for their mutual advice, which often produced long and learned diſcuſſions, and ended in report or advice but wholly unaccompanied with civil coercion. Even where churches and paſtors were ſeparated from their community, there was no diſturbance given them by the patrons of the eſtates where they lived, but they remained unmoleſted, and went on as before. The reſt printed arguments to convince them of errour, which they anſwered in print, and that was all. The ſecond ſort of ſubjects were of a ſecular kind, and belonged to the collection and diſtribution of money for the ſupport of widows, orphans, and ſchools; for the printing and diſtributing of books; and for the aſſiſtance of poor or aged teachers. This part was conducted by noblemen, who had a ſort of annual deaconſhip, and were treaſurers and diſpenſers of the publick money, and accountable to their conſtituents at the expiration of the year. Peter Mackynſki was a deacon of this kind.

At the end of the ſixteenth century the churches had met with adverſe and proſperous events: but the proſperity ſo much counter-balanced the adverſity, that the latter hardly deſerves to be named. They had indeed loſt ſome eminent men: but many remained, and ſeats vacated by the dead were filled by men of merit, and their numbers daily increaſed. One of their bittereſt enemies, a hiſtorian too, who ſhould not calumniate, ſays, they continued uttering blaſphemies, pouring their poiſon into the ears of multitudes, and multiplied immenſely. The laſt phraſe of the three is truth, which is a conſiderable portion for ſuch a bitter partizan (8). The pacifick king Stephen had died in eighty-ſeven, and had preſerved peace during his reign, though the Jeſuits and other enemies to blaſphemy had made ſome commotions: but government had puniſhed or reſtrained them, for his majeſty had inſerted this clauſe in an edict, "there are three things, which God hath reſerved to himſelf, creative power, the knowledge of future events, and dominion over conſcience." Sigiſmund III. king of Sweden had been elected to ſucceed him, and the nobility had taken care in the moſt explicit and pointed terms to explain, confirm, and enlarge the laws for religious liberty.

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(7) SANDII BIBLIOT. ANDREAS DUDICIUS. .. cernens reformatorum acerbitatem erga cœtum minorem qui unum profitebantur Deum, ab illis ſe ſejunxit, his autem ſe adjunxit, ſententiamque horum amplexus ad obitum uſque profeſſus eſt ac propugnavit. p. 61. FLEURY *Hiſt. Eccl. tom. xxxvi. an.* 1589.

The gentle Dudith, in February eighty-nine, about the fifty-ſeventh year of his age, had fallen aſleep at Breſlaw the capital of Sileſia. He retired from life like ſome deep and placid river winding into a dark thicket, a little while ſparkling like ſtars through the leaves, but ſoon outrunning the eye, and gone into impenetrable gloom to be ſeen no more. The day before he died, being full of mercy and good fruits, and in perfect health, he ſent his ſervant to fetch a poor old man, whom he had been uſed to relieve. The ſervant returned, and told him, he could not find the old man to day. You ſhould have found him to day, replied he, for perhaps to-morrow I may not be in a condition to ſerve him. The next day he appeared quite well: but on receiving an invitation to ſup with a friend, he replied, No, I muſt ſup elſewhere. I muſt die. He retired to his bed, and deſired his family and friends to ſit with him. They did ſo, and he converſed with them freely on religious ſubjects, and after two hours ſpent thus, with the compoſure of a chriſtian philoſopher he reclined his head, and cloſed the tranſitory but edifying ſcene of a well-ſpent life. He was ſucceeded in his patronage by Lord Jerom Moſcorowſki, deſcended from the dukes of Sileſia. This gentleman had married Regina, the daughter of Dudith by his ſecond lady, daughter of Zborowſky, and widow of count Tarnowſki. He entered thoroughly into the ſentiments and views of his father-in-law, and devoted his life and fortune to the cauſe.

Governour Kiſka had departed in ninety-two, and had left, ſays a hiſtorian, his zeal for hereſy, and his immenſe eſtate to enable him to ſupport it, to a prince of the houſe of Radzivil. When he found death approaching, leſt it ſhould be ſaid of him, as it had been of many, that he recanted, he wrote a confeſſion of his faith, and ſigned it in due form. This was not neceſſary, for his works praiſe him. The pious judge Niemoiovius had gone from Lublin in ninety-eight to a world, where oaths, and arms, and civil offices are no more. Nicholas Sieninſki, their Demoſthenes had followed. The miniſter Czechovicius was grown very old, Pauli had departed in extreme old age, and his boſom friend Schoman reſigned his ſpirit in the ſame month of the year ninety-one. Schoman left a very ſingular laſt will and teſtament, ſhort, but of great uſe in this hiſtory, and, by the way, many have wondered, that the Socinians, who are men of learning and induſtry, have not collected the little ſcattered pieces, that belong to their hiſtory, and preſerved them in large volumes as a ſupplement to the other works of the poliſh brethren. This authentick inſtrument begins with obſerving, that, whereas religion is often wounded through the ſides of its profeſſors, and whereas two catholick biſhops had, even during the lives of thoſe who could contradict them on the ſpot, publiſhed libels on the Unitarians of Cracow, declaring that they had ſtripped naked in their aſſemblies and committed indecent crimes there, and whereas probably ſuch falſe reports would be ſpread when there was nobody to anſwer them, he thought it neceſſary to leave in writing an honeſt account of his life. He then ſays, he was born in Sileſia of a father named Staniſlaus Loſſel, uſually called Schoman, and of a mother of the noble family of chancellor Tiachowiſki, whoſe family arms were ſtarykon ztoperon, a horſe and a hatchet: but that the family had been deprived of all their lands and poſſeſſions by a brother. Then he relates his education, and converſion, and under ſhort annals the principal events of his life, ending with the year ſixteen hundred and ninety. Next he proceeds to charge his children and grandchildren not to forſake the church in which he had educated them, for if he had known a purer church in his day, he would have joined it: but he charges them if God ſhould at any future time, as he hoped he would, open a more perfect way, by no means to oppoſe it either by envy, ambition, or any other depraved paſſion, and he exhorts them to try to excel all other reformed churches in piety and good works. Laſtly, he diſpoſes of his little property, and he informs them, “ that his means had been very ſlender, that he expended a part to ſupport himſelf at Pinckzow, that it had coſt him thirty crowns to furniſh his houſe when he married, and forty more for books, that he could never ſave any thing becauſe he had to provide for his family, and to relieve the poor, that, thank God, his children had never ſuffered hunger or nakedneſs, that he had portioned off three daughters, and had given them ten marks a piece for a dowry beſide clothes and furniture, ſo that he had almoſt ſtripped his own houſe, that he could not have done ſo much had he not been aſſiſted by the brethren; he hopes therefore they will all pardon him, that he has nothing to give them except the bleſſing of a parent, and one dwelling houſe, and a little cloſe adjoining, which he bequeaths to his wife for her life, and after her deceaſe to be divided equally among them, if God ſhall preſerve the houſe and ground till that time (9).”

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(8) Johannis Læti *Hiſt. Univ. Compend. p.* 481.

Socinus was at this period flouriſhing in high reputation in theſe churches. He had, ever ſince his reſidence in Poland, diſputed openly and eagerly in their ſynods, and had publiſhed many books in defence of his doctrine, by which he had acquired a great character among them, and excited ſtrong reſentment againſt himſelf from their enemies. He had been accuſed to the king, and by the advice of his friends had retired from Cracow to the ſeat of a nobleman, named Morſtin, a few miles from the city. Here he had reſided more than three years and had married the daughter of his patron. In ſixteen hundred and eighty-ſeven his lady died, leaving him only one daughter about a quarter old. He had met with many exerciſes for his faith and patience by ſickneſs, loſs of property and friends, inſults of papiſts and criminating attacks of authors, who had not failed to reproach him with his former diſpoſition to perſecute in Tranſilvania. He had weathered all theſe ſtorms, and was now at the houſe of a noble friend, Adam Blonſki, about nine miles from Cracow. He was employed, either in printing, or in preparing for the preſs a book, which he had written the year before to perſuade all the pious part of the reformed in Poland to join the unitarian church. His heart was much ſet on this, and could he have effected it, probably, inſtead of being reputed a heretick by poſterity, he would have been crowned with the laurels of a reformer, for it is with hereſy, as it is with ſedition, if the latter be ſubdued a rebellion is cruſhed, if it ſucceeds a revolution is effected, ſo the ſmaller party in religion are hereticks, and the prevailing ſect are reformers (1).

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(9) SCHOMANI *teſtam. apud* SAND. . . . STAN. LUBIENIECII *Hiſt. Ref. Pol. lib. iii. cap.* 12.

The reformed, as they called themſelves, about twenty years before this period, had held a ſynod at Levartow, at which one hundred and twenty preachers were preſent, and the Unitarians had made an attempt, with Socinus at their head, to confer with them on union: but they beſtowed on them the old heretical names, quoted precedents of excommunication, and refuſed to defile their churches with ſuch doctrines, or even to hear what could be ſaid for them. About twelve years after this time another attempt was made to unite with the Lutherans on a ground of mutual toleration: but they were again repulſed, and a book publiſhed in defence of their conduct, entitled "Fire and Water," and ſetting forth that coalition, on condition of a liberal toleration, was in their judgment impoſſible. Smalcius anſwered this book: but it was all in vain (2). Socinus ſurveyed the ſtate of religion in Poland with a penetrating and impartial eye, and in the book juſt now mentioned obſerves firſt the fact, that the lutheran church was on the decline, while the unitarian was increaſing apace. Then he aſſigns the cauſes, and argues that they muſt be ſought in the internal conſtitutions of the two churches, becauſe in regard to external affairs, they were very much in favour of the Lutherans and againſt the Unitarians. On the lutheran ſide, they had ſeveral palatines who were members of their churches, they were very rich and powerful, and ſupported by foreign univerſities and whole kingdoms, and beſide they defended their religion by ſecular weapons. On the other ſide, to ſay nothing of the prejudices excited by names of hereſy and anabaptiſm, or of the admiſſion of only ſuch as were baptized, to which they had till now adhered, they had very few noblemen, for they had not many members, that even they were moſtly poor, or had but little power in the ſtate, that very few of the higheſt rank had heartily favoured them, and that not one had joined them, that their learned men were very poor, and that they had no ſupport from foreign churches, but rather oppoſition, that they had always taught the unlawfulneſs of maintaining religion by ſecular power, eſpecially when the exerciſe of it was likely to end in ſhedding human blood, and that they had exacted a greater purity of life than other churches had required of their members.

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(1) PRZYPCOVII *vita* SOCINI....SOCINI op. *Quod regni Poloniæ et M. D. Lithuaniæ vulgo Evangelici dicti....omnino deberent ſe illorum cœtui adjungere, qui...Arriani vocantur. tom. i. p.* 691.

(2) ANDREÆ WISSOWATII *narratio compend. p.* 214, 215.

Though this deſcription ſeems to give an air of contradiction to all the other hiſtories of the Unitarians, which the Poles themſelves have written, yet a ſmall attention to the political ſtate of Poland will reconcile the difference. The people were in a ſtate of ſervitude or villenage or citizenſhip: the two firſt claſſes are only mentioned in groſs as hearing, believing, and becoming members of the church: but of the order of citizens many are mentioned by name, as Croker, Balcerovius, Nabarovius, citizens of fortune, phyſicians, apothecaries, druggiſts, printers, ſchoolmaſters, artiſts and mechanicks of all ſorts: of this claſs was Ronemberg the druggiſt at Cracow, who was elder of the church there. The claſs next above theſe were the poor children of poor knights, all noble by birth, moſt of them well educated, and many of them very poor: Schoman was one of this claſs. He crept up to manhood as many others of his ſort did by teaching ſchool, and by being a private tutor to the ſons of a richer family. Next above theſe were ſuch knights as had one or more manors of their own, patrimonial eſtates, of which they were abſolute lords. Some farmed theſe themſelves, others let them to tenants, and lived on the income: the Lubienietzkis, one of whom was deacon of the church at Cracow, were of this claſs. Above theſe were ſuch as beſide their own eſtates held offices of profit under the crown: Philipowſki was one of this claſs. There were no degrees of nobility in Poland, as with us, but all were equal: but there were riches and dignities of office, which made all the difference. Now taking theſe claſſes from the loweſt up hither, the doctrine of the baptiſt churches ſeems ſuitable to the men, and accordingly we find they were compoſed of ſuch men. There was nothing in the offices of their lives inconſiſtent with the morality taught in theſe churches, except it were in two caſes, and on this ſubject the churches differed. The taking of an oath affected two ſorts of people in theſe claſſes, firſt thoſe, who held places under government: but as this was only an aſſurance of fidelity in the diſcharge of an office of truſt, ſome thought it lawful. The other regarded villain tenure, which was encumbered with oaths of fidelity to the lord, and which obliged the villains to follow their lords to war. This included ſomething more than an oath, it might involve a neceſſity of bearing arms and ſhedding blood. Theſe notions of the morality of the goſpel would not ſuffer the judge Niemoiovius though a nobleman to continue on the bench, and he reſigned his office. All theſe men had only a ſhadow of power, for it happened in this ariſtocracy as it has in all others, wealth and its never-failing companion power got into few hands, for over all theſe were the caſtellans, and over them the palatines, of whom there were in all the kingdom of Poland and the duchy of Lithuania only thirty-four. Theſe palatines poſſeſſed a kind of regal authority, and are the ſame as in ſome neighbouring ſtates were called vaivodes, except that the vaivodes made themſelves independent and their office hereditary as often as they could. Socinus ſays truly the morality of the Baptiſts was not fitted to theſe gentlemen, for a fierce and barbarous bravery, and many other ſuch qualities went to make an accompliſhed palatine. Accordingly, though we find ſome palatines allowing theſe churches to ſettle on their eſtates, others pleading their cauſe on common principles of liberty, yet it is very probable, as Socinus ſays, that they were not very hearty in eſpouſing their morality. It may even be affirmed, that their morality was unconſtitutional in Poland, becauſe a ſtate formed like that is conſtituted on principles of iniquity. It is no objection to all this that Kiſka, Dudith, and ſuch men joined theſe churches, for Kiſka was probably informed by his tutor Caſtalio, he was alſo very rich, and it is a doubt whether he accepted the office of palatine, though he is expreſsly called ſo, or if he were how long he held it. Dudith was a foreigner, and lived partly on the intereſt of money in Germany, and partly on his own and his lady's patrimony: but he was rich, and a bountiful patron (3).

By ſurveying theſe churches, or, to ſpeak more properly, this one church of unitarian Baptiſts in Poland, we may underſtand what eccleſiaſtical writers mean when they affirm, that the poliſh Anabaptiſts were of many ſorts, and divided into innumerable ſects. They have made each little church, and ſometimes only the paſtor and two or three members, and at other times only occaſional preachers, who never were joined to any baptized church, each a diſtinct ſect. Dudith and others were remarkable for their zeal to aſſert the rights of conſcience, and to free it from every yoke of oaths, ſubſcriptions, creeds, rituals, and ſo on. They ſay he was a libertine, a latitudinarian, a deiſt, and conſequently as there were others like him, there was a ſect of licentious Anabaptiſts in Poland. Niemoiovius and others diſapproved of arms and oaths, there was therefore a ſet of enthuſiaſtical Anabaptiſts in Poland. Secretary Fricz and ſome others endeavoured to convince people they did not ſuffer ſo much as they imagined, and by this method to unite the hearts of ſuſpicious brethren to each other, conſequently there was a ſect of adiaphoriſt or neutral Anabaptiſts. Some obſerved the ſeventh-day ſabbath, hence they inferred there was an anabaptiſtical ſect in Poland who received judaiſm and circumciſion. Some durſt not take oaths and bind themſelves to fight and kill when the palatine ordered them, and therefore there was a peſtilent ſect of Anabaptiſts in Poland, who were enemies to magiſtracy. Some ſettled on the eſtates of turkiſh vaivodes, and therefore there were ſome who turned Mohammedans, and as they had ſaid after Socinus, that the Mohammedans had juſt notions of the unity of God, it was certain, anabaptiſm led to ſocinianiſm, and ſocinianiſm ſhook hands with paganiſm, from all which the inference was clear, Anabaptiſts were damnable hereticks, and ſhould be put to death for the glory of God, for the comfort of all good chriſtians, and to prevent the deſtruction of all government, and the return of an original chaos. Had catholicks only ranted thus, we would not have inſerted this remark (4). That dreadful divine Hoornbeeck, a profeſſor of divinity at Utrecht, who wrote a confutation of ſocinianiſm, has, under a pretended zeal for orthodoxy, that is, the noſtrums of his own academy, furniſhed matter of the moſt ſanguine kind for ſucceeding writers. His dedication to prince Ragotzki is all covered with human gore, and his apparatus is a libel on the characters of a great many learned and excellent men, who are all treated as atheiſts, and doomed to perdition in both worlds, with an inveteracy reeking on the lines as it runs. If Jeſus came to make the world a preſent of ſuch a ſpirit, it would be virtuous to decline the acceptance of it (5).

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(3) Socini *ubi ſupra*. . . . Sandii *Bibliot. paſſim*. . . . Stanislai Lubieniecii *Hiſt. Ref. Pol. lib. iii. cap.* 12, 13. . . . Stanislai Krzistanowicz. *regni Poloniæ deſcriptio*. . . . Leonhardi Gorecii *deſcriptio belli* Ivoniæ *Voivodæ Valachiæ*. . . . Joh. Lasicii *Hiſt. de ingreſſu Polonor. in Valachiam*. . . . Thuani *Hiſt. lib. lvi. lviii*. . . . Fleury *Hiſt. Eccles. An.* 1589. 1592. . . . Bayle . . . Castalio . . . Martini Czechovicii *De Pædobaptiſt. Errorum origine. lib*. . . . Starovolscii *Vitæ Polon. lib*.

To return. The family of the palatine Sieninſki, nearly related to Oleſnicki, had always favoured the Baptiſts. The palatine John Sieninſki who was a Lutheran, ſometimes heard their ſermons, and was once extremely affected under a diſcourſe preached by one of their plain popular teachers, John Securinius. Being aſked what he thought of the ſermon, he ſaid, WE SHALL CERTAINLY PERISH, UNLESS WE LIVE AS THE PIOUS MAN HATH BEEN TEACHING US. The lady of this palatine was a member of the baptiſt church. About the year ſixteen hundred and ſixty-nine he had founded a town in the palatinate of Sendomir, about one mile from Sidlow, and in compliment to his lady had named it RACOW from her family name RAK, which was a

(4) GEORGII EDERI *Polonicorum Diſſidium, in op. de heres. Cognitione. Vienna* 1580. . . ANTONII POSSEVINI *Bibliot. lib. viii. cap.* 12. 13. *&c.* JOH. LÆTI *Compend. hiſt. univers. pag.* 436. BEZÆ *Epiſt. i. lxxxi.*

(5) JOHANNIS HOORNBEECK *Socinianiſmi confutati, Tom. i. Dedicatione.*
S. LUBIENIECII *hiſt. Ref. Pol. lib. iii. cap.* 3.

bohemian houſe of ancient eminence in the province of RAKOWNIESKO, ſo called from the family name RAK, which ſignifies a crab, the family arms (6). In this pleaſant ſpot he had allured by granting many priviledges various claſſes of foreigners and natives to ſettle. Among the reſt Securinius, Schoman, and the baptiſt church of Cracow came and ſettled here, and lived happy and eaſy under the patronage of their lord. This induced more to come, and Racow became a ſort of baptiſt town, where the principal men reſided, taught, and held ſynods. After the deceaſe of the patron, his ſon James Sieninſki, palatine of Podolia, then in the thirty-ſecond year of his age, having entertained ſome doubts of the lutheran religion deſired a conference to be held between them and the Baptiſts. They complied. After he had heard the arguments of both parties, he thought reaſon was on the ſide of the latter, and following his own convictions he joined the church. This was a great acceſſion of honour and wealth and power to the Racovians (for ſo now we muſt call them) and, though the patron's munificence continued as long as his life, very much to the credit of both him and them, there is no inſtance with all their hereſy of their employing power to oppreſs conſcience. They ſeem to have adopted an opinion, which a ſon of peace in Germany long after expreſſed aptly enough by ſaying, of all hereſies in the world the moſt dangerous are a man's own depraved paſſions (7).

The two teachers of the church at Racow who had ſucceeded Pauli and Schoman, were at this time Oſtrorod, and Staniſlaus Lubienietzki. The latter had been familiarly brought up with the patron at court, and now that their friendſhip was cemented by religion, the palatine conſulted the miniſter on what he ſhould do for the cauſe. The latter, in the true ſpirit of his profeſſion adviſed him to found a ſchool, and provide them with a printing office. He did both, and erected alſo a noble place of worſhip, and by granting new liberties and priviledges to citizens rendered Racow populous and flouriſhing. The ſenator Mundius, and ſeveral others of Lithuania went and reſided there. Moſcorowſki ſon-in-law of the late Dudith, and others of his rank ſettled there. Radecki, who had been a ſyndick at Dantzick, and other citizens of fortune retired from buſineſs, and went to live at Racow. Theſe were all happy to concur with the generous patron, and by their united efforts the church, the ſchool, the preſs and the city grew into ſplendour. The church was taught ſucceſſively by Oſtrorod, Statorius, Smalcius, the two Lubienietzkis, and many more, moſt of them well known by their learned labours, both in theoretical and polemical divinity. The ſchool was thronged

(6) PAULI STRANSKY *Repub. Bohem.* Cap. ii. Rakownieſko a Racownico urbe regia. .. Ut alii loquuntur Racona . . Nomen a Cancro, quem propterea in inſigni geſtat, obtinuit; is enim nobis Rak dicitur. pag. 12. 80. 81.

(7) CHRISTOPH. MAT. PFAFFII. Introductio ad hiſtor. theol. literariam. Paulus Antonius ubi collegium polemicum aliquando inſtituit, primum inter hæreticos, quos debellandos ſumſit, locum dedit hæretico, quem omnes in ſinu gerimus veteri illo Adamo, et pravis .. concupiſcentiis, &c. *Program. iii.*

with pupils both catholick and proteſtant, attracted thither partly by the terms of tuition, partly by the moral regulations of the academy, and chiefly by the great names of the rectors, men of allowed virtue and erudition. The printing office, that neceſſary appendage to literature, was under the beſt regulations. The firſt theſe people had was at Pinckzow under Oleſnicki, the next at Lucklaw, near half a century before this time. John Kiſka, too, had removed one from Zaſlaw to Loſko, then to Vilna, after that to Lubec, all his own towns. They had covertly made uſe of one at Cracow, and the printer had removed from thence to Racow: but now being old he reſigned to a ſon-in-law, and the patron put him into his newly erected office, and ſupplied every thing neceſſary to give printing perfection (8). With theſe advantages they flouriſhed exceedingly at Racow, and ſo did the provincial churches in all parts of the kingdom.

Socinus departed this life at the houſe of his friend Blonſki, in the ſixty-fifth year of his age, ſoon after the Palatine had joined the church (9). He died in perfect peace, reflecting on his ſufferings with pleaſure, and expreſſing his hopes that his labours would be rewarded by the juſt judge at the laſt day. The epitaph inſcribed on his tomb ſhews what his friends thought of his doctrine. In two lines, by alluding to popery under the ſimilitude of a building, they pay him the higheſt poſſible compliment: LUTHER TOOK OFF THE ROOF OF BABYLON . . CALVIN THREW DOWN THE WALLS . . BUT SOCINUS DUG UP THE FOUNDATIONS (1). It muſt be granted, there is a ſtrict adherence to truth in this epitaph, though the glory is not due to Socinus firſt, nor to him alone. Many before he was born had contended with great ſucceſs againſt traditions, for the ſufficiency of ſcripture, and for the right of individuals to judge of its meaning. They had not all acted conſiſtently with this principle, nor had he in the caſes of Palæologus and Davidis, and the death of the latter will always remain a blemiſh in his character. There are two ſorts of characters given of this great man, and they ſeem both chiefly taken from an attention to his doctrine. Believers of that ſpeak of him in the moſt exalted ſtrains, though his firſt panegyriſt diſcovered no great prudence in contraſting him with Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the order of the Jeſuits (2). If contraſt were neceſſary to illuſtrate the character of ſuch a man, Luther and Calvin had been pointed out in the epitaph. The haters of his doctrine have inſulted his memory in an outrageous manner, catholicks are comparatively mild: but the orthodox, when they ſpeak of him, are raving mad (3). They do not blame that remnant of popery, a drop of the ſpirit of perſecution, in him, which was really cenſurable if virtue be judge, but they tax him with holding two hundred and twenty-nine errours, and pour out all that the ſchools have of the terrible on his devoted head for his ſentiments. I am proud of a friend of mine, who, though an exceſſive admirer of the doctrines of Socinus, has not ſuffered his faith to hoodwink his virtue, but has deſcribed Fauſtus Socinus as he really was. His pencil has given him a thouſand charms, but it hath alſo fairly expoſed his blemiſh (4).

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(8) STAN. LUBIEN. *ut ſup. De typographia unitar. in Polonia et Lith.* p. 201. *apud* SAND.

(9) Mar. 3. 1604.

(1) Tota licet Babylon deſtruxit tecta *Lutherus*.
Muros *Calvinus*, ſed fundamenta *Socinus*.

(2) PRZIPCOVII *Vita Socini*. Ignatius quoque, ut alios taceam, &c. prope finem.

(3) FLEURY *Hiſt. Eccl.* SAMUELIS MARESII *Hydra Socinianiſmi expugnata in præfationibus.*

JOH.

The famous racovian catechiſm, publiſhed five years after the death of Socinus, is conſidered as the confeſſion of faith of the whole church: but this muſt be underſtood in a limited ſenſe. This church had no human ſtandard of faith, it could have none conſiſtently with the great principle of its conſtitution, which was the perfection of ſcripture uninterpreted by authority. The catechiſm publiſhed by Pauli and Schoman thirty-five years before contained the ſentiments of the church at that period. This expreſſed their ſentiments at this time, future editions their views at the times when they were publiſhed, and the private publications of their miniſters and members ſet forth the ideas of the individual authors: but they had no publick ſtandard of faith, and always declared ſo in the moſt explicit terms. Eccleſiaſtical writers, by not attending to the peculiar conſtitution of this church, which was different from that of all other reformed churches, and by affixing to this catechiſm their own ideas of confeſſions of faith, which in their churches were publick ſtandards, have ſlid into an errour, which always prolifick, has grown into a little ſlander. Hence came the ſneer of Heinſius, HODIE CREDO, CRAS NIHIL, and hence it hath been ſaid, the Anabaptiſts of Poland were fraudful and concealed a part of their ſentiments, which they artfully publiſhed by little and little. The preface to this catechiſm is ſo clear on this ſubject, that it is wonderful how it could be overlooked. It ſays, "many pious and learned men juſtly complain, that the confeſſions and catechiſms, which are now publiſhed by different chriſtian churches, are ſcarcely any thing more than trumpets of ſtrife and ſtandards of immortal hatred, and factions among men. The reaſon is, theſe confeſſions and catechiſms are ſo propoſed as to require conſcience to be bound by them. They are put as a yoke upon chriſtians, who are required to ſwear to the words and opinions of men, and to admit them for a rule of faith, ſo that whoever deviates the leaſt from theſe is ſubject to an anathema, treated as an heretick, conſidered as a baſe and miſchievous perſon, to be forbidden heaven, to be doomed to hell, and to be conſigned to everlaſting flames. Far from us be ſuch a madneſs! When we compoſe a catechiſm, we do not preſcribe to any man: we expreſs, indeed, our own ſentiments, but we oppreſs nobody.

JOH. HOORNBEECK *Sum. Controv. De Socinianiſmo. . : . Socinianiſmi Confutatio. in Apparatu.* Cum multis aliis.

(4) JOSHUA TOULMIN's *memoirs of the life of Socinus.*

Let every man enjoy his own judgment in religion... This is that liberty of propheſying, which the ſcripture recommends (4)."

All theſe catechiſms agree in rejecting infant-baptiſm, or as they call it infant rantiſm, or ſprinkling, as an innovation, unknown to ſcripture, and ſupported only by tradition: but the latter improved editions expreſly declare, that, as infant ſprinkling was an inveterate popular errour which ſome pious people held, ſuch perſons ought to be tolerated till they were better informed. This was not at firſt the practice of the Baptiſts of Poland: but Socinus, who had produced a revolution of their ideas, had led them into this open communion. For themſelves they did not adminiſter baptiſm in the church but in rivers by immerſion to catechumens, who had made a profeſſion of their faith (5).

In this flouriſhing ſtate of their affairs they diſpatched commiſſioners into other kingdoms to propagate their doctrines. It was ſuppoſed abroad, that, as they had preſented their catechiſm to king James, which foreign divines conſidered as an apology for engliſh Socinians, they had made numberleſs converts in this country, and Des Marets moſt bitterly lamented it in a book he publiſhed at Groningen (6). Dr. Owen reproved him for his raſh clamours about nothing, and aſſured him he was not well informed, but diſcovered amazing ignorance of the ſtate of things in England (7). More than forty years after the preſenting of the catechiſm to James, Biddle publiſhed an engliſh tranſlation of it, and, it is ſuppoſed, it was that which was burnt by order of parliament in fifty-three, during the protectorate. Some went into Holland, as Oſtrorod and Voidowſki, to viſit ſome young noblemen of Poland, who were ſtudying at Leyden, and took ſeveral books with them (8). At Amſterdam the burgomaſters ſeized their books and papers at their inn, and, after the profeſſors at Leyden had examined them, and declared that they contained heretical notions near akin to mohamediſm, they were ordered to quit the country within ten days on pain of death, and the books to be burnt. The fire was prepared at the time, but the books were not burnt, for the deputies ſhared them among themſelves out of curioſity. They ſtaid a while in Frieſland, and printed an apology, addreſſed to the ſtates, in which they ſay, that "they, together with their books, were unjuſtly condemned, upon the judgment of three or four divines, without being brought to trial or hearing. But, they add, We do not ſo much reproach your honours as your divines, who have thus inſtructed you, and who abuſe your ſervice(9)." It is remarkable, that the Socinians ſeldom addreſs their peculiar ſentiments to the populace, but generally to gentlemen of eminent learning and abilities. Though this is inconſiſtent with that profeſſion of the ſimplicity of revelation, which they ſo commendably treat of in all their accounts of the goſpel as it was written by the evangeliſts, yet it is perfectly agreable to that philoſophical ſcientifick mode of expounding it, which they have thought proper to adopt, and which will probably always put it out of the power of man to render ſocinianiſm popular.

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(4) *Catecheſis Eccleſiarum Polonicarum unum Deum Patrem, illiuſque filium unigenitum Jeſum Chriſtum, una cum Spiritu Sancto, et S. Scriptura confitentium.* Stauropoli. 1680.

(5) Q. Quod vero de iis ſentiendum eſt, qui infantes baptizant? R. Non recte dicis eos infantes baptizare. Non enim baptizant, quod ſine totius corporis in aquam immerſione et ablutione fieri nequit. &c.

SAM. MARESII. *Hydra. &c.* In cœtibus autem eccleſiaſticis fere nullos ritus uſurpare præter ritum ſacræ cænæ; nam baptiſmum adultorum foris in publico aliquo flumine adminiſtrant. *Lib. iii. cap. vii.*

(6) IBID. *Hydra. &c. Præfat. tom. ii.*

(7) JOHN OWEN. *Vindication againſt Socinianiſm.*

(8) SANDII *bibliot. pag.* 92.

Young John Stoinſki, ſon of the late paſtor, by a daughter of Gregory Pauli, ſucceeded his father as one of the teachers of the church, and about the time of his ſettlement came the famous John Crellius to Racow. This young gentleman was the ſon of a lutheran miniſter, a native of the electorate of Hanover. He had been educated at the expence of a rich relation, and had viſited ſeveral univerſities. He ſettled ſome time at the univerſity of Altorf, where the mathematical profeſſor was known to have been a familiar friend of the late Dudith, and where all the ptofeſſors were men eminent for literature, and ſome of them for liberality of ſentiment. Of the latter ſort was the profeſſor of phyſick, Dr. Soner, from whom young Crellius received great religious improvement. Here he was offered preferment, but he refuſed it; as he could never digeſt calviniſm, ſo now he began to doubt of ſome other popular doctrines. He found his orthodoxy was ſuſpected, he felt it was not in his power to think as his ſuperiours ordered him, he could not prevail with himſelf to prevaricate, and he was brought to the alternative of either embracing hypocriſy and the ſmiles of fortune, or poverty and a good conſcience. He choſe the latter, and ſet out alone, in the twenty-ſecond year of his age, in ſearch of freedom on foot for Racow. He arrived there in the depth of winter, and was received as his merit demanded (1). Here he found the promiſe partly accompliſhed, "He that hath left houſe, or brethren, or ſiſters, father, or mother, or lands for my ſake, and the goſpels, ſhall receive an hundred fold now in this time, houſes and brethren and ſiſters, and mothers and children and lands with perſecutions, and in the world to come eternal life." The church received him into their fellowſhip, the paſtors and rectors of the ſchool honoured him with their friendſhip, and the palatine took him into his court, where he employed himſelf in ſtudying divinity, in learning the poliſh language, and in preaching privately, and ſo fitted himſelf to preach in publick, and delivered his firſt ſermon to the church two years and a half after his firſt arrival. The next year he was elected rector of the ſchool at Racow, and at the ſame time he married the daughter of Piſtorius, miniſter of the church at Czarkow, a lady of a noble ſileſian family, by whom he had ſix children. On the death of Smalcius he was choſen to ſucceed him as miniſter of the church, and had for his colleague Chriſtopher Lubienietzki. In this office he flouriſhed for ten years, ſurrounded with all the ſplendour of literary glory, applauded and eſteemed by all. In the forty-third year of his age he was removed by death, to the inexpreſſible grief of all the church, though he met his fate in a manner truly edifying (1).

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(9) GERARD BRANDT's *Hiſtory of the Reformation. vol. i. b. 16. an. 1598.*

(1) Dec. 1612.

The provincial churches had continued to flouriſh all over the kingdom for a ſeries of years. The patrons were rich and bountiful, the teachers learned, laborious, and reputable far and near, and the people pious, peaceable, and happy: but they were all in Poland, that is in a country where freedom was inſecure becauſe it was not in the hands of the people. Liberty ſpread her ſilver wings and hovered around the palaces of the great, but ſhe had never alighted and reſted in the hovels of the poor. The great fell out and freedom flew away. While all Europe was embroiled in religious controverſies Poland was happy becauſe liberty of conſcience was guarantied by law: but what is law in an ariſtocracy where faction or favour give dead maxims a living force? Sigiſmund III. whoſe glorious reign laſted near half a century, had been educated by Jeſuits, and had imbibed principles the moſt inimical to freedom. He thought the catholick religion the moſt eligible for a king, and hiſtorians ſay, he was more delighted with converting one diſſident to popery, or with the conduct of a patron, who ordered diſſident churches to quit his eſtates, or with founding a ſeminary for Jeſuits to plot miſchief in, than with obtaining a victory, defending a province, or inriching the ſtate. When freedom had been granted by law fourteen years before he came to the throne, the proportion of catholicks to members of the greek and reformed churches was only as one to ſeven, and they had but five members in the ſenate, but when he died they were three-fourths of the number. The nobility knew the ſecret wiſhes of the king, and by complying with them for the ſake of the places, which he had to beſtow, and which it is the whole buſineſs of life with poor noblemen to obtain, they prepared thoſe fetters, which they firſt choſe to put upon the Baptiſts, and, after they had done with them, were obliged to wear themſelves.

His majeſty died in ſixteen hundred and thirty-two, and the ſtates aſſembled as uſual during the interregnum to ſign the general confederacy for the ſafety of their liberties. When the archbiſhop, the biſhops, and ſome ſecular catholick lords came to ſubſcribe the articles relating to religious freedom, they added, for the firſt time, SAVING THE RIGHTS OF THE CHURCH OF ROME. The proteſtants endeavoured to render this clauſe of no effect by adding ſimilar clauſes, as SAVING THE RIGHTS OF THE DISSIDENTS, and the members of the greek church added, SAVING THE RIGHTS OF THE GREEK CHURCH. They elected Uladiſlaus VI. king, and he took the uſual oaths, explained ſo as to render, it ſhould ſeem, all theſe ſalvos of no effect, and to place the republick in ſuch a ſtate as it had long been in with regard to liberty: but the event diſcovered the intention of the catholicks (2).

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(1) An. 1633... JOAN. CRELLII *vita. in oper.*

In the year ſixteen hundred and thirty-eight ſome ſtudents of the academy at Racow very raſhly and improperly vented their averſion to popery by throwing ſtones at a wooden crucifix that ſtood out of town, till they had beaten it out of its place. A complaint was lodged not againſt the offenders, as in a well regulated ſtate, but againſt the religion which their tutors profeſſed. The palatine, who was preſident of the academy, cleared himſelf by oath, but neither that, nor his ſervices to the ſtate, nor his age (he was near ſeventy) nor any other conſideration could prevail with the diet at Warſaw, which was now a mere faction, to admit of any excuſe, or accept any amends. It was proved to be a mere freak of boys, without the knowledge of their tutors, and for which they had been corrected by their parents. Several of equeſtrian rank of all denominations proteſted againſt their arbitrary proceedings: but all in vain. This was a violent ſtretch of arbitrary power in the upper houſe, for they excluded the lower from any ſhare in this buſineſs. The powerful party enacted, that the racovian academy ſhould be deſtroyed, the profeſſors baniſhed, the printing office demoliſhed, and the places of worſhip ſhut up. All theſe decrees were executed without any alleviating circumſtances, and the afflicted palatine, whom the ſenate had often honoured with the title of father of his country, ſaw his city vaniſh like a dream, and the labour and the pleaſure of his whole life blaſted by one order of this relentleſs deſpotiſm. He ſurvived the cruel act only one year (3).

It would be painful to purſue this ſubject in all its particulars through the provincial churches, and to be preſent at the havock of the ſucceeding twenty years, for ſo long it took to ſuppreſs a people protected by law, and guarded by clauſes as explicit, and by oaths as ſolemn as ever were recorded in the annals of any country. The Jeſuits caballed with the magiſtrates, and got the flouriſhing congregation at Lublin proſcribed. The Calviniſts drew off Suchodolſki, the patron of Piaſki, and he ordered the church to depart from his eſtate, leſt they ſhould teach the inhabitants arianiſm. Others followed his example. Their enemies acquired ſtrength in the ſenate. The Coſſacks invaded the kingdom, and the devoted Baptiſts were the firſt to be plundered by conſent of all parties. The king died. A new king was elected. An army of Swedes invaded the kingdom, and theſe poor people harraſſed to death by thoſe, who ſhould have been their protectors, ſubmitted themſelves for protection to the king of Sweden. This was revenged by the king of Poland, though it is not mentioned in the law, and in ſixteen hundred and fifty-eight by a ſolemn act of the diet at Warſaw they were baniſhed for ever from the territories of the republick under pain of death. Three years were allowed them to ſettle their affairs, and diſpoſe of their poſſeſſions: but this time was afterwards abridged to two years. In ſixteen hundred and ſixty-one the barbarous edict was renewed, and they were expelled ſome with the loſs of their property, and others with the loſs of their lives, as neither age, nor infirmities, nor ſickneſs, nor any other conſideration could protract the execution of the decree for a day (4). Lutherans and Calviniſts, who might have prevented all this, had they exerted themſelves, but who thought themſelves the ſafer for the baniſhment of theſe people, did not foreſee that this was only a prelude to their own fate, for by ſlow but ſure methods they were ſtripped of every priviledge, firſt ſhut out of places, then kept out of the ſenate, and laſtly expelled from the kingdom, nor had the Czar Peter of Muſcovy, nor Auguſtus king of Poland, eloquence enough to diſſuade the catholicks from making penal laws, nor power enough to prevent the execution of them. Civil liberty halted only a little while, for the kingdom was diſmembered, and the Poles enſlaved by their powerful neighbours.

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(2) *Jura et libertates Diſſidentium in Polonia et M. D. Lithuaniæ. ſect.* 28.

(3) STAN. LUBIENIECII *Hiſt. Ref. Pol. lib. iii. cap* 12. *Vindiciæ Unitariorum Poloniæ. &c. p.* 283.

Among the patrons and members of the baptiſt churches were ſeveral palatines and vice-palatines, caſtellans and their inferiour officers, judges and practitioners in the law, members of the lower houſe in the diet, officers of the crown and gentlemen of the army, lords of manors, phyſicians, citizens, merchants, tradeſmen, and people of all ranks (5). The ruſticks were bound to the ſoil, and no more notice was taken of them than of the ſalt-mines, or the foreſts, for they were all alike real immoveable property. Of the reſt, ſome ſtaid, and worſhipped God in private, others ſtrained a point and fell into the other reformed congregations. Numbers fled, ſome found an aſylum in Tranſilvania, Sileſia, Brandenburg, Pruſſia, and the adjacent places, others of them lurked in Holland, England, Denmark, and Holſtein. The king of Denmark would have granted them a ſettlement in his dominions, and ſo would ſome other princes, but all their humane endeavours were fruſtrated by the catholick prelates of every ſtate (6). They were therefore diſperſed all over Europe, and the baptiſt and arminian churches of the United Provinces received many of them into their boſom. After the diſmemberment of Poland, in thoſe parts, which fell to Ruſſia, Pruſſia, and the emperour of Germany, they have been allowed liberty along with other diſſidents, and conſequently have churches ſtill: but in that part, which yet remains to Poland, they are involved in thoſe laws, which exclude all other diſſidents. Sluter and Sandius have publiſhed catalogues of their works, and the lives of ſuch eminent exiles as Lubienietzki, Schligting, Wiſſowatzi, the three ſons of Crellius, and other individuals are well-known (7). As long as the hiſtory of Poland remains, ſo long will it remain uncontrovertible, that an ariſtocracy is not the natural ſeat of liberty.

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(4) LUBIEN. *ut ſup. cap. xvii. xviii. Vindiciæ ut ſup. p.* 267. MOSHEIM *Hiſt. Eccl. cent. xvii. chap. vi.*

(5) *Vindiciæ Unitariorum Poloniæ. pag.* 284. &c.

(6) STAN. LUBIENIECII *vita.*

CHAP. XVI.

TRANSYLVANIA.

TRANSYLVANIA is a delicious tract of about an hundred and ſeventy miles long, and an hundred and twenty broad, having Poland on the north, Wallachia on the ſouth, Moldavia on the eaſt, and Hungary on the weſt. This ſoft temperate lap of nature is environed almoſt on all ſides with mountains, and it receives its name from its lying beyond the foreſts, with which the lofty mountains are crowned. The natural fertility of the ſoil, aſſiſted by the induſtry of the inhabitants, hath rendered it a ſort of earthly paradiſe. Among the foreſts and the groves on the tops of the mountains innumerable flocks and herds are kept, and bees yield honey and wax in profuſion. The ſlopes of the hills are clothed with vineyards; and ſprings ſimple and medicinal trickle down the ſides into the vallies. The flats interſected with rills and rivulets are laid out in meadows of luxuriant herbage, or corn-fields which produce the fineſt wheat in Europe. Within the mountains there are mines of gold, ſilver, copper, iron, ochre, ſulphur, quick-ſilver, and other ſuch treaſures. Rivers riſing in the carpathian mountains glide croſs the country, and run into Wallachia, and thence into the Danube. Here are all the neceſſaries and many of the luxuries of life, and after the inhabitants have richly ſupplied themſelves they have a great ſurplus for exportation (8). A native of Tranſylvania informs us, that the country was ſo little viſited by ſtrangers that there were not four perſons to be found even in France at the latter end of the laſt century, who knew that there was ſuch a place in Europe as Tranſylvania (9).

In times very remote this country was inhabited by the Davi, a colony of

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(7) ANDREÆ WISSOWATII *vita*... SANDII *Bibliot. Antitrin*... THOMÆ ITTIGII *Schediaſma Autorum*. Catalogum librorum ſocinianorum a Chriſtophoro Sandio collectum, ſibique ab autore tranſmiſſum, et tum temporis ineditum, Propylæo ſuo inſeruit Sluterus. Poſtea vero, Sandio jam defuncto, iſta Antitrinitariorum Bibliotheca Freiſtadii 1684. lucem publicam adſpexit, ab editore inſertis nonnullis ſcriptoribus locupletata. *pag.* 83.

(8) ANTONII BONFINII *Rerum Ungaricarum Decad. Prim. lib. i. Decad. iv. lib. i*... BRODERITHII *Deſcriptio Ungar*... PAULI JOVII *Hiſt. tom. i. pag.* 510. *&c.*.. LAURENT. TOPPELTINI *Origines Tranſylvanorum*.

(9) BETLEM NIKLOS *Memoires*.

Getes, or Goths. In times nearer to our own the inhabitants were known by the name of Dacians, and this country was, along with Moldavia and Wallachia, included in the general name of Dacia, and became a province of the roman empire in the reign of Trajan (1). After the Romans had evacuated it, neighbouring Goths and Huns ſettled there, and, being reduced by Stephen, king of Hungary, they were compelled to profeſs the chriſtian religion, and Tranſylvania became a province of the kingdom, to be governed by a vaivode or viceroy of its own (2). In the ſixteenth century a ſeries of events induced the inhabitants to erect it into an independent principality. They were joined by a little independent ſtate, that inhabited the mountains and faſtneſſes between Tranſylvania and Moldavia. This ſingular tribe is called by the Hungarians, Zegel, or Szek-helyi, and by writers in general Siculi, and their hiſtory is ſaid to be briefly this. After the death of Attila, which happened about the year four hundred and fifty-three, a part of his troops, wearied out with perpetual wars, ſecretly retired, and ſettled in this remote corner, and leſt they ſhould be puniſhed on being diſcovered for being Huns, they called themſelves Szek-helyi, or Siculi, and continue to be ſo called to this day. They had multiplied exceedingly, and were able to bring into the field ſeveral thouſand fighting men. They attacked nobody, but they were intrepid and even deſperate in defending themſelves. They ſeldom intermixed by marriage with any of their neighbours. Their manners and cuſtoms were altogether different from thoſe of the Hungarians. They had neither a nobleman nor a ſlave among them, nor would they bear a ſuperiority founded on birth. They had divided their country into diſtricts, as Czik, Gyrgio, Kyſdy, Orbay, and ſeveral more. Over theſe cantons they elected and placed magiſtrates, whom they called Loſyzekel, and inveſted them with power to call aſſemblies to deliberate, to adminiſter juſtice, to watch the frontiers, and to command the army, when the people thought war neceſſary to their defence. They were accounted a ſort of province to Hungary, but as they put government to no charge, ſo they paid no tribute. When a king of Hungary was crowned, or married, or had a ſon born, they uſed to ſend him a preſent of oxen: but when one of the kings attempted to conſtrue this civility into a preſcriptive right, and ſent to demand cattle as a tribute, they would not ſuffer the king's brand to be ſet upon any of their beaſts, but puniſhed the meſſengers, who had been ſent to do ſo. They conſidered themſelves as perfectly free, and in alliance with their neighbours on condition of mutual aſſiſtance in time of war. They ſometimes aſſiſted the

(1) *Univerſal Hiſtory, vol. vii. book iv. chap.* 14.

(2) BONFIN. *Decad. ii. lib. i.* Gyula, Stephani avunculus, cum liberis et uxore inviti orthodoxam fidem ſubiere, baptiſmate expiati, a rege vinculis liberati ſunt, et pro dignitate tractati... omnes populi... partim vi, partim ſponte in chriſtianam fidem aſſerti ſunt.

Vita S. HENRICI *Imp.* Pannonia.. mira rerum novitate, per reges apoſtolos baptiſmi gratiam percepit. *inter* JAC. BASNAGII *monumenta. tom. iii.* An. 1002.

king of Hungary, and ſometimes the vaivode of Tranſylvania, but at other times refuſed both. They prized liberty above all things in the world, and puniſhed attacks upon that more than any other crime. If any citizen deſerted or betrayed the publick cauſe of freedom, they confiſcated his property, pulled down his houſe, and either ſet him to hard labour or put him to death, as circumſtances rendered him more or leſs criminal. It was the ſituation of the Siculi, whoever they were (for ſome ſay the whole race of the ancient Huns was cut off) that preſerved their liberty. The ſwiſs government reſembles this, and the ſituation is ſimilar. There are in all countries places, which geographers call keys of the kingdom: but nature ſeems to have locked the Siculi in on all ſides, and to have turned the key againſt all foreign invaders, and if nature had left an opening art had ſecured it (3). Yet after all, the Siculi lay between the ſultan and the emperour, two dangerous neighbours, who could neither of them enjoy their extenſive dominions without leaping over mountains to ſubjugate this little family (4).

The Tranſylvanians, and the Siculi who were in a manner incorporated with them, having been in ſome periods harraſſed by the Turks, and at others by the emperour of Germany, and by other neighbouring ſtates, had been ſometimes obliged to ſubmit to taxation and tribute for protection, for theſe powers had found means to enter the country, and abridge their liberties. Having long ſtruggled, and thinking themſelves more and more oppreſſed, they threw off foreign yokes, and after ſome time ſpent in deliberating they formed an independent principality, and elected John Stephen Sigiſmund Zapoli, count of Scepus, vaivode or prince of Tranſylvania to govern them. This young gentleman, who was ſixteen years of age, was the only ſon of John, late king of Hungary, who died ſoon after his birth. His mother was Iſabella, daughter of Sigiſmund, king of Poland, a lady remarkable for magnanimity, courage, and addreſs. The father, whoſe title to Hungary had been diſputed by Ferdinand, then king of the Romans, had been obliged to put himſelf under the protection of the ſultan Solyman, and at his death had bequeathed his crown to his ſon, and the guardianſhip of him to the queen and Martinuzzi biſhop of Waradin. The guardians put the child under the protection of Solyman, but he, having treacherouſly got all their perſons in his power, kept the kingdom for himſelf, and ſent the queen and her ſon to Tranſylvania, and allotted that province to them. The queen and the biſhop, who was a man of uncommon ſpirit and abilities, contended for the greateſt ſhare of power in the regency of this little ſtate, and while the queen ſtrengthened her party by ſeeking the protection of the ſultan, Martinuzzi was making his terms with Ferdinand. In conſequence of this negociation Ferdinand invaded Tranſylvania, the queen was prevailed on to reſign her ſon's title to the crown of Hungary, and her government of Tranſylvania, and Ferdinand promiſed great things, and removed them both into Sileſia, appointing Martinuzzi, who had betrayed his truſt, viceroy in Hungary, and loaded him with careſſes and honours: an archbiſhoprick was too little for his merit, a cardinal's hat was procured for him. At the ſame time Ferdinand, dreading the abilities of Martinuzzi, ordered one of his creatures to aſſaſſinate him. This treacherous and barbarous outrage, added to heavy taxes and other grievances, provoked the Tranſylvanians to caſt off the imperial yoke, and govern themſelves by their ancient laws as a free ſtate (5).

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(3) Nicolai Olahi *Atila. cap. xvii. xviii.* ... Joan. Sambuci *in appendice*... Bonfinii. *Decad. i. lib.* 9... Theodori de Bry *Pannonia*.... Geor. And. Vinholdi *de Clavibus regionum Com. inter Miſcellanea Lipſienſia.* Varodinum quaſi clavis apertam exteris facit Tranſylvaniam, opus grandibus obſeptum molibus, et ſylva velut murali formidabile. *tom. i.*.. Nicolai Isthuanffi *Hiſt. Hungar. lib. xxi.* Inſtar Helvetiorum equali libertate omnes fruerentur... Sangallensis *Monachi de Geſtis Caroli magni chronicon. apud* Basnagii *monum.* Quos tamen invictiſſimus Karolus ita in annis octo perdomuit, et de eis minimas quidem reliquias remanere permiſerit. A vulgaribus vero ideo manum retraxit quia videlicet Hunis extinctis regno Francorum nihil nocituri viderentur. *lib. ii.*

(4) Laurentii Toppeltini *origines Tranſylvanorum.* Regnum periculoſo loco ſitum, &c.

The prince received his firſt religious impreſſions under his chaplain Alexius, who was a Lutheran. On his removal he choſe Francis Davidis to ſucceed him, and by him was further informed of the principles of the reformation. Davidis was a native of that extremely populous and well fortified town, which is called Coloſwar by the natives, Clauſenberg by the Germans, and by others Claudiopolis. He was a man of learning, addreſs, and piety, and reaſoned, in this part of his life, more juſtly on the principles of the reformation than many of his contemporaries (6). In fifteen hundred and ſixty-three his highneſs invited ſeveral learned foreigners to come into Tranſylvania for the purpoſe of helping forward reformation. He appointed Dr. Blandrata his phyſician, and the doctor quitted Poland, came to reſide at court, and obtained the chief confidence of the prince. John Somer, a ſaxon, celebrated for his knowledge of the greek language, was made rector of the academy, and Jacob Palæologus, who was eminently ſkilled in the hebrew tongue, was employed to teach the original language of the old teſtament. Palæologus was a greek of the iſle of Chios, and ſaid to be of the imperial family. Several other foreigners, who had been perſecuted elſewhere, ſought refuge in this country, where perſecution for religion was unknown. Theſe refugees were unitarian Baptiſts, and through their indefatigable induſtry and addreſs the prince, the greateſt part of the ſenate, a great number of miniſters, and a multitude of the people went heartily into their plan of reformation. This was affected by private tuition, by publick preaching, by conferences held in publick by appointment with ſuch as deſired information, and by debates in the preſence of the ſenate. The prince and the ſenators attended one of theſe ſucceſſively for ten days. In the end the Baptiſts became by far the moſt numerous party, and were put in poſſeſſion of a printing office, and an academy, and the cathedral was given them for a place of worſhip (7). They obtained theſe without any violence, and while they formed their own churches according to the convictions of their members, they perſecuted nobody, but allowed the ſame liberty to others, and great numbers of catholicks, Lutherans, and Calviniſts reſided in perfect freedom, not only in places where the prince could not prevent it, but on his own patrimonial eſtate, where his patronage was granted to the choice of the people (8).

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(5) JOAN. BAPTISTÆ MONTALBINI. *Rer. Turcar. Com. Daci.*... ISTUANHAFFI *Hiſt. Regn. Hung. lib. xvi.*... THUANI *lib. ix.*..., P. JOVII *lib. xxxix.*

(6) ANTONII POSSEVINI *Bibliot. lib. vii. cap.* 30. Davidis Claudiopoli natus, &c.

If there be any truth in hiſtory, the feudal ſyſtem had no place at any period among the Siculi, and it is at leaſt very doubtful whether it ever had among the Tranſylvanians; for in a treaty between the emperour Leopold and the ſtates of Tranſylvania in the time of prince Michael Apaffi, it is expreſsly provided, that his imperial majeſty ſhall never attempt to ſet up a right of patronage in Tranſylvania, civil or ſacred, nor ſhall ever require the matter to be ſo much as propoſed to the ſtates (9). Certain it is, prince John Zapoli was reſtrained from doing any thing till he had propoſed it to the ſtates, and they had given it the force of law. Whether the miniſters were ſent by the people as delegates, for which they had examples, or whether the prince and the ſenate ordered them to attend the ſtates and ſet forth the corruptions of chriſtianity, and the proper methods of reforming it, it is certain, they did attend in great order, and conducted the buſineſs with decency and dignity (1). The orators were Dr. Blandrata, Davidis now ſuperintendent, Baſil miniſter of the congregation at Claudiopolis, Demetrius Hunyadine, and Paul of Julia, two other miniſters. Their amanuenſes were Albanus, miniſter of the congregation at Dhes, Benedict Ovari, and Gregory Wagner rectors of the academy at Alba Julia, or Weiſſenburg, the metropolis of Tranſylvania, and John Synning Maroſini paſtor of the church at Kereſtur in one of the cantons of the Siculi (2). Here arguments were brought againſt the doctrine of the trinity, and the prince and moſt of the ſenate profeſſed themſelves convinced of the truth of the doctrine of the Unitarians. The next year the delegates from the churches met in a ſynod, and from thence publiſhed a book containing their notion of the nature of Jeſus Chriſt, which was that he was not God. This was ſent abroad in the names of the miniſters of Sarmatia and Tranſylvania. It is not neceſſary to deſcribe theſe ſynods, they were exactly ſuch as thoſe, which were held in Poland, and which are deſcribed under that article. The year after the ſynod held at Thorda, at which were preſent three hundred and twenty-two unitarian miniſters, unanimouſly agreed to renounce infant ſprinkling as a proſtitution of primitive baptiſm, and publiſhed thirty-ſix theſes againſt it (3).

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(7) A. Possevinus *ut ſup* .. Sandii *Bibliot. Antitrin.* .. Stanislai Lubieniecii *Hiſt. Ref. Pol.* .. Mosheim. *Eccles. Hiſt. cent. xvi.* .. Geo. Blandratæ *Epiſt.* Habemus typographum plane noſtrum, et ſereniſſimum principem, qui audire omnia, expendere et juſto judicio perſequi velit. *apud* Lubieniecium ... 1566.

(8) Davidis Chytræi *oratio, cum poſt reditum ex Auſtria ad Chronici lectionem reverteretur.* Sunt .. multæ eccleſiæ .. Dei beneficio florentes, et in Domino nobis conjunctæ, præcipue in urbibus metallicis, et in Cepuſienſi [Scepuſienſi] tractu, et Tranſylvaniæ parte præcipua, in qua eccleſiæ et ſcholæ, &c... Etſi tamen *nunc* Blandratæ et furiarum cum eo conſpirantium blaſphemiis, &c... 1686.

(9) N. Olahi *Atila. cap. xviii.* Minimus eorum eam habet inter eos immunitatem quam maximus... Joan. Sambuci *Rer. Hungar. Appendix.* Inter Siculos neque nobilis, neque ruſticus, omnes eodem jure cenſentur, Helvetiorum inſtar.

Veracii Constantii *Animadv. Apolog. art. xi.* Nunquam allaborabit ſua majeſtas, &c.

(1) Melchioris Goldasti *comment. De Bohem. Regn. &c. In appendice.* Concordia .. inter invictiſſimum principem et Dominum Dominum Sigiſmundum, &c... ex una, et honorabiles ſacerdotes Bedericum de Strazniz, Nicholaum de Pelhrzymaw dictum epiſcopos, Wenceſlaum Corandam cum aliis eorum partis ſacerdotibus, ac providis, &c. &c. pag. 176 .. 1566.

When the news of this reformation reached Geneva, it ſtung the orthodox into raving madneſs. It was not tyranny, it was not immorality, it was heterodoxy that rouſed all the reſentment of the reformed divines. This reformation had been effected by the mild and manly method of reaſoning from ſcripture, and the tranſylvanian reformers had not forced an individual to follow their example: but this was not the genevan method. Beza collected ſeparate eſſays written by ſeveral divines againſt arianiſm and anabaptiſm, and to recommend this theology prefixed a juſtification of the murder of Gentilis at Bern for not believing it, and prefaced the whole with the moſt preſſing exhortations to foreign princes to imitate the example. . No lover of mankind can read this horrible book without indignation (4). It is curious to ſee how the Italians of Geneva ſubſcribed the confeſſion of their faith in this book. "I John Sylveſter Tellius approve of the above written confeſſion, and whatever is repugnant to it I deteſt. I Hyppolitus receive it as above (5)." Indeed, theſe divines pretend to diſtinguiſh between heretick and hereſy, the firſt was an object of their eſteem, the laſt of their abhorrence: but this was only in caſes where they could ſeparate the hereſy from the heretick, for where that could not be done, they burnt what they eſteemed to get rid of what they abhorred. This was only a natural effect of their great firſt principle, which was to make faith and not virtue the bond of union among chriſtians. It ſeems, their own ſuſpected members were blameleſs in their lives, and ſo modeſt in ſpeaking of their doubts of the trinity, that the elders could not find where the poiſon lay hid till they contrived to diſcover it by requiring ſubſcription to a creed, and this pattern of a rack for conſcience Beza ſent into Tranſylvania, without being required to do ſo, as a model for the baptiſt church. They rejected his advice, deteſted the cruelty of ſuch a plan, exhorted one another not to follow his example, and beſtowed ſome harſh epithets on him, and his agents (6).

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(2) SANDII *Bibliot. Antitrin. p.* 30. . . S. LUBIENIECII *Hiſt. Ref. Pol.* . . POSSEVIN *ubi ſup.*

(3) LUBIENIECII. *lib. iii. cap. xi.* . . SANDII *Bib. ut ſup. p.* 32, 33.

(4) THEOD. BEZÆ *Valentini Gentilis teterrimi hæretici impietatum ac triplicis perfidiæ et perjuriæ . . Explicatio.*

(5) IBID. Quum . . ſubolfeciſſent Italicæ eccleſiæ, quæ apud nos eſt, Seniores, inter quoſdam e ſuo grege perverſos ſermones contra primum fidei noſtræ caput de tribus in una Dei eſſentia perſonis agitari: nullum melius remedium illis viſum eſt, quam edita confeſſionis forma, cui omnes ſubſcriberent, detegere ſi quod *occultum* virus lateret.

Peter Melius, a calviniſt miniſter of a pariſh in Hungary on the borders of Tranſylvania, was a man after Beza's own heart. He ſpent the lord's day in preaching, praying, and teaching orthodox catechiſms, and the other ſix in perſecuting ſuch as did not believe all he taught. He had influence enough to get Lucas, paſtor of the church at Agri, impriſoned. The Tranſylvanians got him releaſed, for he and his church were in that connection: but though his manners were irreproachable, and though he was the beſt ſcholar of all the tranſylvanian Baptiſts, yet he was baniſhed from Agri, and obliged to take refuge in the principality (7). As his perſecutor could not touch him there, and as all the Baptiſts in Tranſylvania were beyond the reach of perſecution, Melius comforted himſelf under ſuch a heavy affliction by holding ſynods in his own pariſh, and by publiſhing books to prove that the apoſtles, the prophets, and even the patriarchs would have ſubſcribed the helvetick confeſſion, for they all believed the doctrine of the trinity and jehovality (8). Melius was not ſingular in his conduct, the other reformed miniſters expelled Baptiſts and Arians, though at the ſame time they allowed the Turks tolerated the Lutherans at Buda, and the Baptiſts did the ſame by all parties in Tranſylvania, and what was more, the prince had ſent to the turkiſh baſhaw to ranſom Zegedine, one of their miniſters, who rewarded him by abuſing his religion (9). This was adding ingratitude to injuſtice. In ſpite of all this, hiſtorians ſay, the ſultan was a cruel perſecutor of chriſtians, the arian Baptiſts were mad blaſphemers, and the Calviniſts were the ſheep of Chriſt guarded by the miraculous power of God among theſe wolves (1).

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(6) Geo. Blandratæ *Epiſt.* Opinor vos Bezæ libellum .. vidiſſe .. Epiſtolam præfixit, cujus authorem filium Satanæ eſſe conſtat. Turpe eſt referre ſcurræ petulantiam, et rabulæ infamem procacitatem. Caveamus vero ne maledicendo illis ſimiles unquam videri poſſimus, &c.

(7) Blandrata *ubi ſup.* Melius vafer impoſtor .. nos omnes traducit, et convitiis laceſſit, &c. See Dudith's letrers.

(8) Lubieniecii *Hiſt. Ref. Pol. lib. iii. cap. xi.* Refutatio ſcripti Petri Melii, quo nomine ſynodo Detrecinæ docet Jehovalitatem, et Trinitarium Deum Patriarchis, prophetis, et apoſtolis cognitum.

(9) Dav. Chytræi *Oratio.* In ipſa urbe Buda duobus chriſtianis concionatoribus pontificio et lutherano, locum in publico templo a Turcis conceſſum fuiſſe, &c. .. M. Neandri *Orbis.* Chorum D. Marthæ pontificii, corpus eccleſiæ reliquum tenent Auguſtanæ confeſſionis homines.

(1) Pietro Bertelli *Vite de gl' imperatori de Turchi.* Solimano .. gran perſecutore de' chriſtiani, &c. *Soliman* .. Chytræus *ut ſup.* Eccleſiæ Tranſylvanicæ in orthodoxa doctrina, Deo juvante, Doctores pietate, doctrina, conſtantia, et zelo ſingulari, lupos ab ovilibus ſuis arcentes,

The celebrated Dudith, whoſe heart was as gentle as his genius was ſublime, employed the ſame inimitable pen to inſtruct his countrymen as he had done to diſſuade Beza from aſpiring at dominion over conſcience. He ſharply reproved Melius, and he wrote to a noble Pole, who had been too buſy in this affair, and endeavoured to convince him, that it was impoſſible to ſhew cauſe for their conduct without adopting the principles of the catholicks, which they had diſcarded, and which he, himſelf, while a catholick biſhop had abhorred. "If you allow human authority," ſays he, "pray where is Luther, and on what ground do you place Zuinglius, Calvin, and others? Fathers and councils are your enemies, and the prelates urge them againſt you. Do they not prove you hereticks by the very arguments which you urge againſt us? Away with your idle prerogatives, or at leaſt exerciſe them among yourſelves. Chriſt ſays, I AM THE LIGHT OF THE WORLD. CALL NO MAN YOUR FATHER UPON EARTH. He is my light, my WAY, my TRUTH, my LIFE. He refers me to ſcripture, and he is my maſter, and my father. He doth not ſend me to you, or your conſiſtories, and cuſtoms, and ancient prerogatives: but he ſays, SEARCH THE SCRIPTURES, and I ſhall obey him. Mean time, if you chooſe to refer your own diſputes to human authority, and to go to your fathers, or, if you will, your grandfathers, and great grandfathers, and their ſynods, go: but leave us to follow the convictions of our conſciences elſewhere (2)." In this placid ſpirit of genuine chriſtianity did the tranſylvanian Baptiſts reform themſelves, and though they were hereticks in matters of faith, yet it is but juſtice to allow they were orthodox in this part of their practice. Almoſt all hiſtorians ſay, they are gone to a place of torment for diſbelieving the divinity of Chriſt, and for being dipt inſtead of being ſprinkled: but as we are writing a hiſtory of this world and not of the next, we muſt be excuſed following them beyond the grave. Melius was a firebrand through life, Dudith was an honour to humanity till he died, and ſo were many of his aſſociates: we ſay no more, though virtue ſeems to forbid ſilence.

In the year fifteen hundred and ſeventy the ſtates of Tranſylvania thought it prudent to enter into a treaty with the emperour Maximilian II. and his imperial majeſty, who was a pacifick man, thought it was wiſe to grant a liberty, which he had no power to diſpute without a vaſt expence of blood and treaſure. At the diet of Spire, therefore, a peace was concluded between the emperour and John Sigiſmund prince of Tranſylvania. In this agreement the prince reſigned the title of king of Hungary, which, notwithſtanding

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arcentes, benigne et conſtanter fovent.. STEPH. ZEGEDINI *vita.* Nomine reguli Tranſylvanici phiala pulcherrima obtenſa pro Szegedini libertate, &c.

(2) ANDREÆ DUDITHII *Sac. Cæs. Maj. conſiliarii ad* JOHAN. LASICIUM *Epiſtola.* Tu nunc, et patres tuos, aut etiam, ſi mavis, avos, atque atavos, et eorum ſynodos audi. Ego Chriſto Magiſtro et apoſtolis fidem habebo, &c.

Lege Epiſtolam MELII *ad Dudicium: et Reſponſionem* DUDICII *ad Melium inter opera Socini.*

his mother's forced reſignation, he had borne till now, and the emperour acknowledged the independence of the principality. The whole was matter of form, for the title of king was vain, as no government was annexed to it: and the principality had formed itſelf free in the reign of Ferdinand (3). It is a juſt diſtinction which the Hungarians make of the reſignation of a prince of Tranſylvania to the emperour. "He reſigns," ſay they, "what he has, that is his own perſonal dignity, but he cannot reſign what he never had, that is, the rights of the people to elect a ſucceſſor and to preſcribe laws to him (4)."

Soon after the concluſion of this peace the prince departed this life in the thirty-ſecond year of his age, leaving no iſſue, and being the laſt of one branch of the very ancient family of Zabol, or Zapoli. The houſe of Bavaria refuſed him a princeſs of that family, becauſe he was an Arian. The prince was a profeſſed Arian, and his intimates were all of his own ſentiments. They ſay, he died in the exerciſe of the virtues, which he had always practiſed during his health: but the catholicks pretend that he lived intemperately, and died uttering blaſphemy. The Arians praiſe him for his perpetual love of peace: the catholicks blame him for not aiming at military glory. The Arians celebrate the wiſdom and propriety of his laſt will, in which he bequeathed princely legacies to the ſultan the old friend of his family, and to the emperour his new ally, to his uncle the king of Poland, and to three princeſſes of that family: but the catholicks object there was nothing given to the church. The ſtates buried him, ſay they, without any chriſtian ceremonies, attended by the diſorderly multitude, with nothing but arian honours, they only carried him from the caſtle to the temple, and erected a marble monument for him. Alas! what would become of the prieſthood, if other princes had no more affection for them than John Zapoli (5).

The candidates for the vacant dignity were Stephen Battori and Bequeſſius, both men of princely abilities, and of equal merit, except that the latter was an arian Baptiſt. The ſtates were now in league with the emperour, and the catholicks reaſoned, that as Bequeſſius was an Arian he was much nearer the religion of the Turks than that of the chriſtians, and conſequently he would be more likely to enter into contracts with the ſultan than Stephen would, for he believed the trinity as Maximilian did. Futile as this reaſoning was it had its weight, and Stephen was elected prince of Tranſylvania. He filled his office honourably, attempted no alterations, continued Blandrata his phyſician, and the principality was happy during his reign. Four years after, he was elected king of Poland, his brother Chriſtopher ſucceeded him as prince of Tranſylvania, and Blandrata was retained as phyſician to both, and honoured with the title of privy-counſellor to the king of Poland, though he reſided moſtly in Tranſylvania; but he moſt zealouſly promoted the welfare of the baptiſt churches in both kingdoms (6).

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(3) VERACII CONSTANTII *Animadv. ut ſup.* Vaivodatum Tranſylvaniæ non tantum, ſtatim rebus adhuc inter Ferdinandum i. et Johannem Zapolyæ Reges, ipſoſque regni proceres tumultuantibus, ſpecialem huic provinciæ regiminis formam providentia divina formaverit, ac pro ſecuritate gentis Hungaræ a Dominio Auſtriaco liberam eſſe voluerit, ſed et ex poſt . . pro libero principatu declaratam eſſe, &c. p. 14 . . . L. TOPPELTINI *origines Tranſylv. in Appendice.*

(4) IBID. Reſignavit Apaffi quod ſuum fuit, dignitatem nimirum perſonalem, non jus regni, &c.

(5) NIC. ISTHUANFFI *Hiſt. Hungar. lib. xxiv.* ad æternas inferorum pœnas haud dubie detrudente, &c. . . STAN. LUBIENIECII *Hiſt. Ref. Pol. lib. iii. cap. xi.* pietatis ſtudiis conſtanter deditus vitam hanc . . . illa cœleſti commutavit . . . L. TOPPELTINI *Orig. Tranſylv.* æterna memoria dignus eſt labor ejus in componendis religioniſtarum diſſidiis, multos articulos, leges fundamentales, reliquit, quibus Romano catholica, calviniſtica, Lutherana, et unitaria tolerandæ religiones imperantur. Hac baſi etiam num hodie noſtra ſtat concordia.

The old ſuperintendent, Davidis, had for ſome time paſt declared, that in his opinion, Jeſus Chriſt ought not to be called God, as he was not God, that he ought not to be invoked in prayer, that Luther and Calvin had miſrepreſented the doctrines of juſtification and predeſtination, and that Dr. Blandrata had not ſtated the doctrine of the nature of God properly in his theſes. Theſe opinions occaſioned many and warm diſputes. The doctor, hoping to recover him to his former belief, wrote to Fauſtus Socinus, then at Baſil, and invited him to Tranſylvania. Socinus came, and Blandrata boarded him with Davidis, that he might have the fairer opportunity of diſcuſſing the ſubjects, and terminating the difference. The old ſuperintendent and Socinus continued diſputing together about eighteeen weeks, and ended where they began. Davidis thought Jeſus an ordinary man, though an eminent pattern of piety. He conſidered him as a bright example: but no more a ground of truſt than another prophet. He thought the new teſtament was to be expounded by the old, not the old by the new. He ſuppoſed the jewiſh ſabbath not abrogated, and he therefore kept holy the ſeventh day. He believed alſo the doctrine of the millenium, and like an honeſt man what he believed he taught. He was conſidered by the tranſylvanian churches as an apoſtle, and had grown grey in their ſervice: but the catholicks, the Lutherans and the Calviniſts thought him a turk, a blaſphemer and an atheiſt, and his poliſh baptiſt brethren ſaid he was half a jew. Had he been a whole jew he ought not to have been impriſoned for his ſpeculations. If his teaching were unedifying to his own church at Claudiopolis, or if his ſuperintendency were productive of any ill effects in the ſynods, he might have been degraded from his offices: but nothing more on their principles ought to have been done (7).

By what means the ſupreme ſearcher of hearts only knows, but by ſome methods, till then unknown in Tranſylvania, the old man was arreſted, and by the ſenate condemned to die. He was impriſoned in the caſtle, and providence, by putting a period to his life there, ſaved his perſecutors from the diſgrace of a public execution. It is not worth while to repeat and confute the falſhoods, which have been told about this ſingular man, and the manner of his death: but it would be an injury to virtue to take no notice of ſome reports about it. Many have been blamed: but the moſt probable opinion is, that Socinus and Blandrata were the principals in this cruel buſineſs. Which of the two had the greateſt ſhare is not ſo eaſy to determine.

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(6) ISTHUANFFI *ut ſup.* .. SANDIUS *ut ſup.* .. LUBIENIECIUS *ut ſup.* .. 1571 .. 1575

(7) SOCINI *opera. vita* .. POSSEVINI. *Bibliot. lib. viii. cap.* 30, HOORNBEEK .. MARESIUS .. SANDIUS cum multis aliis. .. 1578.

In regard to Socinus, he was of opinion that hereticks ought to be corporally puniſhed. He defines an hereſiarch to be " one, who holds falſe doctrines, new and unheard of in the age in which he lives, who teaches and endeavours to perſuade others to receive them, who aſſociates diſciples, becomes the founder of a ſect, and has other properties, in which he (Socinus) had no ſhare." " Such a man, " he thought," if he were obſtinate, ought to be treated like a madman, pitied, but confined, chained and impriſoned (8)." The definitions of ſome of his admirers are equally vague. If, therefore, he did perſecute Davidis, he only acted conſiſtently with his own judgment. Who can help lamenting the depravity of mankind? What an opinion is this for a man to give, who would himſelf have been burnt for a heretick in any country in Chriſtendom except thoſe of Tranſylvania and Poland!

Further, Socinus was extremely blamed, and reproached by his enemies for having a hand in the death of Davidis, and though he deferred anſwering theſe reproaches till fifteen years after the old man was ſilenced, yet his defence is far from being ſatisfactory. He conſidered the doctrine of Davidis, that Chriſt was not to be invoked, exactly as the catholicks conſidered his, that Chriſt was not a divine perſon, and for the ſame reaſons too; he ſaid, it was a moſt impious and deteſtable opinion, accompanied with a great many other moſt peſtilent errours, foully corrupting, convulſing, ſeparating, and poiſoning whole churches, all which was done by one Davidis, and, as a very good gentleman called Palæologus, a haughty hungry little greek (9). The doctrine he would have taught the old ſuperintendent was the ſame, that the catholicks had endeavoured to teach him, that was, that whatever his private opinion might be, he ought not to propagate it till it had been approved by a general ſynod. Far from uſing his influence with Blandrata to induce him to deſiſt, or to employ his aſcendancy over the prince to releaſe Davidis, he does not even ſeem to blame this barbarity, he actually approved of an arbitrary act of ſuſpenſion by the prince, which was giving up the ground of chriſtian liberty. He endeavours to exculpate himſelf, but not the ſufferer, and he contends, that Davidis ſuffered for publickly teaching this impious tenet in the great church, that a man might as well invoke the virgin Mary and other departed ſaints as Jeſus Chriſt (1). The greateſt admirers of Socinus are therefore obliged to apologize for this part of his conduct, and to allow that his notion of hereſy was confuſed, that his opinion of the manner in which hereticks ought to be treated is unjuſtifiable, that in the caſe of Davidis he magnified the pretended danger of his hereſy by painting it in diſmal colours, that he never cenſured the conduct of the perpetrators of the crime, and that therefore he ought not to be a guide in regard to the treatment of erroneous perſons.

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(8) SOCINI *Epiſt. ad Martinum Vadovitam.* Hereſiarcha .. ſæculo ſaltem ſuo nova et inaudita dogmata proponit, docet, perſuadere conatur, Diſcipulos ſibi aſciſcit, ſectæ alicujus eſt auctor, et *alia* habet cum quibus mihi nihil unquam fuit commune, &c. .. Vide HIERON. MOSCOROWSKI *Smiglecii refutationem.*

(9) *Epiſt. ad Squarcialupum.* Sententiam maxime impiam et deteſtandam, &c.

Poſſevin, who was at Claudiopolis ſoon after, expreſsly charges Blandrata with forwarding this affair: but he gives the glory of beginning it to the prince, and ſays, Blandrata yielded only to neceſſity when he ſaw the votes of the ſenate going againſt Davidis. It is not likely that Blandrata had a vote in the ſenate, though it is certain ſeveral who were of the ſentiments of Davidis had. It ſhould ſeem, therefore, on the whole, that the prince, who, adds the jeſuit, was a man of the moſt ſolid piety, was determined to ſacrifice this man to pacify the clamours of both papiſts and proteſtants, who all pretended that he deſerved to be put to death: that Blandrata tried to ſave him by procuring Socinus to diſſuade him from propagating his opinions: that Socinus imbittered the controverſy, by preaching orthodoxy to one party inſtead of ſhewing all ſides the nature and neceſſity of toleration: that Davidis perſevered, ſuppoſing himſelf to have as much right to dogmatize as his countrymen had, and more right to do ſo than foreigners had to reſtrain him: that the prince, who hated the religion of all but papiſts, and who only refrained from perſecuting the Baptiſts becauſe they were ſo numerous, ſo rich, and ſo powerful that he durſt not attack them, availed himſelf of this opportunity to puniſh a man offenſive even to his own friends, and for this purpoſe made a party in the ſenate, which was ſo ſtrong, that his few remaining friends found it would avail nothing to remonſtrate: but after all, it is ſtill probable, Davidis would have been releaſed, and not executed, had he not died in priſon, where ſome ſay he was killed by the falling in of the roof of the building (2).

Some writers, Dr. Moſheim for one, give a turn to this whole affair, which, if it be juſt, is extremely to the diſadvantage of Socinus. They ſay, Socinus and his followers inwardly thought there was nothing very cenſurable in the doctrine of Davidis: that in effect he did no more than exhort all chriſtians to addreſs themſelves DIRECTLY and immediately to the father; that they thought the doctrine and its profeſſors worthy of toleration and indulgence: that they proceeded with Davidis more artfully than ingenuouſly: and that they perſecuted him and his followers only to take off a part of the odium, under which they themſelves lay. Others have accounted for all this in order to ſhift the blame (3). For our parts, we conſider all doctrinal diſputes in the baptiſt churches only as far as they affect theſe churches. It would be endleſs to go back to their ſpring, or forward to their outfall. Socinus was an Antipædobaptiſt: but not a Baptiſt, though he was afterward a member of a baptiſt church in Poland: but Davidis was an unitarian baptiſt miniſter, intruſted by his brethren with the ſuperintendency of the churches in Tranſylvania. The ſpeculations of both agitated the churches, but they coſt the ſuperintendent his life, but perhaps the ſecret ſprings of this event may never be known till the JUDGE OF THE WORLD MAKETH INQUISITION FOR BLOOD.

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(1) *De Jeſu Chriſti invocatione. In Epiſtola dedicatoria.*

(2) A. POSSEVINI *Bib. lib. viii. cap. xxxi...* A. DUDITHII *Melio Epiſt...* FLEURY *Hiſt. Eccl. an.* 1578. *tom. xxxv. Anonymi epiſt. ad* HALLOPEGIUM *apud* LUBIENIECIUM. *p.* 231.. ZEGEDINI *vita.*

Davidis was ſucceeded by Hunyadine as ſuperintendent, and by the advice of Blandrata, he thought it neceſſary to propoſe a little alteration in the diſcipline. This was two months before the death of Davidis, and it ſeems intended to diminiſh the ſcandal, under which in the opinions of both papiſts and proteſtants the Baptiſts every where lay. This was in regard to baptiſm. The baptiſt churches in Poliſh Pruſſia had not only tolerated infant-ſprinkling, but they had even ſprinkled their own children in publick to avoid perſecution. The Baptiſts in Tranſylvania had not only rejected infant-ſprinkling, but had refuſed to tolerate it in their churches: and the Poles had done the ſame: but now the Tranſylvanians thought fit, by a public declaration to allow of it, if not to enjoin it. This came of their being connected with a court, where worldly policy always corrupts chriſtianity (4).

The connection of this court with that of Poland, and of both with the houſe of Auſtria, the jeſuits and the pope, had a fatal influence on the liberties of Tranſylvania. Blandrata ſaw it, and as he grew old and rich he abated of his zeal, and though he endeavoured to ſave the church from the gathering ſtorm by making conceſſions, yet providence taught the people by a gentle ſquall of affliction a more excellent way, by falling into which they recovered their faith and purity. The catholick is the only religion for princes, it was made on purpoſe for them. Baptiſts have tried to make their churches ſupply the place, but as the attempt is unnatural, ſucceſs is impoſſible, and the purity of their churches depends on the broad baſe of univerſal liberty laid on the ground of the common rights of mankind, and not on the inſpection and controul of a ſucceſſion of frail or depraved worldly politicians.

Prince Chriſtopher died, and left a minor, named Sigiſmund Battori. He was elected to ſucceed his father, and his uncle, Stephen king of Poland, was appointed his guardian. Stephen formed a regency of all parties, but the chancellor, Lupus Coviaſſi conſcientiouſly reſigned an office, in which he felt he was to obey orders with or without conviction as it might happen. Alexander Quendi and others followed his example, and his majeſty diſſolved the regency, and appointed one man preceptor to the prince and governour of the principality (5). Soon after Blandrata expired. He had latterly employed himſelf in hoarding money, and had made a will in favour of a nephew, but the impatient youth with an unpardonable ingratitude ſtifled him in his bed. Hoornbeek ſaid it was a juſt judgement on him for adhering to the Unitarians: and Socinus ſaid it was a juſt judgment on him for deſerting them (6). The links which had connected the church with the court being thus broken, the court filled with jeſuits and factions, and the church though it ſuffered ſome diminution of its ſplendour yet advanced its liberty and purity.

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(3) *Eccles. Hiſt. cent. xvi. ſect. iii. part. 2. note*... JOSH. TOULMIN's *life of Socinus.*

(4) STAN. LUBIENIECII. *Hiſt. Ref. Pol. lib. iii. cap.* 3. In Tranſylvania, majoris ſcandali vitandi cauſa, et parendo neceſſitati parvuli baptizantur... SANDII *Bib. p.* 86.

Toward the cloſe of the ſixteenth century many of their eminent men were removed. The ambaſſadour Bequeſſius had died general of the army. The princeſs, ſiſter of prince John, was no more. The privy-councellors Chaquius and the two Quendi were dead. General Andraſſi and many others of high rank had finiſhed their courſe. Somer, the rector of the academy at Claudiopolis, had died of the plague. He was ſucceeded by Matthias Glirius, a phyſician. Adam Neuſner, who had fled hither to avoid perſecution, finding himſelf not out of the reach of the emperour, had removed to Conſtantinople, where he enjoyed a liberty that chriſtians had denied him. Chriſtian Franken, a german, who had been a jeſuit at Rome, had alſo been a profeſſor in the academy at Claudiopolis, where he had died. Theſe were all of the ſame ſentiments as Davidis, as were many more of different ranks, who after his death in priſon, defended his opinion againſt Socinus. Palæologus was of the ſame mind: he had fled into Moravia, but was caught by the emperour, at the requeſt of pope Gregory XIV. and had been carried to Rome, where he was burnt for a heretick (7). He was an old man, and was terrified at firſt into a recantation, but he recollected himſelf, and ſubmitted to his fate like a chriſtian. Eraſmus Johannis, an admirable hebrician, even in Beza's account, was about this time paſtor of the church at Claudiopolis. He had been rector of the ſchool at Antwerp, but was obliged to quit it for his ſentiments. He was an Arian, and accepted his office at Claudiopolis on condition of not mentioning arianiſm in the pulpit. George Enyedine had ſucceeded Hunyadine as ſuperintendent, and died in the flower of his age. Catalogues of the learned works of theſe authors may all be ſeen in Sandius. Whoever peruſes ſuch of their labours as are come to us in this country, and they are the far greater part, will allow, that they were men of eminent literature, ſingular liberality of ſentiment, and zealous promoters of practical godlineſs. The laſt mentioned ſuperintendent had exploded infant-baptiſm, though probably the church continued to tolerate it (8).

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(5) Isthuanffi *Hiſt. Hungar. lib. xxvi.*.. Lubieniecii *ut ſup. lib. iii. cap.* 4.

(6) Hoornbeek *Apparat.*.. Socini *Reſpons. ad Wujek.*

(7) An. 1585. Mar. 22.

(8) Isthuanffi *ut ſup. lib. xxv.* .. Sandii *Nucleus. Secul. xvi.*.. Sandii *Bibliot. p.* 86. *&c.*

S. Lubieniecii *lib. iii. cap.* 4... A. Possevini. *ubi ſup. lib. viii.*.. George Enieдini *Explicationes locorum v. et N. Teſtamenti. &c.*.. Nemo illo in concionibus habendis ſuavior:

Were we to enter on a minute inveſtigation of the church hiſtory of this little principality, we ſhould be obliged to obſerve that the church and religion were materially affected by the polity of the country: that out of the polity roſe a complex policy, which required profound wiſdom and ſingular addreſs: that the policy of the ſtate had for its objects domeſtick and foreign factions: that the ſeats of theſe factions were the courts of the reigning prince, the emperour of Germany, the ſultan, the palatine or viceroy of Hungary, the king of Poland, and the pope: that the intrigues of theſe courts depended on their geographical ſituations: and the whole on a certain unalterable conſtitution of nature. An inveſtigation would form a not incurious hiſtory: but theſe are beyond our limits, and general outlines are all we attempt to give. Sometimes a prince of Tranſylvania was ſtriving to render his honour hereditary: at other times the houſe of Auſtria were plotting to make the kingdom of Hungary hereditary in the imperial family: in other periods the Turk was endeavouring to add the ſame kingdom to his dominions: ſometimes the ſcheme was to make Tranſylvania a province to the kingdom, at other times to hold it free in itſelf, but tributary to the empire: at all times the pope and his clerical troops were practiſing artifices of every kind to bring this people into bondage (9). The Baptiſts, to their honour be it recorded, were always on the ſide of liberty, and the power, prince or palatine, ſultan or emperour, chriſtian or pagan, domeſtick or foreign, that would guard their freedom, was the governour that ſuited them. In this they paid no regard to religion, civil government was their only object. They conſidered the catholick, and the reformed clergy as declared enemies, who had doomed them to die as blaſphemers: and they had found that even their own party were capable of abuſing power, and therefore they aſked their civil governours (and they had no other) only for liberty by contract, and as to religion, give them but a bible, and they could take care of all that themſelves (1). They reverenced human laws, but they ſaid conſcience could not be bound by them. They reſpected learning, but they thought it ſerved more to diſputing than to practice. They deſpiſed the decrees of ſynods and councils, for none of them contained their religion, and ſeveral of them condemned it. In brief, they deſired nothing but to be let alone. At the ſame time they took the wiſeſt method in the world to ſecure freedom to their churches. The miniſters

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ſuavior: in docendo brevior, ſimul ac ſolidior: in ſcriptionibus facilior: in expediendis nodis felicior, in confutandis erroribus certior. *In præfatione... Ejuſdem de-* [Matt. xxviii. 19.] *baptiſmo.*

(9) *Querela Hungariæ ... Defenſio Querelarum ... Mantiſſæ ... Atteſtatio ordinum regni Hungariæ ... Fædus ungaro Bohemicum ... Revelatio conſiliorum quæ initio Synodi Tridentinæ inter pontificem, Cæſarem, cæteroſque reges, principes, et ſtatus pontificios contra veros et liberos orbis chriſtiani reges, principes et ordines, ſunt inita .. Principis* FRANCISCI RAKOCZI *memoriale ... Militis Hungari* CONSTANTII *Animadverſiones*, impreſſum in libera liberi regni civitate.

(1) *Querela. pag. 6.* Quis doctor et doctor nefarii illius canonis, *Quod Hæreticis non ſit ſervanda fides?* Clerus. Quis diffidia et inimicitias inter cives ejuſdem patriæ noſtræ fecit? Clerus, &c. &c.

taught plain truths, and multiplied converts: and the reſt plied buſineſs, and acquired wealth. A people numerous, rich and reſolute muſt and will be free.

During the government of Sigiſmund and of his ſucceſſors Andrew Battori, Stephen Bocſkai, Sigiſmund Rakoczi, Gabriel Battori, Gabriel Bethlen, and others, the ſtate was ſometimes happy, and at other times convulſed by contending parties: but the Baptiſts never loſt their religious liberty, for we do not reckon giving up the cathedral to the jeſuits a loſs of liberty, and in general they continued to flouriſh. Their liberties were ſeveral times virtually ſecured in treaties: but in ſixteen hundred and eighty-ſix they were expreſsly guaranteed in a treaty between the emperour Leopold and Michael Apaffi, prince of Tranſylvania. The ſixth article is, "The four received religions in Tranſylvania, and in the parts of Hungary annexed to it, his ſacred imperial majeſty ſhall not attempt in any manner, at any time, or under any pretence to diſturb, nor ſhall he endeavour to interrupt any in the enjoyment of their temples, ſchools, pariſhes, profits, and revenues according to the approved laws concerning them." This article hath been often confirmed ſince (1). Under this law the Baptiſts have lived peaceably in Tranſylvania from that time to this, and though they ſeem to have left off diſputing when their chief opponent Socinus died, yet they have publiſhed ſeveral learned works, and, what is more ſtill to their honour, they have continued to cheriſh a zeal for liberty, induſtry, hoſpitality, and the great practical virtues of life. Here the Moravians often found an aſylum, when they were driven out, and here the Poles were fed and clothed, and TAKEN IN when the injuſtice of their countrymen compelled them to become STRANGERS. Claudiopolis at once received near four hundred, and bountifully ſupplied all their wants, though they themſelves had juſt before been pillaged by foreign freebooters, who take ten times more pains, and ſurmount ten times more difficulties to live by robbery, than it would be neceſſary to encounter to get an honeſt livelihood (2).

The ſchool at Claudiopolis was ſupplied with able men, who educated their youth, and the churches were inſtructed by learned and exemplary miniſters, in whoſe works all their diſtinguiſhing tenets are inveſtigated. The caſe of property, that of war and bearing arms, that of magiſtracy and oaths, and many more, which concern the principal actions of life, are treated of expreſsly or incidentally in a way that does honour both to the underſtandings and hearts of the authors. Valentine Radecki, ſon of Matthew Radecki of Dantzick, was paſtor of the church at Claudiopolis, and ſuperintendent, in which offices he was ſucceeded by Samuel Jarai, an Hungarian, as he was by Baumgarten. The ſaxon church at the ſame place was taught by Joachim Stegman, who was ſucceeded by Adam Frank, and he by Joachim Stegman ſon of the former paſtor. He wrote ſeveral curious books, namely, an apology for the Arians: an eſſay on waſhing the feet of the ſaints: on the uſe of reaſon in matters of faith, and many more. His aſſiſtant was Stephen Pauli, the ſon-in-law of Frank. The chief citizens of Claudiopolis were members of theſe churches, as Radecki, ſon of the miniſter, who was a ſenator, and ſome of their members were of the firſt families and in high offices, as Marſhal Francis Bethlen, and others. An accurate account of all theſe baptiſt churches would require a two-fold diviſion: the firſt into natives, Germans, and Siculi: and the ſecond muſt ſubdivide each, as the natives into princes, lords, ſenators, officers, landlords, tenants, and ſo on: the Germans into citizens, manufacturers, artiſts, labourers, tutors, paſtors, and ſo on: and the Siculi into brethren employed in various methods of agriculture, mining, manufacturing, adminiſtering juſtice, fighting, and ſo on, ſome in office and others not. To all theſe claſſes refugees muſt be added, each different from another claſs. Though ſuch minutiæ would be tedious and unedifying, yet the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of Tranſylvania will appear confuſed unleſs a general idea of this condition of the inhabitants be preſerved in mind. When a noble lord appears we muſt not think of thoſe levellers the Siculi, for though they empowered the prince of Tranſylvania to take the title of Count of the SICULI, when he made treaties with foreign powers in which they were included, yet this title had nothing of the meaning of the ſame title, when the ſame prince ſtyled himſelf Count of SCEPUS, which was an hereditary family eſtate, which might be diſpoſed of without the conſent of the people: but the Siculi were not to be bought and ſold. The ſame obſervation might be made on ſeveral other ſubjects (3). On the whole we cannot but remark, that Tranſylvania affords proof of this great principle, that Liberty is no where ſafe in any hands except thoſe of the people themſelves, who, as they have the greateſt intereſt in being free, are the natural guardians of their own rights.

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(1) *Inter fœdera, ut ſup.* pag. 40.

(2) CAMERARII *Eccles. Bohem. Perſecutiones.* Cap. xlv. Anabaptiſtæ magnis agminibus, curribus aliquot centinis, in vicinam ... Tranſylvaniam .. commigrarunt ... STAN. LUBIENIECII *Hiſt. lib. iii. cap.* 18. Claudiopolitani fratres ... ſuccurrunt tamen magnifice, nudos veſtitu, egentes commeatu, inopes viatico inſtruunt, vehicula itineri ſubmittunt, humaniter in urbem ſuam eos deducunt, et non tectis tantum ſed mæniis etiam ſuis amanter excipiunt, omnibuſque fraternæ caritatis officiis humaniſſime proſequuntur, &c.

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(3) SANDII *Bibliot.* .. SAND. *Nucleus* ... LUBIENIECII *Hiſt.* ... ISTHUANFFI. *Hiſt.* ... ADRIANI REGENVOLSCII *Hiſt. Eccl. Slavon.* Lib. ii. cap. viii. *Hiſtoire des revolutions de Hongrie* ... *Memoire du prince* FRANCOIS RACOKZY ... *Memoires du comte* BETLEM NIKLOS.

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E R R A T A.

Page 47. Note 4. read *Plura pete* for *Plurape te.* Page 57. Note 4. read *beatitudinem* for *beatitunem.* Page 62. line 16. read *friendly office of an.* Page 70. line 28. read *three hundred and twenty-five.* Page 74. Note 7. line 7. *hæreſium.* Note 8. line 3. δε Ἰω. Page 82. Note 4. line 3. *propagavit.* Page 94. line 7. *always.* Page 112. Note 6. line 1. *errorum.* Page 115. line 4. for *Mahommed* read *Mohammed.* Page 129. note 7. line 2. *quod erat.* line 7. *narrat Polycarpum.* Page 144. note 1. line 1. *Ambroſii.* note 5. line 2. *nemo.* Page 162. note 2. line 4. *perduc.* Page 182. note 9. line 10. *tribunis.* Page 207. note 9. line 2. *cujuſlibet.* Page 241. note 6. line 6. *ſeparatum.* Page 245. note 7. line 10. *clericalis.* Page 277. note 5. line 1. *impuri.* line 3. *deteſtabiles.* Page 282. note 5. line 1. *Reineri Sacchonis.* Page 316. note 2. line 7. *major eſt filio et.* Page 325. note 1. line 7. *ac quaſi.* Page 335. note 4. line 1. *del. me.* Page 340. note 5. line 1. *triduum.* Page 345. note 4. line 1. *Hanc.* Page 357. note 8. line 10. *tunc.* Page 389. note 6. line 1. *Bonifacio.* Page 409. line 3. *in latin to the priſoners.* Page 439. note 8. line 1. *regimine.* Page 440. note 4. line 2. *exeunte.* Page 447. note 1. line 3. *reddiderint.* Page 460. note 5. line 2. *planitie.* note 8. line 4. *verum.* Page 474. note 6. line 1. *Si.* Page 494. note 2. line 1. *Bohemorum et Moravorum.* Page 538. note 9. line 2. *ſperabant ita fore.* Page 539. note 5. line 4. *ubi ſtes.* Page 557. note 9. *Moravis.* Page 563. line 16. *a right belief.* Page 562. note 8. line 1. *Barbaram.* Page 563. note 3. line 3. *purgari.* Page 582. note 9. line 6. *et unitarii.* Page 583. note 2. line 2. *quorſum.* Page 600. line 10. *Cracow.* Page 629. note 3. line 7. *ut de eis ne.* Page 630. line 37. *effected.* Page 642. note 2. line 2. *centenis.*

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